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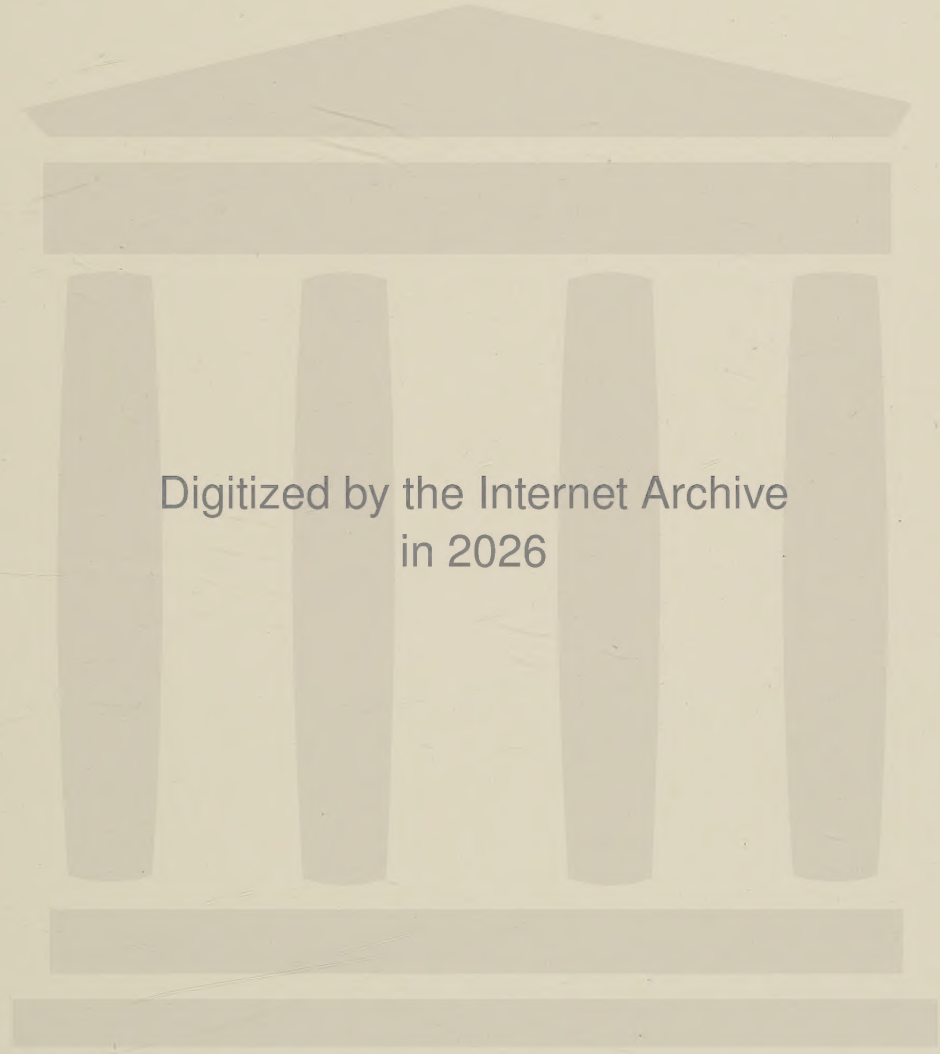

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J. M. Callahan

HISTORY

OF

WEST VIRGINIA

Old and New

IN ONE VOLUME

By

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Professor of History and Political Science at
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and

WEST VIRGINIA BIOGRAPHY

IN TWO ADDITIONAL VOLUMES

By Special Editorial Staff of the Publishers

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James Morton Callahan

Author's Preface

The author of this volume of state history in completing the arduous and confining labor involved in its preparation—undertaken primarily with a purpose of service to the state—greatly appreciates the opportunity and facilities for publication provided through the financial plans of the publishers to whom belongs all the business responsibility of the enterprise. He also appreciates the co-operation of many public spirited citizens in facilitating researches or in verification and revision of data. He especially acknowledges the assistance of those whose names appear as collaborators in the preparation of several chapters.

Although the author has spared no pains to secure accuracy of material, he is conscious of imperfections and does not doubt that mistakes may have escaped his detection. A large part of the credit for verifications and revisions is due to his faithful amanuensis (under permanent engagement), whose earlier investigations on the evolution of the constitution of West Virginia furnished a large part of the material for the chapters on Sectionalism and the Constitution of 1872.

Morgantown, W. Va.,
February 20, 1922.

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History of West Virginia

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION: USE OF LOCAL HISTORY

The importance of local historical research is steadily gaining recognition. This is reflected in a growing belief that local history should have a place in the course of study in our schools. Teachers are discovering that the surest way to kindle and to stimulate to activity the child's attention is to build on his own experience in his home community life—whose origin and development he will be interested to know. When local life touches the larger streams of national life, local history may be employed to introduce or to illustrate national history. If it has little connection with national life, the history of every local community of whatever age may still be full of vital interest and may be made very instructive. If presented in a systematic, organized course, it is suitable to unfold the fundamental principles of historical development. It contains the universal motives to human action, the universal geographic conditions and influences, the law of development from the simple to the complex, and the evolution of institutions to meet human needs. The common people in their home life, government, and industrial interests, have contributed a share to the onward movement of civilization, and a study of the story of their community life will fortify the student with a habit of mind which will fit him to study more intelligently the history of the nation and the world.

The study of history, like charity, should begin at home. The first step, as in geography, is to know thoroughly the home district. The most natural introduction to a knowledge of the history of the world is from local environment, through ever widening circles of interest, along lines that vitally connect the past with the present. The child should first observe systematically the phenomena and processes which lie near to him. He begins this himself and only needs to be guided. He sees the institutions and life of his own neighborhood and is interested in them. In connection with local geography he can learn many things about the society in which he lives, he can get first-hand experience with institutions in the concrete. What he learns in regard to the family, the school, the church, the industrial life and the affairs of local government will aid in giving him a conception of what history is.

Students should be led to appreciate the common and lowly things around them, to understand the familiar facts of local environment whose truths are as significant as those of far-away places and remote times, to have respect for law, and for the institutions which through long ages of the past have been developed in the great school of human experience, and now contribute to the welfare of all. The annals, and records, and life, of quiet neighborhoods are historically important by their vital connection with the progress and science of the nation and of the world.

Local history may advantageously be studied as a contribution to national history and to a larger "world history." Almost every community has some close and intimate connection with general history. Here, the Indians assembled in council and participated in the war dance or smoked the pipe of peace. There, a brave explorer passed

centuries ago. Here, a self-reliant pioneer, armed with axe and rifle, built his log cabin and began his mission of subduing the savage forest heavy with the sleep of ages. Through yonder gap pressed the incessant wave of frontiersmen clearing the way for civilization. Here, in patches of cleared land, strewn with arrow heads, they planted the seed for future harvests. Here, they experimented with the difficulties and opportunities of the wilderness. There, they sprang into conflict for the protection of their homes; near by is a stone marking the graves of those who died fighting for freedom; and yonder monument is in commemoration of the victory that was won. On every hand also are the living monuments of the civilization which followed: the houses, mills, bridges, mines, railways, oil derricks, schools, churches and courts.

In almost every community there have lived conspicuous representative leaders whose simple stirring lives may be studied as a fitting introduction to the vigorous life and struggles of the common people in bygone days. They represent the men who established, guided and saved the nation. Through them the moving dramatic panorama of the past may be unrolled and glimpses of institutional forces may be given.

The pioneer epoch is a delightful gateway through which the children of our common schools may find entrance to the fields of American history, and of general history. The pioneer life in many states is rich in stirring events, in difficult enterprises, in deeds of fortitude and nobility, in stories of strong men and women, which will thrill the children with delight and awaken a deep and permanent interest. In the settlement of almost every community plain, modest and uncelebrated men performed important service. They faithfully did a great work, the consequences of which are around us to-day. From many unnoticed, scattered fields, where they sowed their seed, came at last a mighty harvest. They toiled not in vain.

The story of the deeds of such men not only awakens human interest but impresses the mind with the value of high character and purpose, and animates us to do our work with a more intense and patient fidelity. All should be grateful for the invisible, molding influences behind these men: their humble but reverent homes, their simple churches and their rustic schools. The striking phases of their simple, frugal life are full of interest and furnish valuable data for later study of social history and government: their houses, the home life around the great fireplace, their furniture and dress, their meeting houses and long sermons in cold churches, their log rollings, house raisings and husking bees, their government, methods of travel and trade.

The study of such things as these will vivify the past—will "fill its dim spaces with figures which move and live and feel." Our history is rich in inspiring educational materials which, if properly presented, will prevent the distaste for history which has so often resulted from the study of skeleton outlines and the memorizing of tables and dates.

Perhaps local history may find its best opportunity as a means of illustrating in the simplest terms possible the fundamental principles of community life. This idea has recently been applied in the schools of Indianapolis where it has resulted in the preparation of a series of civic studies on the history of the various institutions of the city, beginning with a short history of the water supply. Thus local history may be utilized as a means of civic instruction. Because of its usefulness in illuminating fundamental civic ideas, it may find its own opportunity for development in connection with a well organized course in civics. A child is led to see that the various institutions and arrangements of the community have been developed in order to satisfy the needs and wants of himself and other members of the community.

Local history will develop in the child's mind a conception of the *nature* of community life and its relations. The story of a simpler pioneer community shows most interestingly the presence of all the motives

and interests of community life, and it shows how they were the stimuli for the development of the various phases of early community life and community institutions: such as schools, mills, mines, banks, churches, railroads, streets, and government. It shows also how under the hard conditions of pioneer life, isolated from civilization, the various interests received only partial satisfaction.

The fascinating story of local development from this standpoint teaches its own lesson. It enables one to understand from concrete examples that society has advanced only by slow, blind groping movements—with long halts and many struggles due to ignorance, stupidity and prejudice, and that "it is only through labor and painful effort, by grim energy and resolute courage, that we move on to better things." The story of each town is one of interesting development: from the primitive and the provincial to the modern and metropolitan; from a sleepy condition of mere subsistance and isolation to a life of productive business and communication with the entire world; from trail and pack horse to railway and express train; from an old log house built as you please and surrounded by mud and broken glass to a modern house built by permission of town council, and approached by sidewalk put in by command of the town council, for the general good,—perhaps at first against the strong opposition of individual citizens; from corner smoke-befogged grocery with chairs and whittling material furnished to the evening loafers' club to an orderly business house where loafers are discouraged inside by lack of chairs and outside by rows of sharp barbs and spikes; from the daily jam of the old postoffice after the daily mail hack arrived to the modern office with iron rails to keep the people in orderly line; from the muddy roads of a rural village to the paved streets of a city kept clean by a street cleaning force; from single, poorly organized schools to a system of graded schools with proper supervision and inspection and culminating in a modern high school; from a few old books read only by a few to a modern free public library; from volunteer bucket brigade to an efficiently trained fire department; from indiscriminate giving and lending to efficient, intelligent organized charity; from the old wasteful Anglo-Saxon method of working the roads to the modern plan of road construction and repair under the supervision and direction of an efficient engineer; from unsanitary springs and wells to the modern system of water works and water purification; from out-door cess-pools to a well-regulated sewer-system; from the old individualistic method of garbage disposal by throwing in the streets to the sanitary compulsory method of disposing of garbage by city expense and city authority; from pill vendors and quacks to a respectable medical profession; from uncontrolled unsanitation to the sanitary control of modern boards of health, and to medical inspection in the schools; a development from drift and *laissez faire* to intelligent direction.

The story of each phase of development is instructive and educative. It would certainly be an excellent thing for the development of historical science in America if teachers in our public schools would cultivate the historical spirit in their pupils with special reference to the local environment. Something more than local history can be drawn from such sources.

A multitude of historical associations gather around every old town and hamlet in the land. West Virginia and other states of the Ohio Valley are especially rich in them. There are local legends and traditions, household tales, stories told by grandfathers and grandmothers, incidents remembered by "the oldest inhabitant." But above all in importance are the old documents and manuscript records of the first settlers, the early pioneers, the founders of our towns, and the captains of industries. Here are sources of information more authentic than tradition and yet often entirely neglected. If teachers would simply make a few extracts from these unpublished records, they would soon have sufficient material in their hands for elucidating local history to their

pupils and fellow townsmen. The publication of such extracts in the local papers is one of the best ways to quicken local interest in matters of history.

Much source of material for the study of local history may still be found, although much of the earlier material was captured by Lyman C. Draper on his pilgrimages of search. The old court records contain much of human interest. Buried in dust and darkness of vaults or basements and neglected corners in West Virginia court houses are many old, time-stained records which now seldom see the light of day, because few lawyers have business with them, and no one else is supposed to have any interest in things belonging to so long a time ago. These records are full of human interest, though mixed with masses of rubbish which can never again be of any use to anybody. In a few instances local historians have had the patience and endurance to dig through thousands of manuscript pages of early records to collect the scraps of real history which throw light on the men who redeemed the country from the wilderness. Rich finds have sometimes been made by those who have taken the time to search. One investigator discovered in a trash barrel in the basement of the Monongalia county court house the names and locations of 1,215 of the "tomahawk rights" men who first broke the wilderness solitude in northern western Virginia. But generally little investigation has been done in a thorough and intelligent way, though many persons have skimmed the surface.

While local history has a very useful function in showing the evolution of local institutions and local life, it has a larger function to trace the relations of the local community to neighboring communities and larger regions with which its life has been connected, to trace the relation of the community to the larger life of the state and of the nation and of the world. When local life touches the larger stream of national life, local history may be employed to introduce and to illustrate national history. The most natural introduction to the knowledge of the history of the region, the state, the nation, and the world is from local environment through ever widening circles of interest along lines that vitally connect the past with the present. The annals and records and life of the most quiet neighborhood may be historically important by their connection with the progress of the nation and of the world. The local history may be advantageously studied as a contribution to national history. Almost every community in the Ohio Valley has some close and intimate connection with general history.

The history of the entire region drained by the Ohio has been one of the most important factors in our national history.

Its future significance in its relation to the rising nation was early grasped by George Washington, the surveyor of lands for frontier settlements along the South Branch of the Potomac, the messenger of English civility who asked the French to evacuate the transmontane region claimed by Virginia, the commanding officer whose men near the Monongahela fired the opening guns of the world conflict which terminated French occupation in trans-Appalachian territory and in all continental America, the great American national leader who may properly be called the first prophet and promoter of the transmontane West as well as the "Father of his Country." The trans-Appalachian streams of western Virginia contributed to making the great natural waterway to the West a historic artery of commerce—and an entering wedge to the occupation and possession of the Mississippi Valley. Early communities in trans-Appalachian headwaters and tributaries of the Ohio suggested the principles of the Ordinance of 1787, the basis of the American policy of colonial government. The problems of their early development were closely related to the most important national problems of domestic policy and of foreign relations and policies. Their difficulties and necessities forced the nation away from a narrow colonial attitude into a career of territorial expansion which provided adequate room for future growth. The possibilities and needs of this

region were among the most prominent considerations in connection with the invention of the steamboat, which became an important influence in the development of trade between the upper Ohio country and the region of expanding cotton culture in the Southwest. To secure the trade of the Ohio was the objective aim which determined the East to undertake various internal improvements for better communication with the West—improvements which later contributed largely to the preservation of the Union and the failure of the Southern secession movement.

To the larger events of history in which the upper Ohio was an important factor, almost every community of West Virginia has had some vital relation. Lord Dunmore's war was a focal point in western history and an event of national importance in which all western Virginia had a large interest. Wayne's victory in western Ohio in 1794 promptly registered its results in trans-Appalachian Virginia in the increasing activity of settlements in every part of the entire region.

The annals and records and life of the most quiet neighborhood in the state may be historically important by their connection with the progress of the nation and of the world.

For over a hundred years Morgantown, West Virginia, was only a little village, without close connection with the great thoroughfares of travel, but even in its earliest history it had a close relation to a larger life. As early as 1772 it had a boat yard for the accommodation of the western immigrants who followed the road from Winchester to Morgantown and thence continued the journey to Kentucky by the Monongahela and the Ohio. In 1791 it obtained a shorter connection with the west by a state road to the mouth of Fishing Creek, now New Martinsville. In 1826 it was first visited by steam boat and by 1830 it had regular steam boat connection with Pittsburgh. About the same time it secured better connections with the East by better road to connect with the national road.

Clarksburg, as early as 1790, enlarged its vision and its usefulness by marking a road through the wilderness to attract the Kentucky settlers, and another to the Ohio at Isaac Williams' opposite Marietta over which cattle collected at Clarksburg were driven to the new Marietta settlements. By 1798 it had a postoffice and soon thereafter was connected with Chillicothe by mail route by way of Salem, Marietta, and Athens. By 1830 it obtained a better connection with the national road which enabled merchants to reach Baltimore by horseback in six days. It obtained additional communications with the East by the construction of the Northwestern turnpike and later by the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad which was extended to Parkersburg in 1857.

The early smelting of iron on the lower parts of Cheat River was largely a local industry at first but according to tradition it furnished some of the cannon used by Perry at Lake Erie and by Jackson at New Orleans; and the later development of iron works on Cheat and the decline after 1846 were closely associated with the development and change in national tariff policy. The story of the large iron works procession twelve hundred strong, through the principal streets of the neighboring village of Morgantown in the fall of 1840 as told by an old resident presents a concrete picture of the methods of the presidential campaign of that year.

At the opening of the Civil War the Monongahela region became the theater of contending armies in a series of introductory local episodes whose significance cannot be measured by the size of the forces engaged or the extent of territory covered. The local contest centering at Grafton, West Virginia, from which McClellan drove the Confederates south to Philippi and Huttonsville had a vital and important connection with some of the chief national problems of the entire war. It prevented the Confederates from establishing their military lines along the border of Ohio and Pennsylvania which they had hoped to make the battle ground. It not only determined the control of Northwestern Virginia,

including the Western division which by its geographic position between the Ohio and the East was of inestimable value to Federal military operations throughout the war. It greatly influenced the result of later important military events of the war both at the East and at the West. It was especially important in its relation to the protection of Washington and the advance against Richmond. Last but not least it encouraged the natural movement for the formation of a new state west of the mountains, the logical conclusion of a long period of sectionalism between tide-water and trans-montane regions of the Old Dominion.

In 1885-87 the government of West Virginia under the leadership of Governor Willis Wilson urged proposed legislation to prevent the distribution of railroad passes to state officers and party delegates attending political conventions, waged a fierce and relentless war against trunk line railroads which the governor said had discriminated against the people of West Virginia in freight and passenger rates, and he called a special session of the legislature to secure regulation of rates. The story of this struggle is state history but it also illustrates a great national movement of which it is a part, resulting in 1887 in the establishment of the Inter-State Commerce Commission which has later been made more efficient by supplementary legislation to meet new conditions.

Often local history may be used to create an interest in the larger history of the nation. This is illustrated by the increased interest in the life of a man of national reputation who resided in the community or visited it. Students at West Virginia University are stimulated to take a new interest in the history in which George Washington was the leader when they find that George Washington in 1784 stopped all night three miles from our University on his return trip from a visit to his western lands, in Western Pennsylvania. The story of how Washington took up his abode in the room belonging to Gallatin, the young surveyor who slept on the floor that night, and sent to Morgantown for Zachwill Morgan is local history; but the conferences between Washington and Morgan introduce one to problems of national history, to questions of best roads between the East and West, and to plans for connection by waterways between Virginia and the Ohio which eventually found expression in the C. & O. Canal and in suggestions and plans for a canal connection with the Ohio by the James River and Kanawha route.

The naturalization of the Swiss emigrant, Albert Gallatin, at Morgantown in 1785 and his settlement a few miles below at New Geneva, which was long ahead of navigation and trade on the Monongahela, were local events through which the student may be introduced to the larger events of regional and national history in which Gallatin participated; the establishment of the first glass works west of the Alleghenies in 1796, the establishment (in 1797) of the Fayette gun factory in response to the imminent danger of war with France, his public service as secretary of the treasury under Jefferson and Madison and his diplomatic service thereafter.

Through biography, even of local personages, the prominent events or phases of national history may be introduced and studied. For the early national period, this may be illustrated by the many brief allusions to national events or conditions which are presented in the story of Peregrine Foster, an early pioneer whose descendents have been useful and representative citizens of West Virginia. Mr. Foster was born in Brookfield, Massachusetts, in 1759. As a soldier of the Revolution he witnessed the execution of Major Andre. After the war he became a lawyer at Providence, Rhode Island, but the financial conditions of the critical period, including the paper money craze, caused him great pecuniary loss and drove him to the wilderness. In the spring of 1788 he joined the Ohio Company as a surveyor. With forty-seven New Englanders he crossed the Alleghanies, followed the course of the Youghiogheny and the Monongahela to Pittsburgh and went down the Ohio by boat to Marietta where a government of the Northwest Territory was first established—three years before the settlement of Gallipolis

under the auspices of the Scioto Company. He soon returned to Rhode Island for his family. In 1793, when the government at Philadelphia was beginning its struggle for neutrality, he began again the long trip which was necessary to reach the Ohio settlements; but, alarmed at rumors which he heard of Indian dangers in the Muskingum Valley and in the Northwest, he turned aside, ascended the Monongahela and became a gloomy resident of Morgantown, Virginia (now West Virginia). At Morgantown, in spite of the depressing sentences written in his journal, he soon rose to prominence. In 1794, when he already had two unremunerative appointments from the Governor and General Assembly, he received a commission from the Governor appointing him magistrate (justice of the peace) for the county of Monongalia, an office which hardly paid enough to settle the bills for the bowls of toddy which the court and the gentlemen of the bar drank together. In 1796, perhaps as a reward for his services to the government in quieting disturbances on the Monongahela, he received an appointment as the first postmaster of the Village of Morgantown through which a post-road had been opened, in 1794, from Hagerstown via Hancock and Cumberland to Uniontown and Brownsville. After the alarming conditions northwest of the Ohio had subsided and the troubles in the Northwest and Southwest had been adjusted, and in the midst of party strife which soon resulted in the fall of his party, he moved to his original destination and soon became a settler and land-owner near Belpre, where he died in 1804 soon after the events which enabled the West to obtain free navigation to the sea, and on the eve of other events which were so soon to make the neighboring Blennerhasset Island so famous and to give to the Federal court the most prominent case which had yet arisen for their decision.

In expanded form, this story gives one glimpses of several prominent events or conditions in national history: the Rhode Island disorders of the critical period, Rhode Island opposition to the new constitution, the organization of the Northwest Territory under the Ordinance of 1787, the beginnings of the westward movement, early navigation on the Ohio, the Whisky Insurrection, social life in a frontier village, Indian difficulties and Wayne's victory, Jay's treaty and the British retirement from American border posts, the Spanish treaty of 1795, the Alien and Sedition laws, the development of Ohio into a state, and the Louisiana Purchase.

Other illustrations, many covering a much larger period, may be found by inquiry in almost every community.

The children should be taught how to study at first hand many of the things which relate to life and mankind. They may be taken to the county clerk's office to see what documents can be found relating to the early history or government of the town, or to the cemetery to read inscriptions on tombstones, or to the fields to find Indian arrows or implements, or to the scene of some battle or some other point of historic interest. They may be requested to inquire at home for old newspapers, old relics, old costumes, old weapons, or for the earlier experiences of their parents. They may be encouraged to make a collection of such things as will illustrate or illuminate the earlier periods of the life of the neighborhood. Old settlers may be invited to talk to the school concerning the hardships of earlier days, or old soldiers may be asked to tell experiences of camp and the battlefield, or men of business affairs may be requested to relate the no less interesting and more useful story of the rise and growth of industries—the story of logging and lumbering, mining and railroads.

In this way a lively interest may be awakened. Another important result may be the formation of a museum of local historical collections, which may be of use to the whole community. Such collections may include: relics and pictures of Indians, old costumes, dishes, tools, coins, weapons, etc.; photographs of citizens who have been local leaders or prominent actors in great political and economic events; old letters or

diaries, or other manuscript records of the first settlers, or the early pioneers; files of local newspapers; written accounts of the recollections of old settlers and soldiers; books or pamphlets which have any relation to the locality or to the citizens; written biographies of the first settlers, or of men and women who have been prominent in the community.

These collections and industries may prove a means of kindling historical interest in the community. The people—the town fathers, the fathers of families, and all their sons and daughters—will quickly catch the bearing of this kind of historical study, and many will be willing to encourage it—for it takes hold upon the life of the community and quickens not only pride in the past but hope for the future. By such systematic work in the most important communities of a county, it would be possible for some trained scholar with the modern, scientific, historical spirit, to write a good history of the county. And by such systematic work in all the counties of the state, it would be possible to collect the materials for a good history of the state.

Heretofore the use of local history in the education of children has been very unsystematic, and unfruitful of results commensurate with its possibilities and value. The history department of the University several years ago submitted to the superintendents of schools in the principal towns in West Virginia a series of special questions concerning the status of instruction in local history in their schools. The replies received indicate that local history has usually meant state history and that it has been taught in the eighth grade—sometimes as an elective in the senior year of the high school—with a text, either as a separate study or in connection with United States history and composition. At Bluefield, it is also taught incidentally in the lower grades. In some instances, as at Parkersburg, some attention is given to local industrial and economic conditions. In very few instances has there been any attempt to utilize the history of the community in the schools. This is largely due to the lack of materials in available form.

Such materials might properly be made available through the careful efforts of historical students either acting independently or identifying themselves with the local historical organizations. In some instances local organizations or public spirited citizens of means may be willing to appropriate money to meet the situation. By systematic planning and cooperation all necessary materials for illustrating the development of each community may be obtained.

College departments of history should endeavor to find a means of interesting advanced history students in the field of local history and to enlist them in some phase of local history activity which, under the direction of trained instructors might result (1) in the preparation of useful articles for publication in the newspapers or magazines, (2) in the encouragement of more efficient and valuable research in local history, and (3) in some intelligent plan for the collection of local history in a form suitable for use in the schools of our towns and rural communities.

Beginning in 1903, the department of history at West Virginia University has offered a seminar course on the history of West Virginia—exclusively for advanced history students who are able to pursue cooperative investigation in social, economic, political and constitutional development. Such students are given some training in scientific methods of historical research, interpretation and construction, and are encouraged to prepare monographs or briefer articles which will have some permanent historical value. They are taught especially the use of census reports, the documentary material of the state government, old newspaper files and other materials to which they can obtain access at the University library. Efforts are also made to collect materials from other parts of the state. In several instances, students have pursued investigations which required an examination of materials in the department of state archives and history at Charleston.

Since 1906, other efforts have been made to encourage the study of West Virginia local state history, and, incidentally, the collection of old

manuscripts, old newspapers, old tools, old maps, old family letters or other historical records which might be of use in securing historical data. In 1909, the head of the department of history published and distributed a suggestive outline for use in the collection and study of local history.

The investigations by advanced students of the University have continued to increase in amount and value, resulting in the completion of several monographs, some of which have been published.

In several instances the work at the University or suggestions and encouragement from the University, has resulted in useful local historical activities in different parts of the state—such as the publication of the Making of Marion County through cooperative studies at the Fairmont High School under direction of Miss Dora Lee Newman, and the publication of an excellent history of Lewis County prepared by Edward C. Smith.

Could not some plan be devised by which local historical societies, or the state department of archives and history, would plan their work regularly with a view of aiding teachers and advanced students of American history either in collecting or in publishing? It has too frequently happened that there has not been sufficient contact and cooperation between our institutions of learning and the state or local historical societies. Though occasionally the college instructor consults important documents of the society to aid him in his seminar work, there is no close relation which should exist between the chair of history and the society. What can be done to remedy this situation?

A state or local historical society, or a state department of archives and history, has a wide field of possible activities. Its functions may include: the collection and preservation of historical material, printed and manuscript, public and private; the maintenance of a library and a museum, and perhaps an attractive portrait gallery; the publication of original material and monographs; encouragement of special researches in history; the maintenance of courses of historical lectures; participation in the celebration of local and national events, and in movements for civic betterment or various phases of civic life; aid in the diffusion of historical knowledge; the arousal and maintenance of public interest in local history.

In order to attain its greatest useful development a local historical society should not have too narrow conception of its functions. While the reason for its existence is local history, it should take an active interest in the larger life of the nation with respect to which many topics of local history have their greatest significance. It may become deadened by too close adherence to subjects which have no interest for anybody outside the community. Its meetings may become the property of a few fossilized antiquarians, and unattended by its sustaining members. It cannot hope that its members or its proteges will deal with local history rightly unless their minds are trained in larger American history and can see quickly the relation of their problems to the history which explains them and gives them significance. With the increase of intercommunication, it must especially endeavor to avoid "fussy fossilized local antiquarianism" and to look chiefly to the larger features of local history or to "American history locally exemplified." It must not use its research and publication funds to further the purposes of those who devote their time to searches for genealogies "to prove their right to entrance into the charmed circle of the Sons of This or the Daughters of That."

Its most valuable function is the encouragement of the collection, preservation, preparation and publication of material illustrating different phases of the history of the state or smaller localities, or its connection with the larger history of the nation and the world.

It should be strenuous in the solicitation of all kinds of historical material. It must endeavor to induce private possessors of documentary material and historical relics, to contribute their possessions to the collections of the society. Through its field work it must endeavor to obtain from those pioneers who have recollections worth recording,

detailed narratives of their experiences, of their memories of public men, of the conduct of public affairs, of the social and economic conditions of early times, of course, with full recognition of the limitations of such testimony—gathering documentary materials from persons who will yield readily to appeals by post; getting in touch with early settlers at their periodical gatherings; investigating and securing records of archaeological discoveries; interesting the newspapers and high school teachers in local history, and, in general, awakening within the community an historical consciousness.

A state historical society, or department of archives and history, should be in a position to assist investigators in special fields of local history. To this end it should prepare suitable catalogues, calendars and indexes to facilitate the examination of its most valuable materials, and employ trained custodians who can render intelligent assistance to investigators. It should also prepare and publish lists, and valuations or general descriptions of various county or municipal records which have not been collected. It might undertake the compilation of a suitable guide to materials for the study of local history in all parts of the state. It should encourage the preparation of monographic studies by advanced students in history, and should consult with the college or university departments of history in regard to the preparation of its publications. It should endeavor especially to enlist the interest of students and others who have had special training in history and allied subjects, and who, therefore, have broader historical views than the antiquarians and genealogists whose contributions so often have no practical benefit. It might afford to subsidize the services of trained students of history to prepare monographs which have a special value, or to write local history in a form suitable for use in the schools, or to direct researches for the collection of materials needed in the library. It might also be able to develop a general information bureau which would be of great practical value in responding to calls for statistical or historical facts.

It should make itself useful not only in encouraging historical research and study, but also in providing for the diffusion of the results of this research and study. It should publish original materials selected with intelligence, arranged systematically and ably edited with finished scholarship; and also valuable contributions by active and resourceful members, or local citizens, or isolated students who desire to cooperate in this kind of work through the local press or local societies and local clubs. Many of these studies, connected in some way with the life of the community, it may use to quicken that life to higher consciousness. If a student, a teacher, a leader of industry or a statesman prepares a paper or delivers an address on some phase of local history, or on some social question, which has a general interest or permanent value, it should encourage him to print it in the local paper or in a local magazine, perhaps in an educational journal, or in pamphlet form. It should also maintain a close touch with the newspaper press and inspire the local journals to publish series of articles on local history. It should cultivate a sound historical interest among the people and should be of practical value to the people.

Unfortunately, while the researches in local history have often been made by local investigators who strolled at random, without any regard to the tenets of historical scholarship, sometimes performing some valuable service, but more often treating isolated subjects of no practical value, the work in the department of history in the colleges and universities has been largely occupied with instruction in the general historical culture which every student should have before he can specialize in a narrower field. Could not the work of historical societies, or state departments of archives and history, and of the college or university departments of history, be readjusted to the benefit of both? After college students have received some training in digesting original material and in weighing evidence, the department could assign them work on the preparation of a thesis which would enable them to secure some experience in original investigation in some field of local history and thus

arouse their interest to pursue further work of this kind after the close of their college courses. It is highly desirable that local history should be written by those who have had sufficient training to enable them to give the power setting for a local event. It seems desirable therefore that college or university departments of history should make a special effort to induce seniors, who have had proper preparation, to pursue a seminar course in which they can secure special training in the preparation of some special study of local history under the personal supervision and direction of well trained instructors. In this way trained students from different communities may be able to arouse a widespread and increased interest in local history which may result in the organization of live local historical associations and the preparation of a series of monographs on local history whose publication will be immediately beneficial to the people of the state. In this way there may be hope that the local field which has heretofore been neglected or left in the hands of untrained workers will be occupied by carefully directed students who approach their work with the broad spirit of those who have a knowledge of the historical development of mankind and are not liable to fall into the absurd conclusions or mistakes of those who work with the merely antiquarian spirit.

CHAPTER II

SURVEY OF LANDMARKS

Historically West Virginia occupies a unique place among the American commonwealths, and at the same time it has a history which in many ways illustrates the larger life of the nation with which it has an intimate connection at many points.

Its earliest settlements along the Potomac above the mouth of the Shenandoah, possibly as early as 1726, were encouraged by the Old Dominion partly as a protection of older settlements against the Indians. Its trans-Allegheny territory, under the early claims of the Old Dominion largely controlled the upper Ohio which was the key to the West in the final Anglo-French struggle for control. Its early frontiersmen, plain and self-reliant—the forerunners of a mighty tide of immigration far greater in energy than in numbers which burst the barriers of the Alleghanies—formed the rear guard of the Revolution and the flying squadron of the nation.

Along its borders or across its wings or on routes across its interior, it felt the pulse of the mighty westward movement. "The early emigration which passed by the West Virginia hills and valleys and moved on west where land was level and the prairies treeless, threw away opportunities which some of their grandchildren are now returning to take at an increased cost of a thousand per cent."

West Virginia is the only state formed as a result of the sectionalism which existed in every state crossed by the Appalachians. It is the only case in which the sectional history within every state with an Appalachian frontier reached its logical result.

Its destiny to form a separate state was partly determined by its topography and the direction of the flow of its rivers, and partly by the character of its people. Its political destiny was greatly influenced by the construction of the Baltimore and Ohio railroad which opened a market and began a new era of development, and besides facilitating travel was a large factor in the military strategy of the Civil War and the continued integrity of the American Union.

In the Civil War its destiny was closely related to the problem of preserving the integrity of the American Union. It has a strategic position of unusual importance, especially in relation to connections between the Middle West and the capitol at Washington. At the beginning of the war, its loyalty to the Union prevented Lee from establishing along the borders of Ohio and Pennsylvania the main Confederate battle line of defense. Later, through the importance of the Baltimore and Ohio railroad, it helped to control the strategy of campaigns both in the East and in the Middle South. Its destiny largely determined the question of suitable facilities for transportation of troops and supplies between East and Middle West by the most direct route.

In the work of re-enfranchisement of Confederates after the Civil War, West Virginia occupies a peculiar place. She accomplished through two parties what in other states had been accomplished by one party—a complete removal of suffrage disabilities imposed for participation in the secession movement against the Union. The work, instituted by the liberal wing of one party, was carried to completion by the other.

Two centuries ago the region of the eastern panhandle first felt the touch of civilization, largely through migrations from the occupied valleys of Pennsylvania, southeastward across Maryland via Frederick on

the historic route which continued up the Shenandoah and beyond its headwaters through passes to the trans-Allegheny West.

Naturally the region between the Blue Ridge and the Alleghenies was settled before the region beyond the formidable Allegheny barrier. But the occupation of the one led to the mastery of the barrier and to the occupation of the other territory whose rivers formed another drainage system.

The early events of the history of Virginia's transmontane history, although they probably attracted little attention at the time, and were scarcely understood in their larger significance even by participants, were important in their relations to the future problems in the establishment and growth of the nation.

The story of the exploration, settlement and development of the trans-Appalachian region constitutes one of the most fascinating chapters of American history. Its beginnings are filled with thrilling incidents in relation to Indians, who, although they did not have their home in the region between the Alleghenies and the Ohio when white men came to occupy it, long continued to visit it on excursions (incursions) from their tribal camps west of the Ohio. Prominent in the pioneer work of establishing the new frontier were the Scotch Irish. Led by Virginians who were inspired by the movement of settlement which advanced westward from the Shenandoah to the South Branch, and coincident with the growth of population in the region which was almost ready to become Hampshire county, they took the initiative which precipitated the great Anglo-French struggle for a continent—a struggle which began by collisions between the frontiersmen of rival nations along the upper Ohio and settled the national destiny of the West. At the close of the struggle, from which they emerged with a new stimulus born of victory, and with a determination unrestrained by proclamations of the King or the colonial governor, they advanced from the ease and security of older settlements into the trans-Allegheny wilds, steadily pushed back the frontier and the Indians, and in the heart of the wilderness established their homes on many streams whose fate had recently hung in the balance. Here, they turned to the conquest and subjugation of the primeval forest which the Indians had sought to retain unconquered. Although a mere handful of riflemen, they served as the immovable rear guard of the Revolution, securely holding the mountain passes and beating back the rear assaults of savage bands which might otherwise have carried torch and tomahawk to the seaboard settlements. At the same time they served as the advance guard of western civilization hewing out paths across the mountain barrier and experimenting with the difficulties and opportunities of the wilderness.

The story of the settlement of every early community is full of the heroic deeds of these plain, modest, uncelebrated men of the struggling common people—men who sought no praise and achieved no great fame, who were not conscious of their own greatness, but who were always ready for any service which was needed to maintain an advancing frontier. Out of many springs among the hills emerged at last the irresistible current of their strength. They toiled not in vain. While building homes in the wilderness, far from the tidewater East against which they were later forced to struggle for political and social rights, they were raising the framework of a self-governing state destined to play an important part in the history of the nation.

The new inducements to settlement, increasing after the battle of Point Pleasant in 1774, and receiving a new stimulus at the close of the Revolution, produced a rapid expansion movement which resulted by 1790 in a total trans-Allegheny population of over 50,000 people widely separated into many detached, isolated local groups, intensely individualistic in spirit, and with frontier conditions which, in the absence of transportation facilities to develop the vast resources of the region, were little fitted to develop unity of action or co-operation.

In several sections the means of communication with the world de-

veloped earlier than one might expect under frontier conditions. Before 1790 steps had been taken to widen the chief pack-horse trails from the East into wagon roads. By 1786 a state road was opened from Winchester via Romney to Morgantown, and by legislative act of 1786 a branch wagon road was authorized from a point on the Morgantown road near Cheat. As early as 1788, the trail from Winchester via St. George and Philippi to Clarksburg was called a "state road," although still only the "Pringle Pack road." In 1789 a road was opened westward from Clarksburg to the Ohio opposite Marietta. In 1791 (by authority of an act of 1786) an extension of the Morgantown road was opened from Morgantown to the mouth of Fishing creek (now New Martinsville). An extension from Morgantown to the mouth of Graves creek was authorized in 1795. About 1790, by act of 1785, the old Kanawha trail westward from Lewisburg to the navigable waters of the Kanawha was widened for wagons and by 1800 a state road, located along the general route of the old trail, was opened to the Ohio. By 1797 there were in the territory later formed into West Virginia eight postoffices, of which four were located east of the Alleghenies (at Martinsburg, Shepherdstown, Romney, and Moorefield). Communication of trans-Allegheny Virginia with the East and the world was facilitated by the creation of postoffices at Morgantown and at Wheeling in 1794 (six years later than Pittsburgh), at Greenbrier Court House and West Liberty by 1797, at Clarksburg in 1798, at Union in 1800 and at Charleston in 1801. The first post road to Morgantown, excepting a post route established by the *Pittsburgh Gazette* in 1793, was opened in 1794 from Hagerstown, Maryland via Hancock and Cumberland, and continued from Morgantown to Uniontown (Pennsylvania) and Brownsville (Pennsylvania). About the same time, a post road was opened from Morgantown across southwestern Pennsylvania to Wheeling.

By 1795 mail boats on the Ohio were carrying mail between Wheeling and Cincinnati and after 1796 additional facilities for communication with the West were secured by a land route known as Zane's Trace, via Zanesville, Lancaster and Chillicothe, Ohio, to the Ohio at Limestone, Kentucky, (now Maysville). Probably the next mail route from the East was opened in 1798 via Gandy's (in Preston county) to Clarksburg and later continued via Salem to Marietta, Athens and Chillicothe. By 1801 another horseback route was established from Lewisburg to Charleston. It was extended westward from Charleston to Scioto Salt Works by 1804 and to Chillicothe by 1807.

In the transmontane region the first local newspapers appeared quite early—only fourteen years after the establishment of the first local paper in the older settled region of the Potomac. The oldest paper within the limits of the state was the *Potomac Guardian* and *Berkeley Advertiser,* started at Martinsburg in 1789, and not as large as its title might suggest. In the Monongahela valley the first paper, the *Monongalia Gazette* was established at Morgantown in 1803 eighteen years after the establishment of the *Pittsburgh Gazette* and six years after the founding of the *Fayette Gazette* at Uniontown, Pennsylvania, and four years after the appearance of the *Martinsburg Gazette* (the second newspaper established in the eastern panhandle). The second paper in the Monongahela valley, the *Bystander* was started at Clarksburg in 1810. The first local paper at Wheeling, the *Repository,* was published in 1807, seven years before the appearance of a local paper at Wellsburg (the *Charlestown Gazette*). In the Kanawha, the first paper (the *Spectator*) appeared considerably later—in 1818 or 1819. Although the majority of the periodical publications which were started in West Virginia before the civil war were ephemeral the number in existence in 1860 (according to Virgil A. Lewis) was forty-three—including three Wheeling dailies.

Gradually, with the extension of agricultural clearings made by steady and laborious work aided by axe and fire, there emerged the

larger problems of improvements in communication, transportation, and industry, accompanied by an increase of refinement and culture and a growing sectional opposition against the political domination of tidewater Virginia. An era of larger industrial development, foreshadowed by the construction of several turnpikes from the East to the Ohio, was begun by the completion of the first railroad to the Ohio early in 1853 after a series of triumphs over the difficulties of the mountains.

The work of constructing these roads brought to the region new elements of population which had a large influence on the later development of the state.

Considering the different elements of population, different features of territory, and different interests, the formation of the new state by separation from the mother state (suggested even in the revolutionary period under conditions which gave birth to Kentucky), was the logical and inevitable result of the half century of sectional controversy between East and West in regard to inequalities under the constitution of 1776. These inequalities were only partially remedied by the constitutional conventions of 1829-30 and 1850-51—although the latter made large democratic departures from the earlier dominating influences of the tidewater aristocracy in the government, illustrated by the change from appointment to election of state and county officers. The secession of Virginia from the Union only furnished the occasion and the opportunity to accomplish by legal fiction and revolutionary process an act toward which nature and experience had already indicated and prepared the way.

The first steps toward separation of western Virginia from the mother state were taken by the irregular Wheeling convention of May 13, 1861, (composed of 425 delegates from 25 counties), ten days before the election in which the western counties decided against secession by vote of 40,000 to 4,000. A second irregular convention, which met June 11, nullified the Virginia ordinance of secession, vacated the offices of the state government at Richmond, formed the "Reorganized" government of Virginia, elected F. H. Pierpont to act as governor; and, two months later (August 20), made provisions for a popular vote on the formation of a new state, and for a third convention to frame a constitution. Members of the legislature elected from the western counties met at Wheeling on July 1, and, calling themselves the Virginia legislature, proceeded to fill the remainder of the state offices. After organizing the state government, they selected two United States senators who were promptly recognized at Washington as senators from Virginia.

The popular election of October 24 resulted in a vote of 18,489 to 781 in favor of the new state. A third convention, in which forty-one counties were represented, met at Wheeling on November 26; and, on February 18, 1862, it completed a constitution which was ratified early in April by a vote of 18,162 to 514.

The new state, erected by consent of the "Reorganized" government of Virginia (representing forty-eight western counties) and by the consent of Congress, revised its constitution (February, 1863) to meet the conditions of Congress requiring gradual abolition of slavery, and under the President's proclamation of April 20 was admitted to the Union on June 20, 1863.

In the crisis in which the state was born there were serious sectional differences. The strong sympathy for the Confederacy in the southern and eastern sections resulted in a sad state of disorder—illustrated in 1864 by the governor's report that in the extreme southern counties it was still impracticable to organize civil authority, and that in fourteen counties there were no sheriffs or other collectors of taxes "because of the danger incident thereto."

Even at the close of the war the new state was confronted by various conditions which seriously threatened its integrity and independence. In 1866, it rejected the overtures of Virginia for reunion and secured the recognition of Congress in favor of its claim to Berkeley and Jeffer-

son counties, which had been annexed in 1863 by legal forms and were finally awarded by decision of the United States supreme court in 1871.

The new state inherited from Virginia a boundary dispute with Maryland which was not settled until 1912, and it soon became involved with Virginia in a debt dispute which was partially decided by the supreme court of the United States in 1911 and finally settled by a decision of 1915 resulting in a judgment against West Virginia for nearly $12,400,000.

Beginning its existence without a permanent capital, without any of the usual state institutions, excepting a lunatic asylum, and without proper executive agencies to secure the general welfare, the state promptly turned to solve the problems of its institutional and social needs, including the establishment of a system of public schools, normal schools and a state university. Executive agencies for inspection and regulation were developed rather slowly.

The struggle against obstacles interposed by nature and against difficulties resulting from sectional differences and policies was a long one requiring persistent effort and energy.

The first period of reconstruction closed with a victory of the Democrats in 1870, and the adoption of a new constitution in 1872. For over a quarter century the Democrats retained political control, although their majority steadily declined after 1880 and became a minority in 1896. Sectional divergences disappeared in the growing unity resulting from industrial integration and the expansion of improved communication.

The political revolution could not check the steadily growing economic revolution, which since 1872 has largely changed the industrial and social character of the state. The largest chapter in the history of the state is that relating to the great industrial awakening, which had its origin largely in the increasing demand for timber, coal, oil and gas, and was especially influenced by inducements for the construction of railroads and for the establishment of certain manufacturers for which a portion of the state furnishes a clean, cheap fuel. Almost every county felt the effects of the great transformation resulting from the extension of transportation facilities, the arrival of many immigrants from neighboring states and from foreign countries, and the opening of new industries which have precipitated a series of new problems not yet solved.

The entire state has been changed, both in conditions of life and habits of the people. Its development in material wealth in the last decade of the nineteenth century and the first two decades of the twentieth century, far exceeding all expectations, has surprised the world. Industrial development has largely been due to construction of railroads which now parallel all the chief rivers and connect all the chief industrial sections with great industrial centers outside of the state. It has also been encouraged by improvement of waterways. Lumbering and associated industries have had a large influence upon changes in the condition of life in several parts of the state. Manufacturing from feeble beginnings became one of the most important industries. Agriculture has passed from the stage of mere subsistence to that of business production for the markets. Fruit growing in recent years has made a remarkable advance, both in methods and in increase of production.

The organized development of the petroleum industry in West Virginia, including the evolution of boring the wells and improvements for storage and transportation of the product is full of interest and one of the most instructive chapters in American industrial history. With it is associated the equally interesting story of natural gas development which became active after beginning of systematic search in 1882 and after 1906 gave West Virginia first rank among all the states in gas production—a rank which was retained until 1914 when Oklahoma captured it.

Coal mining which had scarcely begun before the civil war has steadily increased in activity since the nineties and has been the chief basis of great changes in community life—especially in the southern part of the state and along the Monongahela. The increasing importance of the coal industry after 1888 indicated the need of state regulatory legislation which was begun in 1890 by the creation of the office of chief mine inspector and continued later by new provisions for protection against mine explosions and for improvement of mining conditions. In coal production the state reached second rank in the United States in 1909, but temporarily fell back to third in 1920.

The days of great achievement apparently have not ended. A great resource of water-power has scarcely been touched. Another resource, the natural scenery of the state, which has been poorly appreciated at home and not enough known elsewhere, has recently become a greater source of enjoyment, and, with the extension of good roads, is becoming more and more a source of profit through increasing travel and extension of summer resorts.

As a result of the development of vast resources, especially coal and oil, the character of the population has greatly changed by a larger influx, first from Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia and Ohio, and later from Europe, and the opportunities for moral and intellectual development have greatly increased.

In the orderly development of the early communities of the western wilds, in the maintenance of proper social and moral standards in neighborhood life, in the continued growth of moral and spiritual ideals both in the earlier periods of isolation and struggle for subsistence and in the recent years of railway facilities and material wealth, the church and the faith of the fathers have been prominent civilizing factors. The various church organizations, although they long struggled against poverty, have grown in material wealth, and have improved both in doctrine and in usefulness.

The development of the state educationally in two decades has attracted the attention of other states, and in some instances has furnished examples of special features which have been adopted elsewhere. The development of high schools was a prominent feature after 1909. At the University, in the decade from 1909-10 to 1919-20, the enrollment of candidates for degrees increased from 800 to 1,596, and the total enrollment increased from 1,200 to 2,800 (or to 1,992 exclusive of short course students).

In recent years citizens of the state have given some attention to problems of economy and conservation, the importance of which has finally been impressed upon them by the evils resulting from the long period of exploitation and waste. Gradually, and more rapidly in recent years the state has extended its functions of inspection and regulation in response to necessities arising from new conditions.

A study of the long struggle for the possession and settlement of the trans-Allegheny region now included in West Virginia, the efforts to obtain communication with the larger world, the sources of widening sectional differences which prepared the way for the formation of a separate state for which the civil war furnished the occasion, the social and political problems which confronted the new state in the period of reconstruction after the war, and the factors and rapidly changing conditions of the recent industrial revolution impresses one with the fact that earlier ideals and earlier problems of government have greatly changed.

We owe a debt of gratitude to the self-reliant pioneers who served as the rear guard of the Revolution or as the advance guard of the Republic, to the later patriots who founded the mountain state with its eastern arm stretched out in defense of the national capital, and to the pioneers of the recent industrial development who, with foresight and confidence, and at great initial cost, opened the way to new enterprise.

They toiled not in vain. The result of their work is our valuable heritage.

We owe also a duty to the present and to the future. If we have the spirit of the fathers we shall not allow blind veneration of the crystallized results of old issues, nor adherence to mere forms and meaningless shibboleths, nor the invidious and menacing ways of invisible lobbies of predatory interests, to block our progress in meeting the vital issues of a new age.

A deep realization of the struggle by which we obtained our liberties and our institutions is the firmest basis for a true patriotism and good citizenship, which finds its expression not in glittering generalities, but in an earnest effort to aid in the proper adjustment of wrong conditions and the solution of pressing problems. Revering the fathers, who in face of dangers paved the way for our liberties and our prosperity, we must also be alert to understand present duties. The experience of the past has shown that eternal vigilance is the price of liberty, and that a constant and intelligent interest and participation in public affairs is the surest safeguard to the preservation of self government.

The people of each generation have some new issues to meet. Those of the present, still maintaining what the fathers won, are struggling to secure social and industrial justice by righteous adjustments of evils which under changed conditions have resulted from the exploitive and wasteful race for riches in a period dominated by great (and often nonresident) captains of industry into whose hands the supply of natural resources have rapidly been absorbed without a fair return for the support of institutions which will be needed by the people long after the larger part of the wealth of forest and mine has been removed. In this period the early pioneer ideals of squatter sovereignty and the unregulated exploitation of "development" have broken down, and by force of necessity are being replaced by the more recent ideal of social control through regulation by law—to secure the general welfare by placing restrictions on modern industrial captains and the rapacious industrial wolves and sharks and promoters of frenzied finance whose economic and political ideals have produced anomalous conditions for which the highest political intelligence of the state is urged to find and apply a remedy.

In seeking a defense for its continued existence, the new democracy can find it in the ability to secure the execution of an enlightened opinion through officials with functions adequate to grapple with existing conditions. It must secure legislation to curtail the special privileges of the strong, to protect the weak from injustice and inequalities, and to guard the interests of all. It must seek to make law the mother of freedom for all, maintaining a definite minimum of civilized life in the interest of the community (as well as the individual), a minimum of sanitation (and protection from accidents and frauds), a minimum of education, a minimum of leisure and of subsistence, and a minimum of efficiency in local governing bodies. It must select leaders with high standards of practical government and honest politics, with high and broad ideals of what constitutes service to the state, and with a dominant standard of success higher than the mere amassing of great wealth for the aggrandizement of the individual regardless of the conditions of its cost or of the civilization which results.

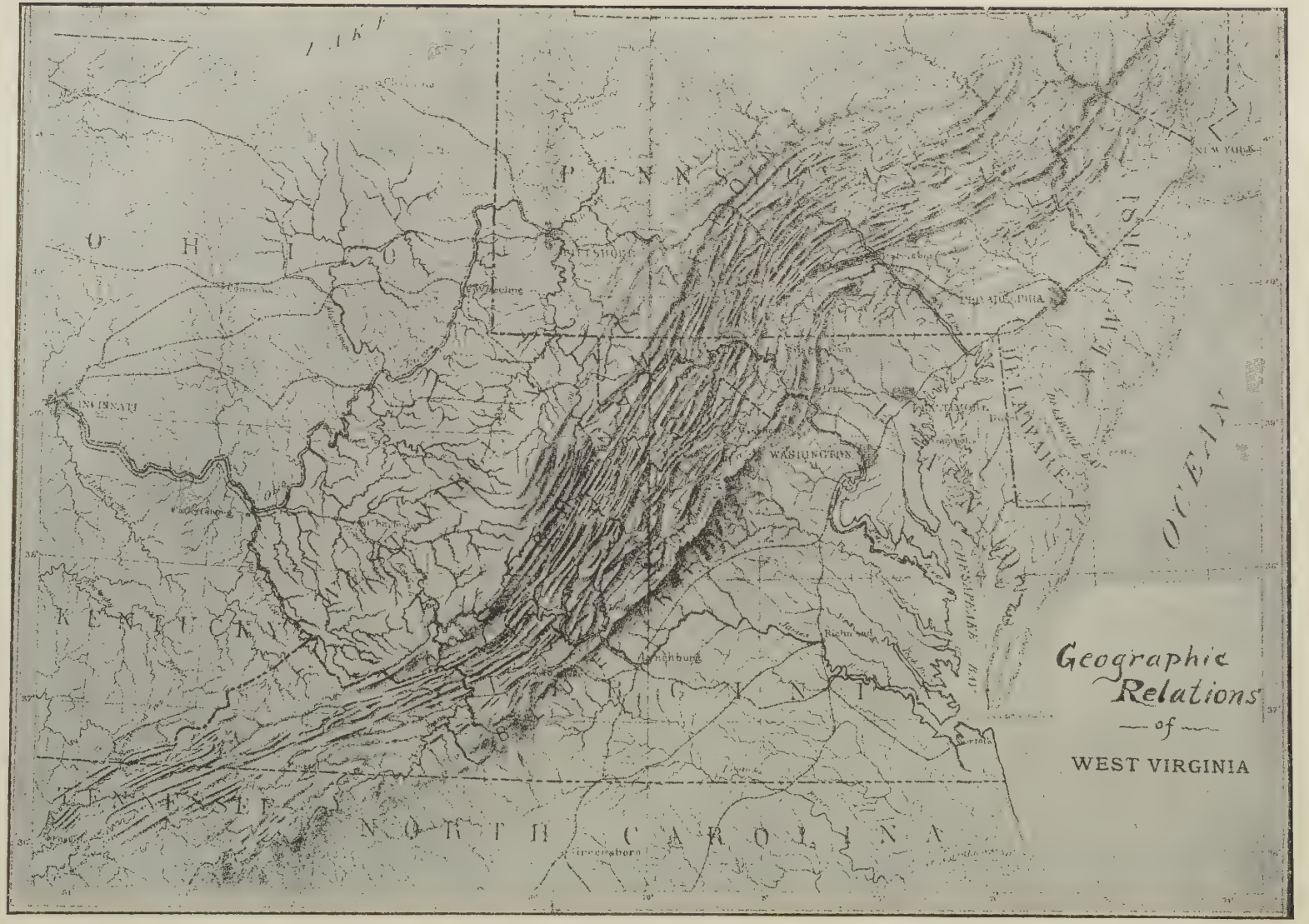
The great problems are no longer the appropriation and exploitation of natural resources such as confronted the solitary backwoodsman sinking his axe into the edge of a measureless forest. The earlier pioneer ideals, determined by experience under frontier conditions and followed by those who laid the foundations of the state—ideals of conquest and personal development unrestricted by social and governmental restraint—have recently been modified greatly by the changed economic and social conditions of an era dominated by triumphant captains of industry who regard themselves simply as pioneers of a new era chopping new clearings for larger business, seizing new strategic positions

for power sites or dam sites, and opening the way to new enterprises. They have broken down everywhere in the larger competitions and struggles terminating in cannibalistic absorptions, and in trust formations to fight new industrial battles. The new conditions, born of the struggles of a past whose life has almost vanished, have brought new problems which must be met and solved by new struggles—through methods of investigation, education and legislation. "It is only through labor and painful effort, by grim energy and resolute courage that we move on to better things."

The pioneer clearing is broadening into a field in which all that is worthy of human endeavor may find a fertile soil to grow; and the new democracy, through law and government, is beginning to exact from the constructive geniuses, who sprang from the loins of pioneer democracy, a supreme allegiance and devotion to the common weal. The people of the state, with increasing determination to preserve the heritage which remains, have begun to initiate proper legislation to restrict the evils of an era of unregulated exploitation, often under non-resident management, which has subordinated public welfare to private greed.

"The future holds great promise and also grave responsibility for the wise and conservative solution of far-reaching economic problems."

The past, although dead and gone if considered as a series of isolated events, is still living and with us in the reservoired results of evolutions marked by series of connected events. The past lives in the present and is the guide to the future. Past experience is the best light to guide our feet in the next forward step.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Petersburg
Lynchburg
Greensboro
DELAWARE BAY
CHESAPEAKE BAY
ATLANTIC OCEAN
Geographic Relations
of
WEST VIRGINIA

CHAPTER III

GEOGRAPHICAL CONDITIONS

"The earth is the mother of all, and the stones are her bones."

Man is a product of the earth's surface. This means not merely that he is a child of the earth, dust of her dust; but that the earth has mothered him, fed him, set him tasks, directed his thoughts, confronted him with difficulties that have strengthened his body and sharpened his wits, given him his problems of navigation or irrigation, and at the same time whispered hints for their solution. She has entered into his bone and tissue, into his mind and soul. On the mountains she has given him leg muscles of iron to climb the slope.

The character and progress of a people are influenced by the soil on which they live. The life of the inhabitants of a region is largely determined by the character of the hills over which they roam or of the fields on which they toil. Geological influences, both through the formation of soils and through deposits of rich mineral resources have greatly influenced the industry of people and the course of history. Different rocks or soils determine the location of different industries. In the region where the Medina sandstone and Pottsville conglomerate appear above the drainage, the people (few in number) have poor soil, bad roads, few schools and fewer churches, and their principal occupations are hunting, fishing, small farming, and possibly lumbering. In the region of limestone surface the people have good soil, good roads, and better schools and churches, and are prosperous farmers and stock raisers or fruit growers.

Man can no more be scientifically studied apart from the ground which he tills, or the lands over which he travels, or the seas over which he trades, than polar bear or desert cactus can be understood apart from its habitat. Man's relations to his environment are infinitely more numerous and complex than those of the most highly organized plant or animal. So complex are they that they constitute a legitimate and necessary object of special study. Man has been so noisy about the way he has "conquered Nature," and nature has been so silent in her persistent influence over man, that the geographic factor in the equation of human development has been overlooked.

Mountain regions discourage the budding of genius because they are areas of isolation, confinement, remote from the great currents of men and ideas that move along the river valleys. They are regions of much labor and little leisure, of poverty to-day and anxiety for the morrow, of toil-cramped hands and toil-dulled brains. In the fertile alluvial plains are wealth, leisure, contact with many minds and large urban centers where commodities and ideas are exchanged.

In all democratic or representative forms of government permitting free expression of popular opinion, division into political parties tends to follow geographical lines of cleavage. In the Civil War the dividing line between North and South did not always run east and west. The men of the mountainous area of the southern Appalachians supported the Union and drove a wedge of disaffection into the heart of the South. Mountainous West Virginia was politically opposed to the tidewater plains of old Virginia, because slave labor did not pay on the barren upright farms of the Cumberland Plateau.

History is not intelligible without geography. Its course is very largely influenced by geographic facts—controls and responses—and

especially so among primitive peoples ignorant of this influence of physical environment over their destinies. That the destinies of men are very largely determined by their environment is admitted now even by those who have firmly insisted on believing in the doctrine of free will. Their food is determined by climate, their occupations are fixed by physical features, their ideas and beliefs are suggested or colored by the aspects of nature. Even the character of a given race is the resultant of geographic influences and other influences operating parallel or contrary or in succession.

Geography forms the basis of history and often determines its trend. Mountain passes determine the routes of migrations and the location of earliest settlement in newly discovered regions. Rivers were the first highways into the interior and river valleys and indicated the lines of least resistance for later commercial highways. Geological formations, or breaks in transportation, determine the place of industrial centers and towns. An ancient upward fold or anticlinal fracture of the earth's crust, worn away by the scouring of a glacier or the erosion of water may determine the industrial life of a region by bringing the coal measures to the surface and exposing them as "outcrops" which attract drift miners.

The relief affects the movements of the air, thus influencing temperature and the rainfall. The climate and the weather influences the health and energy of people and thereby influences their character. The temperature, humidity, wind, sunshine, barometric pressure, and, perhaps, atmospheric electricity and amount of ozone, affects everybody. An invigorating climate stimulates industry, sobriety, self-control and honesty. It is one of the conditions which promote civilization. West Virginia is in the zone of high climatic energy. The early task of clearing its forests by work in the cool bracing autumn or in winter and the later task of subduing the weeds and sprouts, was child's play compared with the clearing of an equatorial forest.

In addition to the relatively constant physical features of location, land forms and water bodies, and the more variable but relatively constant feature of soils and minerals and the still more variable feature of climate which constitute physical environment, human life is affected by certain geographic variables such as the migration of harmful animals and plants. Man is influenced by migration of destructive insects such as locusts, chinch bugs and boll weevil, and of destructive plants such as the daisy and the Scotch thistle, or parasitic fungi such as wheat rust and potato blight. He is also influenced by a geographic environment of microscopic migrating creatures known as bacteria which by their insidious attacks—subject to conditions of climate, ventilation, and food—produce devastating epidemics of contagious human diseases such as influenza.

Geographical surroundings have a strong influence on political conditions. Each of its various climates may cause conflicting sectional interests, and political differences or determine political policies. Location may result in particular prejudices or special interests which dominate political questions. Relief may result in lines of cleavage. The relief of the Appalachians influenced political allegiance and was a powerful factor in determining the fate of the Southern secession movement. Rich mineral deposits give rise to the political problems of ownership or of taxation. Climate, by determining crops, has a strong effect on political relations. Illogical boundaries may be a source of political troubles. In international relations, geographical conditions determine direction of national expansion into adjacent territory unless restrained or controlled by the power of concerted international action.

According to Herbert Spencer, life is largely a process of establishing an equilibrium with environment. Man is a creature of the earth. He battles with his environment, responds to its influence and eventually adjusts himself to it or is driven from it. Only by wise and

intelligent adjustment to physiographic conditions can he succeed best in industrial life. The wisest adjustment is coincident with the highest success. Without proper interpretation of natural conditions of environment, he fails.

The steady operation of geographic causes in history have been little altered by human counteraction. The mountains, which have lost their mystery, still form a barrier which affects the convenience of every traveler. Although by arts and industries man can promote natural resources to greater usefulness and harness nature to serve civilization, he cannot ignore nor defy the conditions of environment which restrict him. Although by intellectual alertness, which marks progress in civilization, he can modify or reorganize his environment, he cannot annihilate it. Possibly by the abandonment of the wheat in-

Cheat River View, Near Squirrel Rock

dustry, he can exterminate the chinch bug in his own narrow territory, but in starting other crops he finds other conditions necessitating constant warfare or new adjustments. Although he can utilize for a railroad the grade established along a river by centuries of the work of excavation by nature, and although by great dams he can divert and harness part of the water of the river to the work of great power plants, he cannot hope to resist the steady working of the great natural forces and their boundless effects on history. Although by inventions he may increase human activities which finally assume the nature of geographical control, he is in all such cases guided and controlled by nature which must favor human undertaking if success is attained.

The desire for improvement in the condition of life has been the chief motive of human progress. For this purpose man has broken down the barriers of isolation and made trade and civilizing forces.

One of the most interesting studies is the relation of geographic environment to human activities. Geographic conditions present a series of practical problems which are directly useful in the daily affairs of life.

Physical environment largely influenced the life of the people who established their homes in the region now included in West Virginia.

Potomac River Below Harper's Ferry
(Courtesy of West Virginia Geological Survey)

"Mountaineers are always free." In their early history influenced by ruggedness and inaccessibility they were backward and uneducated. They were heavily handicapped by the relief of the mountains—by roads that run up hill, and consequently by the necessity of slower and inadequate transportation, by the greater wear and tear on animals and engines that pulled the loads, and by the increased cost of transportation. Influenced by inadequate transportation facilities to enable them to find a suitable market for their natural products, some were tempted to become law breakers by distilling "moonshine" whisky which could be more conveniently taken to a lowland market in order to supply the needs of ready money. If they farmed, they were also at a disadvantage from the erosion of the soil by the rain or from landslides and also from the difficulties of cultivation on hillsides. Therefore they sought to improve their condition by keeping cattle or sheep or goats which could graze on the slopes. Later they had an advantage over lower regions through their larger supply of timber; but this was partially overcome by the keener business insight of men of the cities who bought cheaply enormous tracts of the forests before the original owners had any idea of their value. Often they were placed at a new disadvantage by a wasteful exploitation and destruction of timber, resulting in new areas of erosion. Their civilization was retarded by their long periods of enforced idleness by scarcity of good artisans and by lack of encouragement to the professions. Unfortunately, also, in some instances, under the conditions of their isolation, they engaged in family feuds which sometimes lasted for generations.

Later their life was greatly affected by gas, oil and coal which, in addition to their industrial influence, exerted important social and political influences. Gas and petroleum had a large influence on human activity. Petroleum in addition to its value as a fuel contributed to great improvements in machinery. Coal, although the most powerful factor in the more recent development of the state, has sometimes seemed to hinder civilization through the conditions of life in the mines and in the mining camps, through the immigration to mining regions of workers ignorant of American institutions and ideals and especially through the precipitation of strikes resulting from the relation of miner and mine operator.

The picturesque streams have a large potential water power, which, when harnessed through dams and reservoirs, will supply future necessities of heat and light and of additional power required for new industries and transportation systems.

West Virginia has an unusual topography which produces great diversity of climate and a copious rainfall. On its highest mountains the temperature may fall to 30 degrees below zero in winter, and in other parts of the state may rise to 96 above in summer. It is the meeting place of two well defined systems of winds blowing in opposite directions. Upon its Allegheny summits and slopes, clouds from opposite seas meet and mingle their rains. Those from the Atlantic break against the eastern side of the barrier and often produce terrific rains which usually do not reach the western slopes except in case of snow storms. Those from the far western seas, carried by warm winds from the Gulf and Caribbean or by cold winds from British Columbia, precipitate their loads of moisture throughout the remainder of the state. Local storms may come from any quarter. The amount of rain varies greatly in different years. The average yearly rainfall, including melted snow is about four feet. It is always greater west of the Alleghenies and greatest near the summit.

The chief rivers of the state have their rise in Pendleton, Pocahontas and Randolph counties—which form the highest part of a plateau region which covers about one-third of the state and has a high arm which curves around toward the southwest. The New river, which has its source in North Carolina, after flowing in a northerly direction on the eastern side of the plateau, turns toward the west,

cuts transversely through the table-land and mingles its waters with the Kanawha. It is especially designed by nature as a great source of water-power which after long ages of wasted energy may be harnessed and utilized in the new age to turn the wheels of exploitive industry at the command of the awakening life along its course. Practically every other river of the state also offers superior water-power advantages which have begun to attract both private capital seeking to seize and public interest seeking to regulate and control.

The processes recorded by geology determined ages ago what regions of West Virginia would become fertile farm land, what would be poor; where the coal pits would be opened; where the cement quarried; where the navigable rivers would flow; where the streams whose steep gradients would furnish water power; what slopes and valleys would grow the valuable forests of broadleaf trees, and what sterile flats and ridges would furnish the pines.

All the rock formation visible on the surface of the ground in West Virginia, and as far beneath the surface as the deepest wells and the lowest ravines give any knowledge, were formed under water.

The entire area of the state was once the bed of an ancient sea into which ancient rivers from a surrounding region of land poured layers of mud, sand, and pebbles which by the pressure of ages and other agencies became sandstone. In the deeper parts of this sea, far from the shore, were many marine animals whose shells and skeletons were precipitated to the bottom and by long pressure were cemented into thick solid limestone. In shallow waters resembling swamps a rank growth of vegetation furnished an accumulation of fallen trunks and branches which in the course of ages beneath the water were transformed into vast beds of coal whose later value made them an important basis of industrial development.

After long ages, a large part of the bed of this sea with rocks unbroken was elevated above the water and formed the plateau from the highest part of which new born rivers began to cut their channels toward the ocean. Later at different periods the mountains were formed by shrinkings of the earth's crust causing stupendous foldings and archings of the rocks into a series of parallel ranges whose remnants often appearing in isolated or detached series of individual knobs still remain after centuries of destructive erosion accompanied by the incessant toil of wind, frost, and rivers, which also prepared soils suitable for the needs of agriculture and its allied industries.

One of the great events of North American geology is the expansion of the interior sea during Cambrian time. Early in the Cambrian period a narrow strait extended from the region of the Gulf of St. Lawrence southwestward to Alabama. It divided a western land area covering the Central States from an eastern continent of unknown extent. The eastern shore of the strait was probably about where the Appalachian Mountains now extend. The great Appalachian Valley approximately coincides with the position of the strait. During Cambrian and Silurian time the Appalachian strait widened westward to Wisconsin and beyond the Mississippi. It probably also expanded eastward, but there is no evidence remaining of its farthest limit in that direction.

Before the widening of the Appalachian strait, in early Cambrian time, the land to the eastward was probably somewhat mountainous. The region of the central States was comparatively low land. The continued activity of the agents of erosion reduced the mountain range, whose bulk is represented in the Cambrian sediments. Before the beginning of deposition of the great Cambro-Silurian limestone the eastern land had become a low plain, whose even surface, subsiding, permitted probably extended transgression of the sea.

Following the Cambro-Silurian limestone in the sedimentary series, there is a mass of shale of widespread occurrence and of great thickness locally in the Appalachian Valley. It marks uplift of the eastern land and erosion of the residual material, perhaps together with the Silurian sediments, then lately accumulated over the surface. Thus there was toward the close of the Silurian period a restoration of moderate elevation to the eastern land and a return of the shore from its eastward excursion to a position approximately along the eastern margin of the Appalachian Valley. The changes of topography and geography from early Cambrian time to this epoch of Silurian time have been called a first cycle in Appalachian history.

The later Silurian sediments are of meager volume as compared with those

that preceded them, and of variable coarseness. They represent the varying conditions of a zone across which the shore migrated back and forth. To the eastward lay the generally low continental area, margined by a coastal plain which stored the coarsest detritus of the land. Westward extended the shallow interior sea. The migrations of the shore are marked in variations of coarseness of the sandstones and sandy shales up to and including the Rockwood formation, as well as by overlaps of strata, with an incomplete sequence due to erosion of the missing members.

The moderate elevation of the eastern land had again been canceled by erosion before the beginning of the Devonian, and the low level is recorded in the fine shaly and calcareous deposits of the last Silurian epoch and the widespread black shale herein called the Romney. The intermediate sandstone, the Monterey, marks an oscillation of the shore, with contributions of sands from the coastal plain and an overlap of later strata.

The lowlands of the early Devonian were general from New York to Georgia. This topographic phase continued throughout the Devonian period in the region south of Virginia.

Above Devonian strata throughout the province occur calcareous shales and fine-grained limestones of early Carboniferous age. This gradation in sediments from heterogeneous, coarse materials to fine silts corresponds to the similar change from lower Cambrian sandstones to Cambro-Silurian limestone; and it marks the degradation of the Devonian mountains to a general low level. In the early Carboniferous time the relations of land and sea were stable, as they had been during much of the Cambro-Silurian periods and throughout the early Devonian.

During middle and later Carboniferous time, however, there ensued that general vertical movement of the eastern land area and the region of the interior sea which resulted in the withdrawal of the sea to the Mississippi embayment. The movement was not simple; it was composed of many episodes of uplift and subsidence, among which uplift preponderated. In the repeated oscillations of level the sea swept back and forth over wide areas. It received from the coastal plain the coarse quartz detritus which had accumulated during previous ages, and the concentrated sands and pebbles in beds which alternated with materials of less ancient derivation. The Carboniferous strata include shale and sandy shale, derived more or less directly from lands of moderate elevation, and also the coal beds, each of which marks the prolonged existence of a marsh in which peat-making plants grew. When the marsh sank beneath the sea the peat beds were buried beneath sands or shales, and the peat by a process of gradual distillation became coal. At the close of the Carboniferous a great volume of varied sediments had accumulated. It represents a correspondingly deep erosion of the land mass; but the uplift thus indicated appears to have gone on slowly, and it may be that the surface was not raised to the height of the mountains of to-day. The vertical movements giving rise to variations in strata, and even to mountain ranges, appear to have been independent of the horizontal movements which caused the folding of the Appalachian strata. There is at least no apparent direct connection between the two phases of earth movement.

The whole geologic history of these subsidences and elevations is written in the rocks themselves. The time during which the process continued cannot be measured, but it was vast ages. Nor is it known how thick the accumulation became before the land rose from the sea the last time, and the rock building ceased. Layers of these rocky formations, aggregating nearly two miles in thickness, are visible in Grant county, and it is known that these include neither the bottom nor the top of the series.

The oldest of these vast sheets of rock laid down in the remote past, which directly concern West Virginia history, is visible now as the bed rock in much of Berkeley and Jefferson counties. It is a limestone rock. It was a deep sea formation, probably; and is composed of shells and skeletons of small marine creatures that died and sank to the sea bottom. They remained buried during ages, the other layers of rock were deposited above them. Finally an upheaval raised the mass above water. During succeeding long periods of time its overlying strata were worn away by rain, frost, wind and ice, and the limestone was exposed. It is exposed yet. The traveler who journeys across the lower Shenandoah Valley sees this rock of incalculable age exposed here and there as ledges in the fields or along the slopes of the hills. It is wearing slowly away, and its fragments form the fertile soil which has made that part of the state famous for its fruit, wheat, cattle, and sheep—and people also.

A newer limestone than the one in the eastern counties, covers a large region from Greenbrier county northward, but not continuous to the Pennsylvania line. Other regions have no limestone, but their soils are of decomposed sandstone and shale.

During the time that the sea was advancing and receding across what is now West Virginia, as the land was alternately elevated and lowered, there is evidence of the breaking up and redistribution of a vast gravel bar which had lain somewhere out of reach of the waves since earlier ages. This bar, or this aggregation, whether bar or not, was made up of quartz pebbles varying in size from a grain of sand to a cocoanut, all worn and polished as if rolled and fretted on a beach or in turbulent mountain streams for centuries. By some means the sea obtained possession of them and they were spread out in layers, in some places 800 feet thick, and were cemented together, forming coarse, hard rocks. We see

End of the World Cliff, Elk River
(Courtesy of West Virginia Geological Survey)

them along the summits of the Alleghenies, and the outlying spurs and ridges, from the southern borders of our state to the Pennsylvania line and beyond. The formation is called conglomerate (Pottsville conglomerate); and the popular names are "bean rock," "millstone grit," etc. A heavy stratum of this stone forms the floor of the coal measures. The pebbles probably represent the most indestructible remnant of mountains, once seamed with quartz veins, but degraded and obliterated before the middle of the Carboniferous era, perhaps long before.

Beds of coal, unlike layers of rock, are made above water, or at its immediate surface. While the oscillation between sea and land was going on, during the Carboniferous age, West Virginia's coal fields were being formed. Coal is made of wood and plants of various kinds, which grew with a phenomenal luxuriance during a long period of summer that reigned over much of the northern half of the earth. Each bed of coal represents a swamp, large or small, in which plants grew, fell and were buried for centuries. The whole country in which coal was forming was probably low and it was occasionally submerged for a few thousand years. During the submergence sand and mud settled over it and hardened into rock. Then the land was lifted up again, and the material for another bed of coal was accumulated. Every alternation of coal and rock marks an elevation and subsidence of the land—the coal formed on land, the rock under water. This was the period when the sea was advancing and receding across West Virginia as the Carboniferous age was drawing to a close.

Land seems to have been lifted up in two ways, one a vertical movement which elevated large areas and formed plateaus, but not mountains; the other, a horizontal movement which caused folds in the strata, and these folds, if large enough, are ranges of mountains. In some cases these folds of earth-crust rose directly across the channel of the earlier bed of a river which in spite of the steady upward movement, continued to cut its way across, forming a gap such as that cut by the Potomac at Harpers Ferry, by the South Branch at Hanging Rocks, by Mill creek at Mechanicsburg, by Pattersons creek at Greenland, by North Fork at Hopewell, by Tygart's river at Laurel Hill in Randolph and by Cheat at Brievy Mountain in Preston. In these instances and in many others, the long and incessant struggle of the rivers has wrought a grandness and picturesqueness of wild scenery too little appreciated in the earlier struggle for possession and the later reckless race for riches.

In different parts of the state, but particularly in Hampshire, Hardy, Grant and Pendleton counties, many passes, popularly known as "gaps," have been cut through mountains by creeks and rivers which flow through them. Among some of the best known are the following in Hampshire county: At the site of the old chain bridge, a few miles above the mouth of the South Branch; at Hanging Rocks, four miles below Romney where the same mountain is again cut by the South Branch; two miles above Romney where Mill creek has made a pass through Mill Creek Mountain; sixteen miles east of Romney where a small stream flows through North Mountain, the passage being known as Blue's gap. The passage of the South Branch through a mountain between Petersburg and Moorefield is well known. Six miles above Petersburg in Grant county the north fork has made a passage through New Creek Mountain. Similar passages exist through the same range, excavated by small streams which appear totally unable to do so vast a work. These gaps are known as Reel's, Kline's, Sosner's and Greenland. Many such passes exist in Pendleton county, but they are usually smaller than those named. One of the best known is Greenawalt gap near Upper Tract; and another is Judah's. These passageways through mountains record remarkable geological histories. Each has been excavated by the stream which now flows through it and which was there before the mountain was formed. The streams were flowing in the same general courses which they now pursue before the particular mountains came into existence. Slowly the underground forces exerted sufficient pressure to fold the layers of rock and cause them to rise in the form of an arch directly across the channel of the stream. The mountain was at first only an undulation, a swell in the ground; directly across it the stream continued to flow, cutting the channel deeper as the fold of rocks rose higher. The mountain gradually lifted itself up from the interior of the earth but with such exceeding slowness that the stream, acting like a saw, was able to keep the notch cut deep enough for a channel. It sawed the gap down as the mountain rose, the two movements being exactly equal. Some of the gapped mountains in West Virginia have elevated their summits a thousand feet or more, but the stream has during all the immense period of years sawed away and kept its channel open, and it continues still to saw asunder the ledges which lie bare in the bottom of its channel. It is a process which has gone on for many hundreds of thousands of years, and apparently the forces are as active now as ever. The rivers are cutting deeper and perhaps the mountains are rising higher.

A person passing through one of these gaps can see the exposed ledges which form the mountain, bending as an enormous arch, the top of which is hundreds of feet overhead, while the sides bend down and pass beneath the level of the stream. Sometimes only a fragment of the arch is visible, the rest being buried under accumulation of debris. The best gaps to observe are the Hanging Rocks, below Romney; Greenland gap, near Maysville, and Kline's gap, near the source of Lunice creek. The last two are in Grant county, the first in Hampshire.

These deep passes through mountains are not of interest merely as curiosities,

Falls of Grassy Creek Over Lower Guyandot Sandstone, One Mile North of Leivasy, Nicholas County
(Courtesy of West Virginia Geological Survey)

or as freaks of nature, though as such they are very instructive; but they are of great use for the passage of highways. Roads pass through nearly all of them, and thus cross mountains without being compelled to climb over the summits. The most titanic piece of mountain cutting in West Virginia, by which a stream has been able to wear itself a channel through ranges, is in the case of New river. That stream rises east of the whole Allegheny range of mountains, and has cut its way through them all to the west side. The best known and most spectacular mountain pass in the state cut by a river that is older than the range it has sawed asunder, is the gap through the Blue Ridge at Harper's Ferry.

The phenomenon of streams cutting gaps or passage ways transversely through mountains, as at Hanging Rocks and Greenland gap, does not stand alone as wonders which West Virginia rivers have been responsible for. There are a number of places in the state where river channels have been cut through mountains from end to end, deepening and widening those channels until what otherwise would be one mountain is now two. One such instance is the Trough, through which the South Branch of the Potomac flows below Old Fields in Hardy county. The geographic and geological evidence indicates that this fact was accomplished in much the same way as the gaps already described were cut. Apparently the river was flowing in the same course which it now flows, at a time when the mountain had not been lifted out of the earth. When the folding of the strata began to raise the backbone of the mountain above the surface, it happened that the crest of the mountain rose directly under the channel of the stream. The upheaval was so slow that the river was able to cut its channel deeper as the mountain rose higher, with the result that it sawed the mountain asunder from end to end and now pours along the narrow gorge it has made. Another striking example is Tygart's Valley in Randolph county. A trough forty miles in length has been excavated along the summit of a mountain, and this trough has been worn down and widened until it is now one of the most attractive valleys of the state. Its floor lies more than two thousand feet above sea level, and the walls of the valley—Cheat mountain on one side and Rich mountain on the other—rise nearly two thousand feet higher than the valley floor. The two mountains which now form the opposite walls of the valley and whose summits are ten miles apart, air line, are but the worn flanks of what was once one mountain. It was a vast fold of strata, and if restored to its original dimensions it would rise to a height of five thousand feet above the present valley.

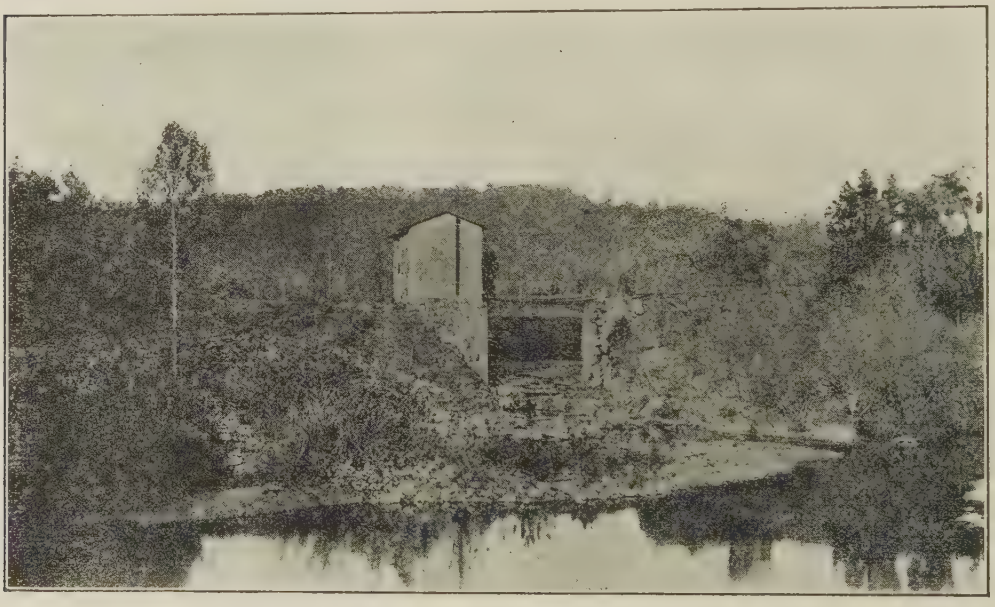
The manner of the formation of this remarkable valley was simple, though unusual. The evidence of the rocks that remain show that the mountain was an enormous arch of folded strata, the spread of the arch being not less than ten miles, and its height at least a mile. While the subterranean energy was lifting the mountain, the strain was so great that the arch was ruptured. A crack was formed longitudinally along the top. Running water took possession of this crack along the mountain summit and followed it northward, and gradually deepened and widened it into a valley. The work of the stream was facilitated by the softness of the Hamilton shales which it excavated. The extensive valley thus formed was made rich by the decay of the soft shale. The valley is forty miles long with a flat bottom from one quarter of a mile to more than a mile in width. From Elkins to Elkwater it contains some of the finest farms in the state. It attracted some of the earliest white settlers to the state. Apparently it attracted the Indians at a much earlier day whose remains may still be seen. In the early stages of the civil war, it became a battle ground of contending forces in the struggle for possession of West Virginia. On one rim of the valley the battle of Rich Mountain was fought. On another rim, the battle of Laurel Hill was staged, and on the floor of the valley, at Elkwater General Lee was checked in his effort to recover ground lost to General McClellan several months before.

There is conclusive evidence that, in comparatively late geologic time, even while this territory had much the same appearance topographically as it has to-day, the arrangement of the streams was very different from the present. At that time the tributaries of Kanawha river were Mud and Guyandot rivers, Twelvepole creek, and possibly a small stream that occupied the valley of the present Ohio river above the mouth of Guyandot river. When Kanawha river was diverted to its present course, Teays valley was left to the former tributaries of that stream. Mud river entered the valley near Milton and followed it to Barboursville, where it united with the Guyandot and a short distance beyond reached Ohio river. In attempting to adjust itself to the new conditions Mud river meandered broadly over the wide valley of the Kanawha. Its sluggish character continues to the present day, as indicated by its name, even though it has succeeded in removing the alluvium and is now cutting into the rock floor of the old Kanawha valley.

The careful study of the stream valleys by geologists has proved almost beyond question that the courses of the rivers in this section

were different before the Glacial period, from the present. At that time the Ohio river did not exist, and the drainage of the southern part of this state was to the west to about the position of the present Ohio and thence northwest across Ohio. The northern drainage along the Monongahela valley was north to Pittsburgh and to the present site of Lake Erie. The streams thus flowed north and northwest.

As the great glacier moved down from the north across the present Great Lakes area, it cut off the outlets of these rivers with a wall of ice and rock debris, the waters were thus dammed back filling the river valleys almost, if not quite, to their sources. The waters spread out between the walls of the valleys, forming lakes of quiet water with small currents, in which were deposited sediments from the surrounding hills, and from the melting ice. One of these lakes occupying the valley of the Monongahela, lower Allegheny, and upper Ohio basins has been named by Dr. I. C. White, Lake Monongahela. The water would rise until it found a gap in the surrounding hills through which it



Showing Break Through at Neck of the Famous "Jug" of Middle Island Creek, Tyler County
(Courtesy of West Virginia Geological Survey)

could escape. In the Monongahela lake this gap seems to be located near Salem on the present line of the Baltimore & Ohio railroad from Grafton to Parkersburg. The overflow passing through this gap gradually lowered the waters. With the outflow at this point a current would be formed in the lake thus carrying the sediment from the north through the whole valley. The fine grained clays adapted to brick and pottery manufacture are now found in this valley 100 to 150 feet above the present river. The terraces representing long continued water levels are marked topographical features today in this valley and the various towns are located on them.

At this same time similar changes were taking place in the southern valleys. The ancient Kanawha river was flowing through the Teays valley to Huntington and thence to the northwest through a river named by Tight, the Marietta river. When the ice sheet closed the outlet of this river, the waters were held back, forming a lake similar to the northern one, which may be called Lake Kanawha.

In this basin were deposited the fine grained, banded, Teays clays, 20 to 50 feet in thickness. The rising water in this lake finally flowed out

through a gap to the northwest and reached the Marietta river at Pt. Pleasant, a course which it has followed from that time, leaving the Teays valley below St. Albans.

The ice barrier at the north and northwest across Ohio prevented the outflow of the rivers in that direction, so the accumulating waters passed to the east and south. The rivers in the valley of the present Ohio near Huntington and Pt. Pleasant cut their way backward removing the barriers near Crown City and Gallipolis until they united, forming the early Ohio river, which by further deepening of its channel and backward cutting and meandering toward Pittsburgh, finally tapped the Monongahela waters and established the Ohio drainage system nearly as at the present time.

This is the generally accepted explanation of the origin of these clays in the Monongahela, Teays, and adjacent valleys.

Campbell, however, in the Charleston and Huntington folios of the U. S. Geological Survey, has given a theory of origin of the Teays valley clays as due to local ice dams formed near Ashland, Kentucky, and Milton, West Virginia.

The most interesting episode in the recent geologic history of this region is the change in the course of Kanawha river from west to north, resulting in the evacuation of its old channel along Teays valley. This valley is but one of several similar features that occur within about 100 miles of the outermost limit of glaciation; and in some of the most noted cases on Monongahela river, clay analogous to that of Teays valley has yielded fossil plants which, according to Dr. F. H. Knowlton, belong to a Glacial flora. Although these abandoned channels seem to be due to conditions which were general throughout the Ohio valley, their relation to the surrounding topography, the variation, from place to place, of the character of the sediments deposited in them, and the difference in height to which these deposits extend, indicate that local and special conditions determined each case of diversion separately.

According to Campbell the only hypothesis which appears to satisfy existing conditions is that of local ice dams formed by the occasional breaking up of river ice.

In applying this hypothesis to Teays valley it will be necessary to suppose that a dam of this kind occurred in the vicinity of Ashland, Kentucky, by which the stream was forced to abandon its valley back of Russell and to seek a new channel farther north, by Ironton, Ohio, where the present Ohio river is located.

In the course of time apparently another dam was formed in the vicinity of Milton, and this barrier was so high and strong that it backed the water up to the level of the divide on the northern side of the valley, across which the stream found several outlets into the present valley of Kanawha river. Pocatalico river also suffered changes in its alignment about this time, for it has an abandoned valley almost as clearly defined as that of the Kanawha. Similar features may be seen on Elk river near Charleston. The divide between Coonskin branch and Elk Twomile creek is low and rather broad and is deeply covered with river deposits including bowlders as large as 7 inches in diameter.

Most of the large stream valleys of this region are marked by terraces cut into the bluffs and projecting spurs at about the same altitude as the rocky floor of Teays valley. They are particularly prominent on Coal river and its various branches. They are remnants of old, broad valleys within which the streams have cut their present narrow channels. These broad valleys indicate a somewhat advanced cycle of erosion, which was interrupted by elevation of the land and the inauguration of the present, or post Glacial, cycle.

Many changes in local streams occurred along the Potomac near Pawpaw. The Potomac formerly occupied a large oxbow west of Pawpaw, swinging northwest for two miles and turning to the present bed of the river down Purslane valley. Southward from the Purslane valley it made a lateral swing and occupied the low amphitheatre-like plain

in which Pawpaw is now located. The river also undoubtedly once flowed over the low divide, across the neck of land south of Little Orleans, which is partly covered with river gravel, but the rock revealed beneath the gravel by the Western Maryland Railway cut demonstrates that if this short cut was abandoned owing to the channel being filled with alluvium, in the same way that the change in the Purslane oxbow is explained, the early channel was not cut as deep as the present river bed.

A very interesting oxbow-cut-off is in process of formation at Johnson's Mill on Sleepy creek, 5 miles south of Berkeley Springs. The creek formerly flowed in the swampy alluvium-filled valley south of its present course.

In other parts of the state, there are many examples of streams which have been turned aside from their original channels by the long chiseling processes of time. One example of this is found in Barbour County. Indian Fork of Elk, and all the tributaries of Elk above the mouth of Indian Fork formerly emptied into the Valley river a short distance above Philippi. They now reach the West Fork at Clarksburg. By consulting a map it will be seen that Indian Fork and the main stream of the Elk have their sources five or six miles west of the Valley river, and that they flow eastwardly, directly toward the river until they approach within a short distance of it, and then, as Indian Fork and Elk unite, they turn back toward the west-northwest, and flow in a direction almost opposite to the former course and reach the West Fork at Clarksburg. Thus, the streams which once were tributaries of the Valley river are now tributaries of Elk. They are what geologists call "captive watercourses." The process by which Elk was able to cut them off and divert them from their former channels is easily understood when a few facts concerning the geological history of the region between Philippi and Clarksburg are taken into consideration. The inquiry takes us back many thousand years and deals only with well-established geological truths written in the contour and sculpture of the region as it now exists.

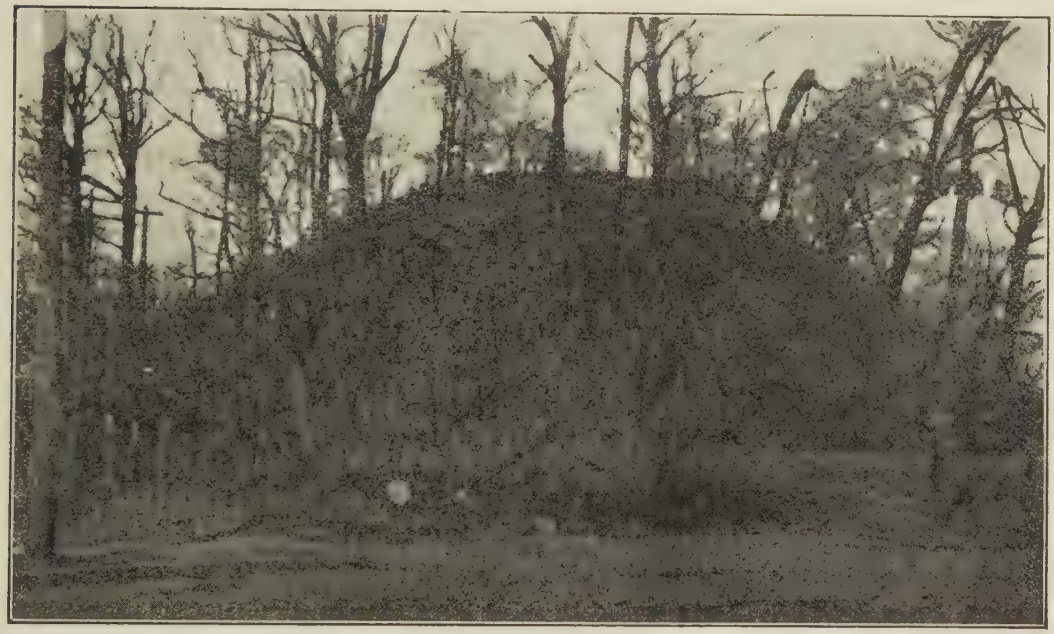
During one of the later periods of geology, long after the close of the Carboniferous age, the country between Philippi and Clarksburg, as well as on all sides round, was more nearly level than now. Then the bed of the river at Philippi and the bed of the West Fork at Clarksburg were practically at the same altitude above the sea, and were both probably lower than they are now. Today the river at Philippi is nearly 400 feet higher than the West Fork at Clarksburg. At the time, the divide between the waters of the West Fork and those of the Valley river was as far west as Elk City, or probably farther west. A change took place, however, which has pushed the divide eastward until now it is in several places within a mile of the bed of the Valley river, and in some places not half a mile distant.

This change is a result of a tilting of the region. An uplift raised the country along the Valley river several hundred feet and tilted it toward the northwest. Thus, the streams tributary to the West Fork were made to flow down a steeper incline. They began to cut deeper channels because of the increased power given by their steeper gradients. As they deepened their gorges they wore the divide back toward the east, encroaching rapidly upon the headwaters of the streams emptying into the Valley river. At that time Elk was a shorter stream than now. Its source was at the divide near Elk City. But it deepened its channel and lengthened its course by cutting through the old divide and pushing the new watershed further and further east until today it has approached in places within less than a mile of Valley river. It intercepted creeks flowing east. Its deeper gorge cut across their courses and diverted their water toward the west. Indian Fork was first cut off and then Mutton Run, or (as it is called in its lower course) Elk. All the headwaters of Elk creek formerly flowed into the Valley river.

Those who look for the old channel by which those creeks reached

the river must bear in mind that an immense period of time must be taken into account. However, there is strong evidence and much probability for locating it through the wide gap in the divide on the farm of Jacob Shank, about three miles southwest of Philippi, in that region called "Flatwood." The flatness of the region is due to the fact that it occupies the old valley through which Indian Fork and the upper tributaries of Elk once flowed on their way to the Valley river. This old valley (now on top of a mountain) has been much cut and disfigured by gullies, ravines and brooks which have destroyed what was once a level valley floor; but even yet the general level appeals at once to the eye when seen from such distance that the local irregularities are obscured.

Other instances of the capture of portions of the drainage of one river basin by streams of another found in the neighboring region. Glady Fork and Spruce Fork, in Upshur County, formerly emptied



The Mammoth Mound at Moundsville, Marshall County
(Courtesy of West Virginia Geological Survey)

into the Buckhannon river, but they have been cut off and diverted by the encroaching channel of Stone Coal creek, and now follow that stream to the West Fork at Weston. Another instance is found further south, where Laurel Creek, Cow Run and Get Out Run, formerly tributaries of French creek, emptying into the Buckhannon, have been intercepted by streams emptying into the Little Kanawha. The same tilting of the region toward the northwest which caused Elk creek to cut back nearly to the Valley river, was also responsible for the encroaching of Stone Coal creek and the sources of the Little Kanawha upon the waters of the Buckhannon.

The entire region was picturesque and rich in vast and varied resources which largely remained untouched for over a century after the Indian trails of the wild region of sombre shadows and healthy climate first attracted the advance guard of pioneer settlers. In spite of the general roughness of surface, the soil was valuable, adapted either to various purposes of agriculture or to stock raising and was capable of large returns under improved methods of cultivation. There were iron ores which formed the basis of earlier active industries, and an abundance

of coal, oil and gas, fire-clays, sandstones and glass sands formed the later basis for prosperous conditions felt by the entire region. There was also a wealth of woods, which after remaining largely undisturbed for over a century, has recently been almost depleted in most sections by a system of exploitation which has left in its desolate path nothing more important than the problem of conservation.

Before the westward invasion of white settlers the ancient ridges between the Blue Ridge and the Allegheny plateau formed a great wilderness rampart which forced the medley population of tidewater Virginia in a useful unity and neighborly community life, under the ancestral tutorship of the wide sea, which proved of great value in the later struggle for independence from Europe and in the establishment of the nation. The explorer finding a gap was always confronted by other ridges of mountains, and following the channel cut by the Potomac he was soon confronted by the mazy wilderness and other obstacles to entrance into the mountain belt beyond. The education of mountain and forest came later.

By its physical formation the trans-Allegheny territory included in West Virginia was destined to be geographically distinct from the tidewater region of the Old Dominion. The flow of its rivers toward the Ohio largely determined its commercial connections after the abandonment of the earlier transportation by pack-horses. Even the eastward flow of the Potomac eventually determined its commercial relation with Baltimore instead of with points in eastern Virginia—a relation which through the influence of the Baltimore and Ohio railroad in the crisis which precipitated the formation of West Virginia determined the extension of its eastern panhandle to Harpers Ferry. Even the more direct route of communication between the Kanawha and the James rivers, presented obstacles which delayed the completion of an adequate avenue of transportation until after the separation of the new state was accomplished.

The second quarter of the eighteenth century marked the beginning of a longitudinal overflow movement southward and westward by advance up the Shenandoah from the western edge of the fertile lands of Pennsylvania. Among these pioneers, following the earliest contingents of Germans, were the Scotch-Irish—Scotch in blood, Irish by adoption and Presbyterian in religion—who largely populated West Virginia and won their way into Kentucky and to the farthest West. The Appalachian barrier was finally crossed by the overflow from the East. By 1773 the tides of life began to flow toward Pittsburgh which, by the strange geological changes resulting from the ice invasion of long ago diverting the ancient river system which had its headwaters in West Virginia, was the natural gateway to the Ohio and the West at which centered various lines of migration from Virginia, Maryland and Pennsylvania. From the upper Shenandoah and the upper James there was a smaller expansion to the middle New river region.

Early Trails

On the eve of its settlement by white men, the territory of western Virginia was the hunting ground of tribes of Delaware, Shawnese and Mingo Indians whose permanent settlements or villages were located in Pennsylvania near the confluence of the Monongahela and the Allegheny. Since 1713 they had occupied the region as tenants of the Iroquois of New York who claimed the ownership. From the valley of Virginia to the Ohio river they used various trails which later served as the earliest paths of the pioneers.

One of the most eastern trails was the Virginia Warriors Path which became a traders and explorers route ascending the Shenandoah valley to the head of Clinch, thence passing through Cumberland Gap via the site of "Crab Orchard," Kentucky, and Danville, Kentucky, to the falls of the Ohio (Louisville).

Several trails connecting with the region drained by the Monongahela were distinctly marked. Westward from the Virginia and Maryland routes of travel which converged on the Potomac at Wills creek was a transmontane trail which crossed upper Youghiogheny at "Little Crossings" (Great Meadows) and the main Youghiogheny at "Stewart's Crossing" (Connellsville) thence down the "Point" to the site of Pittsburgh.

Another was the old Catawba war-path between New York and the Holston river leading also through the Carolinas (not an Indian thoroughfare after white settlements were made in Virginia). This path crossed the Cheat at the mouth of Grassy Run near the Monongalia-Preston boundary line and farther south passed up the Tygart's valley. Another, the Warrior branch passed up Dunkard creek and via Fish creek to southern Ohio and Kentucky. Another, the Eastern trail (Great War Path) from Ohio via Fish creek and Indian creek and White Day creek through Preston county (near the site of Masontown

Falls of Hominy Creek, Nicholas County
(Courtesy of West Virginia Geological Survey)

and Reedsville and crossing Cheat at Dunkard Bottom) to the South Branch of the Potomac—a route much used by the Ohio Indians in their attacks on the white settlements. A branch starting between Masontown and Reedsville passed southward between Independence and Newburg via York's run and south of Evansville to Ice's mill on Big Sandy where it met the Northwest trail from Maryland via the bridge at Deakin's on Cheat. Another trail led from Maryland via Big Sandy near Bruceton (Preston county) and via Cheat to the vicinity of Morgantown.

Another important Indian route of travel was the Scioto-Monongahela trail which, after crossing from Lower Shawnee Town eastward to the Muskingum valley and from Big Rock (near Roxbury, Ohio) southeast via the watershed to the mouth of the Little Kanawha (Belpre, Ohio) and after a junction with another trail from the mouth of the Kanawha and the lower Scioto valley, crossed the Ohio and ran near the old "Neal's station" (now Ewing's station on the Baltimore and Ohio railroad) north of the present Kanawha station and above Eaton's tunnel, thence via Dry Ridge to Doddridge county, passing through Martin's Woods, north of Greenwood to Centre station thence east to West Union tunnel (Gorham's) thence to the head of Middle Island creek up Toms fork to the watershed in Harrison county and down Ten

Mile creek into the Monongahela valley. There was also a trail from the Ohio up the Kanawha and across the mountains to Randolph county.

Along the north side of the Kanawha passed the Sandusky-Richmond trail and important branch of the Scioto trail, the principal "war path" and trade path of the Shawanese country and the main route of the Sandusky-Virginian fur trade ascending the Sandusky valley from Lake Erie and descending the Scioto to the mouth at Lower Shawnee Town and southward as "Warriors Path" through Kentucky to Cumberland Gap and the Cherokee country. It reached the mouth of the Kanawha over the highland watershed between the Scioto and the Hockhocking rivers by a southeast route from a point on the Scioto above Chillicothe, at the intersection of the Scioto-Beaver trail and a trail to Fort Miami connecting with the Miami trail which passed through Licking and the Kentucky river valleys to the watershed between the Green and the Cumberland, thence by two branches—one through the Cumberland mountains to the Cherokee country and the other through Cumberland Gap to the Scioto trail.

The trails leading from the Ohio east were well known to the early settlers who aften posted scouts on them near the Ohio to report the approach of Indian war parties.

Indian trail and buffalo trace pointed the easiest way for fur trader and pioneer settler across mountain barrier into the unbroken wilderness drained by the Monongahela. The country gradually became known by reports of hunters and traders who crossed from very early times. Nemacolin's path, following in part an old buffalo trail across the mountains, furnished a pack horse route for traders who had already reached the Ohio before 1750. The blazing of this old Indian trail by Nemacolin and other Indians under direction of Cresap, acting for the Virginia gentlemen who had received 100,000 acres of land drained by the Ohio, precipitated a decisive war to settle the mastership of the western forests. This little westward path, marked by Indians axe, became a path for Saxon commerce and consequently a path for Saxon conquest leading to the realization of the earliest dreams of the youthful Virginian who while traveling over it in 1752 was already planning a highway to bind the East and the West. It was later widened into a wagon road by Washington and Braddock and became an important highway to the lower Monongahela—although the first wagon load of merchandise over it did not reach the Monongahela until 1789.

Farther south, crossing a wilderness mountain region over which no roads were constructed for a century after the early era of settlement of the region drained by the upper Monongahela, were four other trails of no less importance for settlers of the region drained by the upper tributaries of the Monongahela. The McCullough traders' trail led from Moorefield via Patterson's creek and Greenland Gap across a spur of the Alleghenies to the North Branch thence to the upper Youghiogheny (west of Oakland) thence (via Bruceton Mills) to the Cheat near the Pennsylvania line. A branch of it led down Horse Shoe run to the mouth of Lead Mine run. The other three were more obscure. The North Branch trail, over which came the larger number of the early settlers on upper Cheat and many on the Buckhannon river and which probably was the route of the Indians who conducted raids in Hampshire county in 1754 to 1759, continued from Fairfax stone across Backbone mountain and down Lead Mine run and Horse Shoe run to Cheat river—connecting here with an up-river branch to the vicinity of Parsons and via the head of Leading creek to the Seneca trail at Elkins and to the settlements of the Tygart valley, at the head of which it connected with trails to the Little Kanawha, the Elk and the Greenbrier. The trail to Greenbrier passed through Mingo Flats and west of the present Marlinton pike crossed the mountain—dividing at the top of Middle mountain into two branches, one of which continued to Old Field Fork and the other to Clover Lick. The Shawnee (or Seneca) trail, although the chief highway between the South branch and Tygart valley, travelled westward yearly by pack horses laden with salt, iron and other merchandise and later by many droves of cattle driven to the eastern market, ascended the South Branch (passing the McCullough trail at Moorefield) followed the North Fork and Seneca creek, crossed the Alleghenies

twenty miles south of the North Branch trail, and the branches of Cheat above the mouth of Horse Camp creek, and passed near Elkins and Beverly to the vicinity of Huttonsville in Randolph.

Another path, connecting with the old Shawnee trail from Pennsylvania and Maryland from the head of North Fork and following the general course of the later Staunton and Parkersburg turnpike, passed up the South Branch to the mouth of North Fork (in Grant county) which it followed to the mouth of Dry run (in Pendleton county), then followed Laurel creek to the site of the later crossing of the Staunton and Parkersburg pike, then turned westward, crossed the Alleghenies thirty miles south of the Seneca trail, followed the East Fork of the Greenbrier to the main river, crossed Shaver's mountain to the Shaver's Fork of Cheat, thence crossing Cheat mountain to Tygart's valley, intersecting the Shawnee trail near Huttonsville and crossing to the head of the Little Kanawha which it followed to the Ohio. Two other trails may be noticed. One led from the headwaters of the South Branch via the Sinks of Gandy, to Shaver's Fork of Cheat river at the mouth of Fishing-Hawk, and across Cheat mountain via the heads of Files creek to Valley Bend (above Beverly). Another led from the Great Kanawha up the Elk and Valley Fork and down Elk Water to Tygart's valley—a meeting place of so many trails and probably a favorite hunting ground of the Indians.

An old well known Indian trail, originally a buffalo trail and later used by settlers till 1786 passed from the Kanawha up Kelley's creek thence down Bell creek and down Twenty Mile to its mouth (now Belva) up Gauley to a point over a mile north of Rich creek up which it meandered and thence passed over Gauley mountain through the site of Ansted and across the branches of Meadow creek to the upper waters of Muddy, an affluent of the Greenbrier. Over this trail many of the earliest settlers twisted. It was used for the outward trip of Lewis' army in 1774 and was followed by the Indian invaders who attacked Donnally's fort in 1778. The Gauley river route farther northeast also lead to the heads of the Greenbrier. The chief old trail of the Indians and early settlers from Lewisburg to the Ohio ran along the ridges at the heads of the tributaries of the Great Kanawha, crossing Paint creek near its source. It was a mere passage way for foot travel through the wilderness—although over much of it one could ride horseback. It was used considerably for early travel.

The trail up Dunlap and down Second and Indian creeks to New river determined the early favored points of settlement in Monroe in the Gap Mills valley and the basin of Indian creek. It was joined by side paths. Another path crossed Peters mountain at Symmes Gap and passed near Ballard and down Stinking creek to the mouth of Indian creek. The Dunlap path was used by many immigrants from the Cowpasture, Calfpasture and Bullpasture valleys. The trails across Peters mountain and the Narrows of the New were the routes of settlers who came down from the upper James and Roanoke and the New.

The western Indian trail around the narrows of the Great Kanawha led from the Kanawha up Paint creek, thence via the site of Beckley over the northeast extension of Flat Top mountain, and across the New river above the mouth of the Bluestone.

Among other trails was one via Horse Pen creek to the head of Clear Fork, down Tug, to the mouth of Four Pole, thence across the ridge between the Sandy and the Guyandotte. An early hunters' trail from the Greenbrier-New river section to Kentucky passed up East river via Bluefield, the Bluestone-Clinch divide, and the Clinch and Powell's river.

CHAPTER IV

INSTITUTIONAL HERITAGE FROM OLD VIRGINIA

(From Articles by Dr. O. P. Chitwood and Judge John W. Mason)

West Virginia history at its beginning and throughout its course was influenced by centuries of continuous institutional development or evolution, resulting from permanent and changing needs of organized society, and from long experience in adjustments to secure these needs. It owes a debt to the past from which its people inherited their manners and customs of living, their social and religious ideals, their system of government, and their laws. Its heritage from Old Virginia is well illustrated by the earlier development of courts and laws.

On April 10, 1606, King James I granted to the Virginia Company letters-patent for the establishment of two colonies in America, one to be planted in northern and the other in southern Virginia. There was to be a general council in England which was to exercise a supervisory control over both the northern and southern colonies. The effort to plant a colony in the north in the year 1607 proved a failure; but a like attempt in the south the same year resulted in the establishment of a permanent settlement at Jamestown. The local government of this colony was entrusted to a council of seven men selected by the general council in England.

In this council were vested all the powers of local government, legislative, executive, and judicial. In 1609 by a change in the charter, the local council was displaced by a governor, who had almost absolute power. The first governor, Lord De La Warr, arrived in Virginia in June, 1610, and superseded Sir Thomas Gates, who had been governing the colony for about a month as the former's deputy. Lord De La Warr's council, consisting of six men chosen by himself, differed from the first one in being only an advisory body.

Another important change was made in the government of the colony when Sir George Yeardley became governor. In obedience to instructions issued by the company the previous year, he called together in the church at Jamestown on July 30, 1619, the first representative legislative assembly that ever convened in English America. This assembly was composed of the governor and his council together with two representatives from each of the eleven plantations. These representatives of the boroughs, or plantations, were elected by the people and were known as Burgesses. The Burgesses, after having been received by the governor and council in the choir, retired to the body of the church and entered upon their work. This was the beginning of the General Assembly, which by 1680 had become a bicameral legislature. It corresponded to its prototype, the English Parliament, and its lineal descendant, our present legislature. The governor and his council were the upper house and the Burgesses, chosen by the qualified voters, constituted the lower house. After 1661 the laws provided that each county should send two representatives to the House of Burgesses. The towns of Williamsburg, Norfolk and Jamestown and the College of William and Mary also had one representative each. Measures passed by the Assembly could be vetoed by the company up until 1624, and by the king after that time. The Assembly met at the call of the governor, who had power to prorogue or dissolve it. Besides being a law-making body, the Assembly was also for some time a court of justice. In the early

years it had original and appellate jurisdiction in both civil and criminal cases, and was the highest court of appeal in the colony. In 1682 the Assembly lost its right to hear appeals, but after this we find it exercising the privilege of passing bills of attainder. At no time during the colonial period were the acts of the Assembly subject to review by the courts.

The infant colony was governed by the Company until 1624, at which time the charter was annulled and Virginia became a royal province. No change, however, seems to have been made in the local governmental machinery except that the governor and other officials that had been chosen by the Company were now appointed by the King.

By 1682, the Virginia constitution had begun to crystalize into its permanent form. The chief executive officer was the governor, who was appointed by the company until 1624 and by the king after that time. His duties from the beginning were pretty much the same as those that engage the attention of our chief executive to-day. Besides being at the head of the administration, he was commander in chief of the militia, made numerous appointments to office, and exercised the power of pardon and reprieve. He also had power to remit fines and forfeitures and could pardon all crimes except willful murder and treason. Those could be pardoned only by the king.

Next to the governor in the administration came the council, a body of varying size but usually numbering about twelve or thirteen. The councillors of the first governor, as we have seen, were chosen by himself. Appointments to the later councils were made on the recommendation of the governor by the company in the earliest years and by the king after the company's charter had been annulled. They were usually men of means and influence, for a high property qualification ruled out all but the well-to-do. They were not chosen for any definite period but were re-commissioned whenever a new governor was appointed or a new king came to the throne. The old councillors, however, were usually continued in office by the new commissions and so they virtually held their positions by life tenure. They not only received pay for their services but also had a monopoly of most of the places of honor and profit in the colony. Each one was usually the commander of the militia in his own county with the rank of colonel. While the council was theoretically only an advisory body, yet it was frequently able to curb the power of the governor. The councillors were also judges of the superior court, and we have already seen that they constituted the upper house of the Assembly. There is nothing in the governmental machinery of West Virginia to-day that corresponds exactly to the old colonial council, but to it our senate, our supreme court of appeals, and the governor's staff all owe their origin.

The colonial judiciary developed into its final form at a pretty early date. When the colony was first settled, the local council tried all causes except certain ones specified in the charter. These were to be sent to England for trial, and appeals to the council and company in England were to be allowed in certain other cases. Ordinary cases were decided by a majority vote, but all capital offenses were tried by a jury of twelve men. When the local council was superseded by the governor and his council, the power of dispensing justice was probably passed on from the former to the latter body. At any rate, we find the governor and council acting as a court of justice from 1619 to the end of the colonial period. During the first years, the meetings of the council for the trial of causes were held at irregular intervals. It was not many years, however, before a system of regular quarterly terms had been evolved, and the council court had received the name of *Quarter Court*. In 1659, the sessions of the Quarter Court were reduced to three a year. The term *Quarter Court* had now become a misnomer, and in a few years that of *General Court* was substituted for it. In 1684, the sessions were made semi-annual, and from that time until the Revolution the court met regularly in April and October.

The Quarter or General Court took cognizance of both civil and

criminal causes, and its jurisdiction was both original and appellate. At first the governor and council decided causes of all kinds; but after the county courts had grown into importance their jurisdiction was restricted to the more important civil and criminal cases. The governor presided over the court and passed sentence on convicted criminals. Trial by jury was employed in important criminal cases; other decisions were made by a majority of the judges present. The court held its sittings at the capital, first at Jamestown and later at Williamsburg. There seems to have been no state-house in Virginia for a long time, and the business of government was for a while transacted in the house of the governor. Later in 1663, we find that the sessions of the General Court and Assembly were being held in ale-houses. However, a fine state-house was built when Williamsburg became the capital, and the General Court and Assembly were comfortably housed in this magnificent building.

After the sessions of the General Court were reduced to two a year, criminals were sometimes necessarily kept in prison six months before they could be tried. The need for a more speedy administration of justice led to the formation of a new criminal tribunal, the Court of Oyer and Terminer. The establishment of this court as a permanent tribunal dates from the first quarter of the eighteenth century. The governor named the judges of this court, but in making out the list, he usually, and after 1755 always, confined himself to councillors. The sessions of the Court of Oyer and Terminer were held twice a year, and at such times as to divide equally the intervals between the terms of the General Court. Its jurisdiction was confined to important criminal cases. After appeals to the Assembly were discontinued in 1682, these two courts were the highest tribunals in the colony. The only appeal from their decisions after that time was to the king and the Privy Council.

It had general original jurisdiction, and appellate jurisdiction from the county courts. It was a court of last resort except as to certain causes which might be appealed to the Courts of England and, for a time, certain causes which might be reheard by the General Assembly of the Colony.

The Judiciary System of Virginia was radically changed by the constitution of 1776 and the laws made under it. The General Court remained in name, but was deprived of much of its jurisdiction. A Chancery Court was then created and equity jurisdiction taken from the General Court.

By the act of the General Assembly of 1777, five judges were authorized, and they were required to hold two terms of court every year. By the act of December 22, 1788, the state was divided into districts. The number of judges was increased and one of these judges was required to hold a term of court every year in each district. These terms were in addition to the two sessions to be held by all the judges annually. These district courts were courts of general jurisdiction except that they had no chancery powers. In 1809 the district court was abolished and the Circuit Superior Court of Law, substituted. The state was divided into circuits, and courts held in every county of the circuit by a judge of the Grand Court.

When the Chancery Court was abolished by the constitution of 1831, the Circuit Superior Court of Law was superseded by the Circuit Superior Court of Law and Chancery. These courts were also held by judges of the General Court, one being assigned to each circuit. For many years, the General Court had exclusive appellate jurisdiction in criminal cases. It will be observed that prior to the constitution of 1851 all judges except those of the court of appeals were judges of the General Court. After an existence of 190 years, this most important of all Virginia courts was abolished by the constitution of 1851.

By the act of General Assembly of 1788, District Courts were created and held by judges of the General Court. These courts were superseded by the Circuit Superior Court of Common Law in 1809.

It has been the policy of the people of Virginia since the earliest times to keep separate common law and chancery jurisdiction. In colonial times chancery was considered as a separate jurisdiction but was exercised by the ordinary courts sitting as courts of chancery.

The constitution of 1776 authorized the General Assembly to appoint "Judges in Chancery." From that time until 1831 the two jurisdictions were not only kept entirely separate but were exercised by separate courts, except that County and Corporation Courts had jurisdiction in both Common Law and Chancery, and even in these courts separate "order books" were required. In 1777, three chancellors were authorized to hold the "High Court of Chancery," but only one chancellor (George Wythe) was appointed. He held this court until 1802 when two additional chancellors were added and subsequently the state was divided into four districts. The chancellors' court was abolished by the constitution of 1831, and chancery jurisdiction given to the judges of the Circuit Superior Court of Law and Chancery.

In 1851 when the General Court was abolished the Circuit Court was established. This court had substantially the same jurisdiction as the Circuit Superior Court of Law and Chancery. The constitution of 1851 established a somewhat complex judicial system, and made some very radical changes. Under this constitution, for the first time in the history of Virginia, judges were elected by the people and the term of office limited to a certain number of years. The state was divided into twenty-one judicial circuits, ten districts, and five sections. A judge was to be elected for every circuit and required to hold at least two terms of court a year in every county in his circuit. A district court was to be held at least once a year in every district by the judges of the circuits constituting the sections and the judge of the Supreme Court of Appeals for the section of which the district formed a part; this was an appellate court. For each section a judge of the Supreme Court was to be elected by the voters therein.

The one important unit of local government in colonial Virginia was the county, and the most important part of the local governmental machinery was the monthly or county court. In 1634, the colony was divided into eight shires, or counties, in each of which a court was to be held every month. But this was not the beginning of the monthly courts. We find that as early as 1624, two local courts had been established, which were to meet every month and decide petty cases coming up from the precincts adjacent to them. New counties were formed from time to time and each was given a court as soon as it was organized.

The judges were at first known as commissioners of the monthly courts, but were afterwards honored with the title of justice of the peace. The office was one of dignity and was usually filled by men of influence and ability. Except for a short time during the Commonwealth period, the justices were always appointed by the governor. They were not chosen for any definite period, and it seems that their commissions could be terminated at the discretion of the governor. But it was the usual practice for the governor in issuing new commissions to name the old members. So the court was practically a self-perpetuating body. Since the adoption of the constitution of 1851 justices have been elected by the people for a number of years instead of being appointed for an indefinite term by the governor. They received no fees or salaries until recent years. The number of justices to a county varied at different times and in different counties, but usually ranged from eight to eighteen.

The justices after 1643 could decide certain minor civil and criminal cases individually and their jurisdiction has remained substantially the same from that time until the present. When they met together as a county court they had a wider jurisdiction in both civil and criminal cases. This local tribunal consisted of all the justices of the county, though four was the necessary quorum for the transaction of business. All decisions were governed by the opinion of the majority of the justices present. In some cases questions of fact were decided by a petit

jury. The local tribunals were at first known as monthly courts because they convened once a month. But by a statute of 1643 they were to sit only once in two months, and were henceforth known as county courts. By the end of the seventeenth century, it had again become the custom to meet every month, and this practice continued until the end of the colonial period.

There was no lack of variety in the penalties that the early justices enforced against offenders. Whipping was a very common mode of punishment. As a rule the number of stripes given did not exceed thirty-nine, but they were generally made on the bare back. In the records of one county three cases have been found in which culprits received one hundred lashes each on the the bare shoulders; and in another county the sheriff was ordered to give a law-breaker one hundred and twenty lashes on the bare shoulders. Other ways of punishing offenders were to require them to sit in the stocks, lie neck and heels together, or make public confession in church. Fornication and adultery were very much frowned upon by the county courts. In the early years, men and women who had committed those sins were sometimes whipped, and sometimes were compelled to acknowledge their fault in church before the whole congregation. A few instances are recorded in which women who had erred from the path of virtue or had slandered their neighbors were compelled to make public confession while standing on stools in the church, with white sheets wrapped around them and white wands in their hands.

The justices had many duties to perform in addition to those of trying cases. They ordered the opening of new roads and saw that surveyors appointed by them kept the highways opened and cleared. The levy of the county was apportioned by them, and the list of tithables was sometimes taken either by themselves or by officers chosen by them for that purpose. The justices licensed taverns and regulated the prices at which drinks could be sold. All grievances and claims against the general government were heard and examined by the county courts. During a considerable part of the seventeenth century, they also had the power to make or assist in making the by-laws of their respective counties. The court "nominated inspectors of tobacco, granted divorces, regulated the relations of whites to the Indians, tried cases of piracy, erected ducking-stools, pillories, whipping posts and stocks, appointed collectors of county levies, and regulated the relations of master to servant."

The Virginia courts were governed in their decisions by the common law of England and by the Parliamentary statutes that were enacted before the colony was settled, but not by any of the latter that were enacted after that event except those that made mention of the plantations. The first act of assembly that has been found in which the common law of England is recognized as being in force in Virginia was passed in 1662; but in all probability the common law was to some extent observed by courts during the entire colonial period with the exception of the time during which the colony was under military rule.

The benefit of the writ of *habeas corpus* was not formally extended to Virginia until 1710, when this privilege was brought over by Lieutenant-Governor Spotswood. But the right was enjoyed in Virginia before this formal recognition of it was made by the crown; for a writ of *habeas corpus* was granted to Major Robert Beverley in 1682.

It was not to be expected that the common law of England could be adapted to conditions in the new world without modification either by statutory enactment or by judicial interpretation. As a matter of fact, both methods were employed. A good many laws were passed by the assembly dealing with local conditions, and the courts exhibited marked originality in devising penalties for offenses. Some of these penalties seem unduly harsh as judged by modern canons, but they were quite in harmony with the sentiment and practice of the age. The number of capital offenses was very much larger in colonial times than to-day, and many of these severe laws were still in force after the Revolution. The

stealing of a hogshead of tobacco lying by the public highway, forgery and the making of counterfeit were still punishable by death as late as 1792.

The severity of the criminal laws was mitigated by the custom of allowing the "benefit of clergy." When the court granted the benefit to an offender, it substituted burning in the hand for the death penalty. The old English custom required that the letter "M" be branded in the hands of murderers and "T" in those of other felons. This imprint was burned into the hand not merely to punish the offender, but also to put a mark on him which would show that he had received the benefit of clergy and thus keep him from deceiving the court into granting the privilege a second time. Clergy was allowed to a criminal only once during his life time.

The county court system remained substantially as it was organized in the colonial period until 1851 when by the constitution of that date changes were made in the selection of justices.

These changes had an injurious effect upon the "County Courts." This marks the beginning of the down-fall of a system which had been, for nearly two centuries, exceedingly popular. Many distinguished men had served on this court, among whom was John Tyler, afterwards a district judge of the United States, and the father of President John Tyler. President Thomas Jefferson's first office was that of a justice of the peace and member of the county court. An effort was made in the constitutional convention of 1829-30 to abolish this court, but it was resisted by such distinguished lawyers as Chief Justice John Marshall, Governor Giles, Ex-President Madison, Benjamin Watkins Leigh, Philip P. Barbour and others. The system was attacked on the grounds that the appointment of members by the governor for life upon the recommendation of the court itself, was not in harmony with republican principles—that being self-chosen for life, they could perpetuate their own body according to their liking for ever. In addition to this it was insisted that a court with such extensive jurisdiction should not be selected from among men who had but little or no knowledge of law, as was the case with a large number of the justices, or as was aptly expressed in a debate in that convention by Mr. Henderson of Loudoun county: "the Magistrates were, in general, worthy men but they were not acquainted with law and were not capable of duly discharging the duties that were required at their hands." The convention, however, endorsed the system and continued it in the constitution. The question again arose in the convention of 1851, and although the court was not abolished, its usefulness was, to a great extent, destroyed. In 1869 the decisive step was taken by Virginia of radically changing this ancient tribunal, by requiring the court to be held by a judge learned in the law. The County Court system was not embraced in the first constitution of West Virginia, adopted in 1863, but was restored in almost its original form by the constitution of 1872. It was very unpopular in West Virginia, and was abolished by a constitutional amendment in 1879.

There were no cities in Virginia in the seventeenth century. The first town to grow into such importance as to need a local government of its own was Williamsburg, the capital. In 1722, Williamsburg received a charter from the king which constituted it a city and gave it a separate government. The management of the affairs of the city was entrusted to a mayor, recorder, six aldermen and twelve councilmen. The king appointed the first mayor, recorder and aldermen, who were to elect twelve councilmen to hold office during good behavior. These officials were to be a self-perpetuating body, as all vacancies were to be filled by cooptation. They were to meet every year to choose one of the aldermen as mayor for the ensuing year. The mayor, recorder, and aldermen were the judges of the Court of Hustings, and were also justices of the peace in Williamsburg. The jurisdiction of this court was enlarged from time to time, and by 1736 it was equal to that of the county courts. In 1722, Norfolk was granted a city charter and a form

of government that was almost an exact copy of that of Williamsburg. There were no other incorporated cities in Virginia before the Revolution. The Assembly appointed trustees for the unincorporated towns whose duties were "to attend to the surveying, letting and selling of the town-land."

In every county there was a regiment of militia composed of all the able-bodied men between the ages of sixteen, eighteen or twenty, and sixty (these were the different limits at different times), except certain classes of persons who were exempted from militia duty by law. There were usually from eight to ten companies in a county, the number of men in each ranging from fifty to seventy-five. Every captain called his company together for drilling four times a year or oftener, and once or twice a year all the militiamen of the county came together for a general muster. The whole regiment was commanded by a colonel or inferior officer, who was appointed by the governor and was usually a member of his council.

When the shires were organized in 1634, sheriffs were appointed, apparently for the first time. Before this time the duties of the sheriff were performed mainly by the provost marshal, though the commander of the hundred also sometimes executed the orders of the governor. It seems that the sheriffs were appointed at first by the monthly courts, but during the eighteenth century they were appointed by the governor. The appointment was generally made on the recommendation of the justices, and so they virtually made the selections. The sheriff was one of the justices, though he did not act as such during his year of office. His fees were paid in the fluctuating currency of that day, tobacco, and when the price of tobacco was low, the place was by no means a lucrative one. In 1710 the remuneration was so small that the assembly deemed it necessary to pass a law making the office compulsory. The duties of the colonial sheriff were not very different from what they are now. He executed the orders and sentences of the courts and assembly, made arrests, and summoned jurors and others to court. He also usually collected the taxes, and sometimes took the lists of tithables, that is, acted as assessor. The sheriff was also the keeper of the county prison. Prison rules were in one respect more humane in colonial times than they are now. The prisoners were not all shut off from the advantages of fresh air and exercise, but most of them were allowed to walk about during the day time within a certain area around the jail. By an act of 1765, the limits within which prisoners were allowed their freedom were to include an area of not less than five nor more than ten acres. Many persons sent to jail for debt used to take houses within the prison limits and thus lived at home while serving out their terms of imprisonment.

The office of constable was established early in the history of the colony. We cannot say exactly when constables were first appointed, but we know that by 1657 the office was an established part of the governmental machinery of the counties. Every county was divided into precincts, in each of which a constable was elected by the county court. Any person elected constable could be forced to serve for one year. The duties performed by the colonial constable were about the same as those that have engaged his successors up to the present time.

Another important office was that of clerk of the county court. County clerks were usually appointed by the secretary of state, and were regarded as his deputies. The appointments were not made for any definite period but were revocable at the pleasure of the secretary. This patronage not only extended the influence of the secretary throughout the colony, but also proved a source of considerable revenue to him, as it was the custom for all the clerks to pay him a fee every year.

Prior to 1662, there was not a notary public in Virginia. Owing to the lack of such an officer to attest oaths, statements sworn to in Virginia were not given the credit in foreign countries to which they were entitled. For this reason the Assembly in 1662 appointed one notary public for

the colony, and some years later authorized him to choose deputies throughout the colony.

The legal profession was not, as a rule, encouraged by the legislation of the colonial period. In 1643, it was enacted that all lawyers must be licensed in the Quarter Court before being allowed to practice their profession. Their fees were restricted to twenty pounds of tobacco for every cause pleaded in the monthly courts and to fifty pounds for every one in the Quarter Court. Within two years the assembly repented of having allowed lawyers this amount of liberty, and passed a law prohibiting attorneys from practicing in the courts for money. The reason given for this action was that suits had been unnecessarily multiplied by the "unskillfulness and covetousness of attorneys." The prohibition of "mercenary attorneys" was repealed in 1656 and re-enacted in 1658. The courts must have gotten along badly without the assistance of paid attorneys, for in 1680 the assembly again passed a law which recognized the right of lawyers to charge for their services. This law was soon afterwards repealed, but professional attorneys had been again admitted to the courts by 1718. During the eighteenth century we find no statutes forbidding lawyers to receive compensation for their services, but the fees charged by them continued to be restricted by the assembly.

It was not, perhaps, until 1732 that a license to practice law was required. In May, 1732, the governor and council were authorized to license persons to practice law who had been examined by men learned in the law. * * * This act was repealed in 1742 but revived in 1745. It was required by these acts that no persons should be licensed to practice law unless found worthy in morals and in legal learning. This precaution has, by the letter of the law, been observed ever since, although as a distinguished law writer has remarked, "It is very loosely applied in practice." No one can now obtain a license to practice law in this state without first having a certificate from the county court of the county in which he has resided for a year that he is man of good moral character; and he must also have passed a satisfactory examination under the rules and regulations prescribed by the Supreme Court of Appeals or shall have diploma of graduation from the law school of the West Virginia University.

During the first years of the colony's history, there was no attorney-general in Virginia to give legal advice to the Quarter Court. But the governor and council could send to England for an opinion if a cause came before them involving a question of law which they felt incapable of deciding. The first attorney general mentioned in the records was Richard Lee, who was appointed in 1643. The attorneys-general were appointed by the governor, and sometimes with the consent of the king. He had to prosecute criminals before the General Court and the oyer and terminer court, and to give his advice to these courts whenever it was needful.

In 1711, it was found necessary to appoint prosecuting attorneys for the counties. Before that time breaches of the penal laws were prosecuted in the counties by those persons who had reported them to the courts, and informers were given one-half of all fines imposed for offenses reported by them. It sometimes happened that an informer would compound with the accused for his half of the fines and would then stop the prosecution. This would cause the case to be thrown out of court, and so the crown would fail to receive its half of the fine. There was need, therefore, of a better method of prosecuting offenders in the counties, and Governor Spotswood issued a proclamation appointing prosecuting attorneys for the counties. These new officers came to stay, and from this time on we find them performing their duties in the county courts. They were deputies of the attorney-general and had to prosecute offenders in the county courts as the attorney-general did in the General Court and oyer and terminer court.

The right of jury trial was one of the privileges that the first settlers brought with them from England, and this right was put in practice

before the settlement was a year old. In Dale's scheme of military government there was no provision for juries; but when the regime of freedom was inaugurated by Governor Yeardley, the people began again to enjoy the right of trial by jury. In both the General Court and the oyer and terminer courts, important criminal offenses were tried by a petit jury after indictments had been made by the grand jury. The petit jury in both courts was usually composed of twelve men. The petit jury came into the county courts as early as 1642. The grand jury did not make its appearance in the county courts until 1645, and apparently was not permanently established there until more than thirty years later. A part of the work that now falls to the grand jury was done in the colonial period, especially the early part of it, by the churchwardens. They were required to present such offenses as adultery, drunkenness, swearing, absence from church, and other offenses of like character. There was a property qualification for jury service in both the higher and lower courts. In the early years, it was the practice for juries to be kept from food until after they had rendered their verdict. A few cases are recorded in which juries of women were called on to decide questions of fact in cases in which women were charged with witchcraft or of concealing bastard children. In the seventeenth century perplexed coroners in a few cases appealed to the ordeal of touch to decide the guilt or innocence of persons accused of murder.

Up until 1732, the Virginia laws did not recognize the right of a layman to claim the benefit of clergy unless he could read. In that year the Assembly extended the benefit of clergy to negroes, Indians, and mulattoes, and ordered that the reading test should thereafter never be required of anyone who should claim the privilege. In the eighteenth century, branding seems to have been regarded as a mere act of form in Virginia, for it could be done with a cold iron.

CHAPTER V

THE FIRST ADVANCE

Over two hundred years ago [1] the cosmopolitan Lieutenant-Governor Alexander Spotswood of Virginia led an expedition which, by penetrating the fifty miles intervening between the frontier and the peaks of the Blue Ridge, and descending beyond the valley of the Shenandoah, broke down the first barrier which had checked the westward expansion of the English in America and began a conquest which made Virginia the mother of an empire.

Born in 1676, at Tangier in Morocco, of an illustrious Scottish family which had furnished an archbishop who had found a sepulchre in Westminster Hall, and he himself a soldier who had fought with Marlborough at Blenheim, Spotswood became the first great expansionist and one of the first true republicans of the Old Dominion.

Coming to Virginia in 1710, he soon took an active interest in plans to break through the mountain blockade beyond which the traditional enemies of England and their Indian allies were already actively engaged in trade. He was confident that the colonists with proper encouragement would soon extend their settlements to the source of the James.

Riding at the head of a gay and merry body of thirty cavalier adventurers, marshalled and guided by the sound of the hunter's horn, and followed by a long retinue of negro slaves and Indian guides, spare horses, and sumpter-mules laden with provisions and casks of native Virginia wine, he left Williamsburg on June 20, 1716, traveled via King William and Middlesex counties and via Mountain Run to the Rappahannock, thence up the Rapidan to his own estates at Germanna, (colonized by Germans 1714) where all their horses were shod, thence to Peyton's Ford and via the present site of Stannardsville (in Green county) and over the rugged road through the Blue Ridge by Swift Run gap to the Shenandoah about ten miles below the site of Port Republic, and some writer has said that he continued westward through mountain defiles to a lofty peak of the Appalachian range (perhaps in Pocahontas county).

According to John Fontain's journal of the expedition, each day's march was enlivened by the chase and each night's rest, after the meal of grouse and pheasants shot in forest glades, was enlivened by laughter, song and story which were stimulated by stores of various liquid mixtures from the vineyards of Virginia lowlands. Looking westward from a peak of the mountains, Spotswood was fascinated by the suggestion awakened by the view of a more distant mountain peak, to the west and north, from which Indian guides said one could see the sparkle of the fresh-water sea now called Lake Erie. On the Shenandoah, which Spotswood at first named the Euphrates, "with ceremonious salute, and

[1] At the end of one hundred years, the Virginians knew little or nothing of the country except along the coast and on the rivers where they could go in ships and boats. They found more territory east of the mountains than they could well care for and protect, and much more than they then had any use for, and they had not deemed it prudent to go to or to attempt to investigate the country beyond the high mountains, and it was proven by Col. Wm. Byrd that in 1709 it was not known that the Potomac passed through the mountains. There was no attempt to extend their missionary work beyond the vicinity in which they lived, and no doubt they had all the work of that kind they could do, and the country and the people beyond the mountains were unknown to them.

appeal to the store of creature comforts," the adventurers took formal possession of the "Valley of Virginia" in the name of the Hanoverian monarch of England and buried the record in an empty bottle near the camp which they had pitched.

Returning to Williamsburg he gave a glowing description of the healthful region visited; and, perhaps in order to commemorate the recent jovial invasion of a wilderness, previously unbroken by the white man, he established the "Transmontane Order" of the "Knights of the Golden Horeshoe," and gave to each of the members of his expedition (and to others who would accept them with a purpose of crossing the mountains) miniature horseshoes bearing the inscription "Sic jurat transcendere montes." Howe in his Historical Collections of Virginia states that in commemoration of the event the king conferred the honor of knighthood upon Spotswood and presented to him a miniature golden horseshoe on which was inscribed the above motto.

From his excursion and hunting picnic among the hills he obtained visions which expanded his views as an expansionist and induced him to propose ambitious and aggressive imperial plans for control from the mountains to the Lakes—plans which although held in abeyance at the time and for many years after his removal from office in 1722, and after his death in 1740, were finally revived under a later expansionist governor, also a Scotchman (Dinwiddie)—and pressed to execution at a fearful cost.

Spotswood gave the stimulus which soon attracted to the passes of the mountains the pioneers who were later gradually awakened to the possibilities of a great movement which resulted in the winning of the West. The short journey from Germanna to the Shenandoah was the first march in the winning of the territory now included in West Virginia. The leader of the expedition continued to encourage western settlement by treaties protecting the frontier from Indians and by legislation for exemption of the inhabitants of newly-formed counties from quit rents. Some of his followers led in the westward movement along the Potomac and in the Northern Neck.

The earliest permanent settlers in the eastern panhandle, however, entered from Pennsylvania by the "Old Pack-horse Ford" (at Shepherdstown). By 1727 Morgan Morgan settled on Mill creek (in Berkeley county) and Germans began a settlement which later grew into a village called New Mechlenberg (now Shepherdstown).

Probably there were hunters and a few settlers on the Virginia side of the Potomac above Harper's Ferry before the date of recorded settlement. As early as 1715, the Shepherds and others held plantations on the Maryland side of the river in that vicinity, at the mouth of Antietam creek. This seems to indicate that the Valley was well known to Marylanders at that early date. Possibly there was a small settlement on the Potomac on the site of Shepherdstown even before the place was named Mecklenburg. The earliest name applied to the place was Pack Horse or Pack Horse settlement. Among the earliest families in the neighborhood were the Cookuses, Kepharts, and Mentzins. In the common burial ground on the Cookuses' land, were old burial stones which appeared to bear the date 1720, 1725 and 1728. After 1755 the Pack Horse settlement was known for a short time as Swearingen's Ferry, in honor of Thomas Swearingen who at that date established a ferry on his own land at the bottom of what was later called Princess street. Soon thereafter, during the French and Indian war, Thomas Shepherd began to lay out his recently acquired land into streets and lots to form a town which at first was called Mecklenburg but was later named for its founder. The settlement of the village was interrupted and delayed by the war with the Indians. Finally, in 1762, under an act of the Assembly the town was formally created under the name of Mecklenburg.[2]

[2] In the year 1765 the famous town ordinance was made against the rats and mice which afflicted the housekeepers of the old town so sorely. A town meeting

In 1730 and within a few years thereafter, other daring pioneers settled upon the Opequon, Back creek, Tuscarora creek, Cacapon, and farther west on the South Branch. Among those who founded homes along the Potomac in what is now Jefferson and Berkeley counties were the Shepherds, Robert Harper (at Harper's Ferry), William Stroop, Thomas and William Forester, Van Swearinger, James Forman, Edward Lucas, Jacob Hite, Jacob Lemon, Richard and Edward Mercer, Jacob Van Meter, Robert Stockton, Robert Buckles, John and Samuel Taylor and John Wright. In 1736 an exploring party traced the Potomac to its source. Charles Town was begun about 1740, two years later than Winchester.

In 1732 Joist (Yost) Hite and fifteen other families cut their way through the wilderness from York, Pennsylvania, and crossing the Potomac two miles above Harpers Ferry proceeded to the vicinity of Winchester and made settlements which exerted a great influence upon the early neighboring settlements in the territory now included in West Virginia. He also became involved in a famous land dispute [3] of interest to settlers in the eastern panhandle—a dispute with Lord Fairfax who had inherited under a grant of 1681 a large estate south of the Potomac including the present counties of Mineral, Hampshire, Hardy, Morgan, Berkeley and Jefferson and one-eighth of Tucker and three-fourths of Grant. This lawsuit, which Fairfax began against Hite in 1736 and which was not settled until all the original parties were resting in their graves, a half century later, arrested development of the lower valley and stimulated settlement farther west. Several German immigrants, induced by insecurity of titles in the lower Shenandoah crossed the Alleghanies and built cabins in the New, the Greenbrier and the Kanawha valleys.

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was appointed to determine the best course to pursue in order to rid the village of these pests. The result of the meeting was that it was "ordered that Jacob Eoff is authorized to procure a sufficient number of cats to destroy the rats that infest this town and to procure the same on the most reasonable terms in his power, as soon as possible, and that the money he expend in procuring the same be levied for him the tenth day of June next." All the country people came to the village on the next market day with bags and baskets full of cats and kittens, and held a cat market, probably on the spot where, later, the old market house was erected. Mr. William Briscoe wrote a most amusing poem based upon this order of the old town council.

[3] Hite's litigation with Lord Fairfax which began in 1736 was not decided until 1786. The decision was finally in favor of Hite and those claiming under him. In this controversy the right of the case was undoubtedly with Hite. While the lands in dispute unquestionably fell within the boundaries of the Northern Neck as fixed by the commission of 1745, yet Lord Fairfax, in accepting the Rapidan as the southern boundary of his grant, agreed that all crown grants made prior to that date should be confirmed. This agreement was not kept, and his litigation with Hite served in considerable measure to arrest the development of the lower Valley.

William Russel, with whom Hite's litigation was speedily settled, was a Horse Shoe Knight, who came over with Gov. Spotswood from England in 1710, accompanied the Governor across the Blue Ridge in 1716.

In 1733 Lord Fairfax addressed a petition to the King, setting up his claims to the lands in controversy. This resulted in an order in Council restraining the Virginia Government from perfecting those grants until the boundaries of the Northern Neck could be settled. This order is evidence that in 1734 forty families, numbering about 250 persons, were settled on and near the Opequon in the vicinity of Winchester.

By the year 1736 Hite and his partners had succeeded in settling 54 families upon the tract, when Fairfax entered a caveat against the issuing of patents in them. When the dispute between Fairfax and the Crown ended in 1745, Hite and his associates claimed their patents, insisting that the Council orders for their lands should be construed as grants within the meaning of the Act of 1748, which confirmed the grantees of the Crown in possession of their lands. This Fairfax resisted, claiming that the only titles confirmed by that act were those cases in which patents had actually been issued by the Crown. Hite and partners then instituted a suit against Fairfax (in 1749). In October, 1771, a decree was entered in favor of the plaintiffs. Fairfax appealed to the King in Council, but the Revolution ended the appeal. The case was finally decided in the Virginia courts in 1786 in favor of Hite and his associates.

Farther up the Shenandoah at "Bellefont," one mile from the site of Staunton, John Lewis in 1732 established a first location in Augusta county which at that time comprised all the undefined territory of Virginia west of the Blue Ridge mountains. The issue of patents in 1736 brought to Augusta and Rockbridge from the lower Shenandoah and from England a stream of Scotch-Irish Presbyterians, some of whom pushed their way with their descendants into the adjoining country known as Bath, Allegheny and Craig counties.

The descendants of these first settlers of the Shenandoah were among the pioneers who later crossed the Alleghenies and established homes in the valleys of the Monongahela, the Kanawha and the Ohio.

From the Shenandoah to the South Branch the advance was rapid—unobstructed by difficult mountains adventurers and home-seekers could either ascend the Potomac or take the shorter route across North Mountain. As early as 1725 John Van Meter, an Indian trader from the Hudson river, traversed the Upper Potomac and South Branch valleys.[4]

GEORGE WASHINGTON'S HEADQUARTERS IN 1747 AS BOY SURVEYOR FOR LORD FAIRFAX

In 1735 the first settlement in the valley of the South Branch was made in what is now Hampshire county by four families named Cobun, Howard, Walker and Rutledge. A year afterwards Isaac Van Meter, Peter Casey, the Pancakes, Foremans and others reared homes further up the

[4] When Mr. VanMetre returned to New York he advised his sons, that if they ever migrated to Virginia, to secure a part of the South Branch bottom. He described it as "The Trough," and the finest body of land he had ever seen. One of his sons, Isaac VanMetre, who was about to migrate, took his father's advice, and about the year 1736 or 1737, settled in Virginia. Mr. VanMetre returned to New Jersey shortly afterward, and in 1740 came back, only to find other settlers on his place. He went back to New Jersey again, and in 1744 returned with his family to make a permanent settlement. In the meantime a large number had settled in the neighborhood, and already much progress could be noted.

In 1763 many of them were giving their time and attention to rearing large herds of horses, cattle, hogs, etc. Some of them became expert, hardy and adventurous hunters, and depended chiefly for support and money making on the sale of skins and furs. Considerable attention was given to the culture of the pea vine, which grew abundantly late in the summer season.

The majority of the first immigrants were principally from Pennsylvania, composed of native Germans or German extraction. A number, however, were direct from Germany, and several from Maryland, New Jersey and New York. These immigrants brought with them the religion, customs and habits of their ancestors. They constituted three religious sects, viz.: Lutherans, Menonists and Calvanists, with a few Tunkers, and were very strict in their worship.

South Branch—some of them located within what is now Hardy county.[5] By 1748 there were about 200 people along the entire course of the stream.[6]

The expansion of settlements was influenced by conditions resulting from the great land grants owned by Lord Fairfax. In 1736 hearing glowing accounts of the South Branch (from John Howard who had gone via South Branch, crossed the Alleghenies and gone down the Ohio), Fairfax ordered a survey of his boundary and soon began to issue 99 year leases to tenants at the rate of $3.33 for each hundred acres, and to sell land outright on a basis of an annual quit rent of 33 cents.

In 1747-48 following the erection of the Fairfax stone at the head of the Potomac in 1746 much of the land within the Fairfax grant in the South Branch country was surveyed by Washington and laid off in quantities to suit purchasers. Nearly 300 tracts were surveyed in the two years.[7]

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[5] All these settlements were at that time in Orange county (formed from Spottsylvania in 1734) which extended to the "utmost limits of Virginia," including in its boundaries all of what is now West Virginia, Kentucky, Ohio, Indiana and Illinois.

[6] The Moorfield settlement became a center of later dispersions not only upstream but also across the divide—especially by the McCulloch trail later (about 1785-86) widened into a state road from Moorfield to the Potomac, and by the branch trail known as the Horse shoe trail. Among its people who migrated to the Ohio was Ebenezer Zane who began the settlement at Wheeling and later cut "Zane's Trace" across southeastern Ohio and thereby determined the sites of Zanesville, Lancaster and Chillicothe.

[7] Lord Fairfax always considered himself a British subject, although he remained quietly on his estate near Winchester during the revolution. His sympathies with the royal cause were well known; and had he been an ordinary person he would have been roughly treated by the patriots in the valley of Virginia. But the great friendship that existed between him and General Washington saved him. Out of respect for Washington, Fairfax was spared. But when Cornwallis surrendered at Yorktown, October 19, 1781, Fairfax saw that all was over. It may be said that it was his death blow. He took to his bed and never again left it, dying soon after in his ninety-second year.

He never married and, of course, left no child to inherit his vast estate. All his property, or the greater portion of it, was devised to his nephew in England, the Rev. Denny Martin, on condition that he would apply to the Parliament of Britain for an act to authorize him to take the name of Lord Fairfax. This was done, and Denny, Lord Fairfax, like his uncle, never marrying, he devised the estate to Gen. Philip Martin, who never marrying, and dying without issue, devised the estate to two old maiden sisters, who sold it to Messrs. Marshall, Colston and Lee.

During the Revolution Virginia Legislature enacted laws against such an estate as that of Fairfax. One of these laws against estates entail was proposed by Thomas Jefferson as early as October, 1776. It abolished the system of perpetual rents and favored estates in fee simple. Although it did not break up the Fairfax estate at once it stopped the rent on land already sold. A later law confiscated the estates of Tories.

At the close of the Revolution the Fairfax lands were confiscated by Virginia and thrown open to settlement under the regulations for other state lands, and in time they became the property of many farmers. The project for large manors on South Branch and Patterson creek was never realized. In 1782 the Assembly confiscated the claims of the Fairfax heirs, having previously declared invalid the claims of the Vandalia and Indiana companies. In 1789 David Hunter received a patent for lands which had formally belonged to Fairfax, but being refused possession he brought suit in the court of Shenandoah county, which decided against him in a decision which was later reversed by the Supreme Court of the state. Later David Martin to whom Fairfax had bequeathed the right to the disputed property appealed to the United States Supreme Court which sustained the lower court of Shenandoah (1813) and in 1816 causing many to fear that the confiscation of the Indiana and Vandalia claims might not prove a permanent settlement of their title to western lands.

Lord Fairfax had an eye to money-making and resolved to realize as much as possible from his property. His desire was to provide a perpetual income. It amounted to the same thing as renting his land forever at a fixed yearly rental. He required a small sum, usually two and one-half cents an acre, or even less, to be paid down. He called this "composition money." He required a sum of about an equal amount to be paid every year "on the feast day of Saint Michael the Archangel." He did not always charge the same sum yearly per acre. He was greedy and overbearing, and if a person settled and improved his lands without title, and afterwards applied for title, he took advantage of it, and charged him more, thinking he would pay it sooner than give up his improvements.

Coincident with the surveys and sale of Lord Fairfax's land on the lower South Branch many frontiersmen—not approving the English practice wanted full title in fee—pushed higher up the Shenandoah and South Branch valleys. New settlements crept up the South Branch into regions now included in Pendleton county, whose triple valleys had already been visited by hunters and prospectors—one of whom had built a cabin about 1745 a half mile below the site of Brandywine. In 1746-47 Robert Green of Culpeper entered several tracts giving him a monopoly of nearly 30 miles of the best soil. In 1747 he gave deeds of purchase to six families who were probably the first bona fide settlers of Pendleton. In 1753 there was a sudden wave of new immigration and four years later the territory now included in Pendleton had a population of 200—equally divided between the South Branch and the South Fork, and most numerous toward the Upper Tract and Dyer settlement. The earlier settlers in the region now occupied by Hampshire and Hardy counties included Dutch and Germans and Irish and Scotch and English. The territory included in Pendleton was largely settled by Germans from the Shenandoah.

Considering the needs of the South Branch region, the Assembly in 1754 made provision for the formation of the new county of Hampshire from the territory of Frederick and Augusta with boundaries extending westward to the "utmost parts of Virginia." The county was organized in 1757. The presiding justice of the first county court was Thomas Bryan Martin, a nephew of Lord Fairfax. Romney was established by law in 1762 (by Fairfax).

In the meantime, to meet the exigencies of the expansion of western settlers, commissioners of Virginia, Pennsylvania and Maryland in 1744 negotiated with the Six Nations (at Lancaster, Pennsylvania), a treaty by which for 400 pounds they ceded to the English all the region between the Alleghenies and the Ohio. Settlements were delayed, however, first by the barrier of the Alleghenies and later by the uninviting character of narrow defiles and dense wilderness, and uncleared valleys beyond, which furnished ample cover for treacherous Indians opposed to the adventurous pioneers seeking to penetrate the wild hunting grounds.

The first direct stimulus to settlement farther west came from the earlier settlements established about 1732 on grants including the site of Winchester and the site of Staunton. Following the expansion of settlements up the Shenandoah and the James, the most adventurous settlers following the hunters began to push their way across the divide to the New river and then farther west to lands now included in West Virginia. A century before the establishment of permanent settlements, the New river region of West Virginia westward to Kanawha Falls was visited by a party of Virginians under Captain Thomas Batts with a commission from the General Assembly "for the finding out the ebbing and flowing of ye South Sea." The earliest settlements in the New river region of West Virginia had their bases in the earlier settlement of 1748 by the Ingles, Drapers and others at Drapers Meadows (later known as Smithfield near Blacksburg, Virginia) and were possibly also influenced by the settlement of 1749 by Adam Harman near the mouth of Sinking creek (Eggleston's Spring, Giles county) and the neighboring settlement made by Philip Lybrook in 1750. They received their direct incentive from the report of Christopher Gist who in returning from his Ohio exploring expedition of 1750 passed down the Bluestone valley and crossed the New river a short distance below

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In making these early deeds it was stipulated that the person who bought should "never kill elk, deer, buffalo, beaver or other game," without the consent of Fairfax or his heirs.

Land along the South Branch in those days was not so valuable as at present; yet it found ready sale. Four hundred acres, near Moorefield, sold for one hundred and twenty-five dollars in 1758. Under the British rule the land all belonged to Fairfax, and all who occupied it must pay him perpetual rent. No man could feel that he absolutely owned his own land.

the mouth of Indian creek at Crump's Bottom (in Summers county). In 1753 Andrew Culbertson induced by fear of the Indians to leave his home near Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, journeyed via the settlements in Montgomery and Giles county to Crump's Bottom. A year later Thomas Farley obtained the Culbertson tract and erected a fort at Warford farther west. Around the scattered settlements several others were begun in the same year. Pioneers from Pennsylvania came both by the James and by the South Branch and Greenbrier rivers.

The discovery of the Greenbrier by a lunatic citizen of Frederick county in 1749, excited the enterprise of two men from New England, Jacob Marlin and Stephen Sewell, who took up residence upon the Greenbrier where they were found in 1751 by General Andrew Lewis, agent of the Greenbrier Land Company which had obtained a grant of 100,000 acres of land of which about 50,000 acres was surveyed by 1755 when operations stopped until about the close of the French and Indian war (after which they were renewed in spite of the King's Proclamation).

The earliest incentive to actual occupation in the Monongahela and Ohio region was furnished in 1748 by the formation of the Ohio company which received from George II a grant of 500,000 acres along the Ohio between the Monongahela and the Kanawha and which planned settlements by which to divert the Indian trade from Pennsylvania. Plans for settlement by Germans from Pennsylvania were prevented by Virginia's law against dissenter.[8] Four years later, transmontane settlements were encouraged by the house of burgesses through an offer of tax exemption for ten years.

Many of the first settlers, west of the mountains considered the soils of the region nonsupporting and intended to remain only until the game should be exhausted.

Daring frontiersmen began to seek trans-Allegheny homes farther north. The earliest attempts at settlement along the waters of the Monongahela were made by David Tygart and Robert Foyle on Tygart's Valley river (in Randolph) in 1753, by Thomas Eckarly and his brothers on Cheat at Dunkard's Bottom (in Preston) in 1754 and by Thomas Decker and others near the mouth of Deckers creek (in Monongahela) in 1758. Permanent settlements were not made until after the close of the French and Indian war, and until the treaty negotiated with Pontiac at the forks of the Muskingum by General Bouquet rendered peace on the border more certain.

The center of the region which in 1754 (at the formation of Hampshire county) contained the pioneer settlers of West Virginia may be indicated by an irregular line drawn from the Blue Ridge through Harpers Ferry, Charleston, Martinsburg, Berkeley Springs, Romney, Moorefield, Petersburg, Upper Tract and Franklin, Marlinton, and thence down the Greenbrier and through Monroe county to Peters Mountain. The total population has been estimated at 10,000 whites and 400 blacks.

Soon after the Lancaster treaty of 1744, by which the Iroquois granted to the English the control of the region north of the Ohio, a small number of pioneer farmers made at Draper's Meadows (upon New river) the first permanent English settlement on waters flowing into the Ohio—a settlement which prepared the way for the later first settlements on the Middle New in the territory which is now a part of West Virginia.

For nearly a quarter of a century civilization halted at the eastern

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[8] In 1751 the Ohio company desiring to obtain an additional grant for the region between the Great Kanawha and the Monongahela sent Christopher Gist to make explorations along the Ohio. After Gist made his report in 1752, the company petitioned the King for the grant and for permission to form a separate government in the region between the Alleghenies and the Ohio. After years of waiting and negotiation, the Ohio and Warpole companies were merged into the Grand Ohio Company, which continued the efforts to secure the formation of the proposed province of Vandalia with its capital at the mouth of the Great Kanawha.

base of the trackless Alleghenies in the valleys west of the South Branch country. There the frontiersmen toiled in clearings and gained strength to force the barrier which for a time stopped their advance to lands of another drainage system. Gradually their interest in the trans-Allegheny region was quickened through information brought by a few daring traders, adventurers or explorers.

By 1749 the preparation for a new advance was illustrated in the formation of the Ohio company and the Greenbrier company. In that year also two men, Jacob Marlin and Stephen Sewell, the first trans-Allegheny pioneers, were occupying a cabin in the wilderness on the Greenbrier (near the site of Marlinton, West Virginia), near a branch of the old Iroquois war path from New York to the headwaters of the Tennessee. In 1751 John Lewis and Andrew Lewis reached the Greenbrier to survey land. By 1753 Robert Files and David Tygart with their families had settled in Tygarts Valley near the Seneca war path—Files having built a cabin at the site of Beverly on the creek that bears his name, and Tygart three miles above on the river that bears his name. About the same time three men named Eckarly, members of the Dunkards religious organization, and hiding in the woods to escape military duty, built a cabin on Cheat river (on Dunkard Bottom) near the old Catawba war path and two miles from the site of Kingwood on land still claimed by the Iroquois Indians.

These settlements were on territory which the settlers had no legal right to occupy. Both those on Tygarts and that on Cheat were soon broken up by the Indians. The entire Files family was murdered. Tygart, being warned, fled eastward with his family, crossed the Alleghanies by an obscure path (probably the Fishing hawk trail) and reached settlements in Pendleton county. Two of the Eckarlys were killed but one was absent and escaped.

Meantime the colonization schemes of the Greenbrier company and the Ohio company had failed, partly through fear of the Indians and partly through failure to attract German protestant immigrants from eastern Pennsylvania. The German protestants, with whom the Ohio company had arranged for settlement in the territory between the Monongahela and the Kanawha, learning that they would be subject to extra taxes laid on dissenters from the English church in Virginia, refused to go. In 1752 the Virginia House of Burgesses attempted to encourage trans-Allegheny settlements by an offer of ten years' exemption from taxes to all protestant settlers in that region, but under the changed conditions existing two or three years later, protestants doubtless preferred to pay their taxes in the East than to risk exemptions in the West.

CHAPTER VI

THE STRUGGLE FOR TRANS-ALLEGHENY CONTROL

The beginning of West Virginia history is closely associated with the final struggle between France and England for control in North America. It is especially connected with the Anglo-French struggle for control of the Upper Ohio valley into which the hunters, trappers, fur traders of Pennsylvania and Virginia were venturing by scores through the passes of the Blue Ridge and the Alleghenies by the middle of the Eighteenth century—a region which France had long considered her own. These adventurous borderers of the upland, frequently forced westward in search of new lands, understood the situation far better than the inhabitants of the tide water region of the middle colonies. They were the advance agents of British occupation, few in number at first, and frequently obliged to suspend their operations on the farther frontier and to fall back upon the border line of settlement distinguished by log cabins of men who were raising horses, cattle, sheep and hogs, or even farther back to the region occupied by the small, rough holdings of the border farmers.

These frontiersmen, clad in primitive costume which was partly borrowed from the Indian, were rough in manners and speech, crude and unlettered, but among them were some of superior caliber who in time of great public need naturally assumed leadership and exercised an elevating influence on their fellow-frontiersmen.

Many of these borderers who sought new and cheap lands which could be found upon the western frontier were Ulster Scotch-Irish who had emigrated in large numbers from northeast Ireland to America during the first half of the Eighteenth century, especially settling in Pennsylvania and in the Carolinas.

Gradually, as the pressure upon available land became greater, the younger generations of Pennsylvania Scotch-Irish moved southwestward through the troughs of the Alleghenies, either tarrying on the upper waters of the Potomac and the South Branch or pressing on to the deep and fertile valleys of southwest Virginia and North Carolina.

These Ulster bordermen, easily developing into expert Indian fighters, formed, with the English colonial adventurers and Protestant Germans who commingled with them, a highly important factor in the coming battles for English supremacy in the new land beyond the mountains.

The territorial claims of England and France were in conflict west of the Alleghenies. There had never been any commonly recognized boundaries. Under colonial charters, the English had a basis of claim to all the interior westward to the Pacific, although France, after 1700, was willing to allow them only the Atlantic slope to the Appalachians. In June, 1744, taking advantage of a clause of the treaty of Utrecht (1713), in which France acknowledged the suzerainty of the British king over the Iroquois Confederacy, the English obtained from the Iroquois at a great council held at the Pennsylvania outpost of Lancaster a grant of the entire control of the Ohio valley north of the river which the Iroquois claimed by conquest in previous encounters with the Shawnee. This grant became a chief corner-stone upon which the English based their pretensions to the West. Soon thereafter a small group of agricultural frontiersmen in the neighboring valley of Virginia made a settlement at Draper's Meadows (upon New river), the first permanent settlement of the English upon westward-flowing waters.

Soon thereafter prominent Virginians recognizing a Virginian claim to the "Northwest" line mentioned in an early charter, planned to secure an advantage in the West over Pennsylvania which, because of internal dissensions, had been slow in taking steps to settle the Ohio basin. In May, 1749, they secured from the British king a charter for the Ohio Company which was formed for fur trading and colonizing purposes in the region west of the mountains. By the terms of this charter, they obtained a half million acres south of the Ohio and along the Ohio—"which lands are his Majesty's undoubted right by the treaty of Lancaster and subsequent treaties at Logstown" (on the Ohio west of Pittsburgh). In return for this grant they agreed to build a fort on the Ohio and to plant on their lands 100 families within seven years. Meantime, France was taking steps to strengthen her claim. In 1749, a French reconnaissance force under Celeron de Bienville obtained from the fickle Iroquois admittance through the Chautauqua gateway and proceeded to drive out the English traders and to take possession by planting leaden plates at the mouths of the principal streams tributary to the Ohio. The governor of New France planned for the immigration of 10,000 French peasants to settle the region before the English agricultural pioneers could reach it.

The English quickly replied to the report that France was proposing to construct a line of posts along the Ohio from its headwaters to its mouth. The Ohio Company promptly sent Christopher Gist (in 1750) to explore the country to the falls of the Ohio (now Louisville), to select lands for the Company, and to carry friendly messages to the Shawnee. In 1750-51, he made explorations in territory now included in the states of Ohio, Kentucky and West Virginia, and in western Maryland and southwestern Pennsylvania, and met many Scotch-Irish traders who were operating on the upper Miami, at Logstown on the Ohio and at Venango on the Allegheny. On his return via the Kentucky river and the Yadkin he made a favorable report which greatly stimulated interest in the West. In 1752, after accompanying Col. Joshua Fry to Logstown on a mission to conciliate the Indians, he built a cabin (still standing) near the site of the present town of Connellsville, Pennsylvania. There Washington found him in 1753.

Meantime the Company took another step toward occupation by constructing a fortified trading house at Wills creek (now Cumberland, Maryland), and by securing the aid of Colonel Thomas Cresap and an Indian named Nemacolin in blazing a trail 60 miles long over the Laurel watershed to the mouth of Redstone creek (now Brownsville, Pennsylvania) on the Monongahela where another stockade was soon built (1752). Over this famous historic path came a few daring Virginia settlers to plant themselves on the Monongahela which had become a river of strategic importance in connection with the French claim to the summits of the Appalachians.

The French made the next move. In the spring of 1753 while the Virginians lost time in debating, French authorities built Fort Le Boeuf upon a tributary of the Allegheny to protect the portage rout southward from the French fort at Presq'Isle, and soon sent a small detachment which seized the English trading post at Venango at the mouth of the Allegheny tributary.

In November (1753) the Virginia governor, Dinwiddie, sent Major George Washington (who took Gist as his guide) to remonstrate against the French occupation of this region. Late in 1753, after considerable haggling with his Assembly (which had no love for the Ohio Company), he decided to force matters by sending a small body of men under Capt. William Trent of Hampshire county to build a log fort at the forks of the Ohio.

In January, 1754, he decided to send a larger body of men under the command of Washington to protect Trent and to resist any attempts of the French. In order to stimulate enlistment, he offered 200,000 acres of land on the Ohio to be divided among the men and

the officers. In February he was finally able to persuade the deputies to vote supplies for the enterprise—a slender allowance of 10,000 pounds. On March 31, Washington, with 300 Virginia frontiersmen, started to the Monongahela. At Wills creek, he met Trent and his company of men who, after beginning a stockade at the forks, had been compelled to surrender on April 17 by a force of French and Indians numbering over 300 persons. Continuing his march westward upon the over-mountain path with a determination to hold the strategic point from which Trent and his troops had been expelled, he arrived late in May at Great Meadows which he selected as his military base.

On May 28, while leading a scouting party, he stumbled upon Jumonville who was suspiciously haunting his path. He promptly attacked and routed the enemy in a brief engagement which quickly precipitated a general conflagration. To protect himself against an avenging expedition from Ft. Duquesne which was proceeding in boats up the Monongahela to Redstone creek, he withdrew to Great Meadows and erected Fort Necessity where, after a desperate siege on July 3, by French and savages aggregating double his number, he signed articles of capitulation, in the midst of a fierce thunderstorm and, at daybreak on July 4, marched out over Nemacolin's path toward Wills creek.

The defeat, attributed by Governor Dinwiddie to the delay of the Assembly in voting the money for the expedition, resulted in the withdrawal of practically all the British traders and pioneers from the trans-Allegheny region to the older settlements, leaving France once more in complete possession of the West.

Dinwiddie, strongly impressed with the gravity of the situation, and perceiving that a crisis was at hand, persistently appealed to the British authorities for assistance to regain the western country from France, and finally was able to secure two Irish regiments of 500 men each under the leadership of General Edward Braddock who arrived at Alexandria, Virginia, with his regiments near the end of March, 1755. At Braddock's camp there was held, on April 14, a conference between the governor of Virginia and four other colonial governors. After considerable delay in discussing the best route to the Monongahela and in obtaining wagons from Pennsylvania for the expedition, Braddock pushed west through Frederick, Maryland, to the Potomac at Williamsport, and, in order to obtain a satisfactory road, crossed the Potomac and marched nearly due south to Winchester, and from that point followed the road through Hampshire county across the Potomac at the mouth of Little Capon river and from that point followed the Potomac to Wills creek (Fort Cumberland) which was reached on May 10. Here he wasted a month waiting for his cannon and in arranging for Indian scouts to lead his army through the almost unbroken wilderness beyond.

On June 10, he started to cross the divide. Finding that the old Nemacolin path (Washington's old road) was fit only for footmen and pack-horses, he set 300 axemen to work to widen the road for artillery and transport wagons. In reply to those who urged greater progress by making a temporary road, he insisted upon the importance of a permanent highway for the future and directed that streams and ravines should be bridged and hillsides graded. In eight days he advanced only 30 miles. Although he moved westward at the rate of only five miles a day, he opened across the Alleghenies a good wagon road over which the Star of Empire later moved westward.

Sixteen days after he left Cumberland, acting upon the advice of Washington, he pushed forward toward Fort Duquesne a part of his force, 1,200 men, with a few cannon and wagons and pack-horses, leaving Colonel Dunbar to follow at a slower pace with the heavy baggage and the reserves. On July 8, at the mouth of Turtle creek, a tributary of the Monongahela, eight miles from Fort Duquesne, he reached the fatal ravine where he was flanked on both sides by the French and their allies and defeated with heavy losses.

Leaving the dead unburied, the retreating army fled rapidly in the direction of Fort Cumberland, led by Colonel Washington. On the route, Braddock died from his wounds received in the battle, and was buried near Fort Necessity. Dunbar, who had camped on the Laurel hills, destroyed his valuable stores following the panic which resulted from the news of the disaster, and joined in the disorderly flight to Fort Cumberland. Among his fleeing wagonners, riding a horse whose traces he had cut, was young Daniel Boone, later famous as a frontiersman.

The disaster was complete. It was a momentous crisis in the border settlements of western Virginia. Every frontier settlement was in immediate danger. Both settlers and traders withdrew promptly from the trans-Allegheny region.

Contrary to expectations, however, the French and Indians did not pursue immediately, but, becoming panic-stricken in their fear of vengeance, fled to Fort Duquesne almost as fast as the British and Virginians retreated over the ill-fated path of Nemacolin. After the celebration of their victory they formed small parties to attack the English settlements. Before winter they were in absolute control of the trans-Allegheny country—a control which they retained for three years. Braddock's road, which had been cut through the wilderness with so much labor, furnished a convenient pathway for French attacks on the English border.

Some idea of the conditions may be obtained from the following extracts from a journal kept by Col. Chas. Lewis while marching to Fort Cumberland to defend the frontier against the Indians after the defeat of General Braddock in 1755:

Oct. 20.—We left Winchester under the command of Majr. Andrew Lewis and marched 10 miles to Capt. Smiths a very remarkable man. I was this day appointed Capt. over 41 men of different Companies. A remarkable dispute between Lieut. Steinbergen and an Irish woman.—10 Miles.

21st.—Marched from Capt. Smiths & crossed great Cape Capon, a beautiful prospect & the best land I ever yet saw. We encamped this night on the top of a mountain. The roads were by far the worst this day and our march was for that reason but 13 miles. Our men never the less were in high spirits, about 8 o'clock this night a soldiers musket went off in the middle of our encampment without any damage.

22d.—This day we marched from Sandy Top Mountain to Little Cape Capon, the land very good. We encamped this night at a poor mans house entirely forsaken, the people drove off by the Indians, we found here a plenty of corn, oats, stock of all kinds, even the goods & furniture of the house were left behind. This night about 9 o'clock we were joined by the Honble. Coll. George Washington and Capt. George Mercer A. D. C.—15 M.

23.—Very bad weather, snow, rain, we marched very slow today & arrived at the South Branch where we encamped at a house on the Branch, having come up with Coll. Washington, Capt. George Mercer A. D. C.—9 Miles. Very ill natured people here.

24.—A very wet day, we marched to Patterson Creek on which we encamped in a house deserted. We found here good corn, wheat & pasturage. Before we marched we discharged our pieces being wet, and charged them in expectation of seeing the Enemy. Coll. Washington marched before with Capt. Ashby's Company of rangers.—14 Miles.

25.—Marched from Patterson Creek & passed many deserted houses. I was this day very curious in the examination of the mischief done in the houses & was shocked at the havoc made by the barbarous & cruel Indians. At one Mecraggins I found the master of the family who had been buried but slightly by his friends after his assassination, half out of the grave & eaten by the wolves, the house burnt, the corn field laid waste, & an entire ruin made. At half after six we arrived at Fort Cumberland cold and hungry. We had this day by Maj. Lewis' order two women ducked for robbing the deserted houses.—20 Miles.

31st.—An Irishman arrived at the Fort with two scalps, it seems he was the Sunday before taken prisoner by a party of 52 Indians and being left in custody of two while the party proceeded towards the inhabitants, he with his guard arrived at the Shanoe Camp.

Nov. 2.—Ensign Bacon arrived at the Fort from Pattersons Creek, where he had been to erect a fort. On his way he heard the Indian hollow & saw many tracks of Indians in the woods, this alarmed the Fort but being late 'twas not possible to send out a party, but orders were given for a hundred men to parade in the morning under Capt. Waggoner.

21st.—A very bad morning, it still continuing to rain. A party of one hun-

dred men paraded under Capt. Waggoner to search for the Indians on Pattersons creek according to Ensign Bacons information of the day before. Maj. Andrew Lewis & myself went volunteers on this command we returned the same day with the party, no Indians or tracks of Indians to be seen.

Dec. 5th.—This morning we marched for Fort Cumberland and met about five miles from Crissips a relief commanded by Lieutenant Lynn of twelve men, we accepted of this relief and gave up our command to Mr. Lynn according to order.

6.—Five deserters were this day punished each receiving one thousand lashes. In this last command I may with the greatest truth aver that I saw the most horrid shocking sight, I ever yet beheld, at a house adjoining the cornfield in which our soldiers were employed in gathering corn, we saw the bodies of three different people who were first massacred, then scalped, and after thrown into a fire, these bodies were not yet quite consumed, but the flesh on many part of them, we saw the clothes of these people yet bloody, and the stakes, the instruments of their death still bloody & their brains sticking on them, the orchards all down, the mills all destroyed and a waste of all manner of household goods. These people were in my opinion very industrious, having the best corn I ever saw and their plantation well calculated for produce and every other conveniency suitable to the station of a farmer.

In the period of uncertainty which followed Braddock's defeat, Washington stood out as the guardian of the West. In measures for defense of the exposed frontiers, he was the choice of Governor Dinwiddie who recommended the chain of forts along the Alleghenies from the head of the Potomac to the Holston river. For the protection of 350 miles of open border, he had under his command less than 1,500 men, including many expert riflemen, but a turbulent and undisciplined soldiery, without uniforms, electing their own officers, fixing their own terms of enlistment and proudly disdaining all manifestations of authority which did not appeal to their individual judgments. His laborious task was a thankless one. His plans were restricted by the irritable and jealous Virginia Assembly which granted stores with tardiness and insufficiency and also by the frontiersmen themselves who had to be fairly driven into the unpopular service by means of the draft. Strongly feeling the obligation which rested upon him, he continued to pelt the governor, the Assembly and other influential men with letters appealing for necessary assistance.

Recognizing the difficulty of redeeming western Virginia by a new expedition to the Mononhagela, Virginia, in the winter of 1755, planned an expedition by route farther south to strike a blow against the Shawnee towns in Ohio.[1] This was the first English military expedition to the waters of the Ohio south of Pittsburgh. The expedition, consisting of about 350 men under command of Andrew Lewis, started February 18, 1756, from Fort Frederick in Augusta county, passed down New river and through the Drapers Meadows and by a difficult route through the woods with plans to reach the Indians beyond the mouth of Big Sandy. The route was partly through West Virginia, apparently by way of Tug Fork, and crossed into Kentucky near the mouth of Big Sandy. For some reason, possibly because of the loss of supplies in crossing the river and partly as a result of the cold weather the expedition turned back and was broken up by desertions before its return, many members perishing from cold and hunger. Its failure probably encouraged new Indian assaults and foraging.

Under the skillful supervision of Washington, the Virginia and Carolina borderers erected beyond the main settlements a line of stockaded block-houses at strategic points usually determined by the principal mountain passes. Among the most important affecting western Virginia were: Fort Ligonier on the Loyalhanna (in Pennsylvania), Fort Cumberland on the Upper Potomac, Fort Chiswell on the gentle slopes

[1] This expedition probably resulted in part from a recent Indian invasion on the upper New river. On the day before Braddock's defeat, the Shawnese completely destroyed the Ingles-Draper settlement and escaped with their prisoners, crossing the New above the mouth of Bluestone and from thence passing over the northeast extension of Flat Top and via the site of Beckley over the trail to the head of Paint creek and thence down the Kanawha. After the return of Mrs. Ingles, measures were adopted by Governor Dinwiddie to defend the frontier.

of the Valley of Virginia, Fort Byrd on the upper Holston, and Fort Loudoun on the Little Tennessee. Around these log strongholds, which became famous in border story, raged a long contest of fierce and bloody warfare while the larger operations of the war were being conducted farther north. The importance of this border contest was its aid in retaining the Ohio valley which really was the key to the situation.

In addition to these important stockades many smaller forts were used as places of refuge but they were inadequate for the security of settlers. The following is a list of those built in the important settlements within the territory east of the mountains which is now a part of West Virginia:

Fort Ohio, built in 1750 as a frontier storehouse of the Ohio Company, near the site of Ridgely (Mineral county) on the route later known as McCulloch's path.

Sellers fort, built in 1756, at the mouth of Patterson Creek (Mineral county);

Ashby's Fort, built in 1755, on Patterson's Creek (near Frankfort, Mineral county) about 25 miles from Fort Cumberland;

Fort Williams, six miles below Romney;

Furman Fort, on the South Branch, three miles below Romney;

Fort Pearsall, built in 1755 on the South Branch, near the site of Romney;

Fort Buttermilk (sometimes called Fort Waggoner), built in 1756 on the South Branch three miles above Moorefield;

Fort Pleasant, at Old Fields (near Moorefield) on the South Branch;

George's Fort, in the vicinity of Petersburg;

Fort Hopewell, on North Fork about six miles above Petersburg;

Fort Pearson (or Peterson), built in the fall of 1756 near the mouth of Mill Creek (Grant county);

Fort Upper Tract, erected in 1756, west of the South Branch near Fort Seybert;

Fort Seybert, on the South Fork of the South Branch of the Potomac (twelve miles northeast of Franklin (Pendleton county);

Ruddell's Fort (Riddle's) built in 1755 on Lost River (Hardy county);

Fort Warden, near the site of Wardensville (in Hardy county);

Fort Cox, built in 1755 on land of Friend Cox at the mouth of the Little Capon river;

Fort Maidstone, built in 1755 or 1756 near the mouth of Capon;

Fort Capon, at the forks of Capon in the Great Cacapon valley;

Fort Edwards, near the present village of Capon Bridge;

Hedges' Fort, on Black Creek (west of Martinsburg);

Fort Evans, two miles south of Martinsburg;

Fort Neally, on Opequon Creek.

Fort Duquesne was a central hive from which savages swarmed to attack the Pennsylvania and Virginia settlers east of the mountains. It furnished the inspiration and the sinews of war to Indians of the Ohio region who followed the trails across western Virginia to attack the settlers of the South Branch county and those on the Potomac. In 1756 parties of Indians made unsuccessful attacks in Hardy county (on Lost river), and others committed depredations near the site of Martinsburg. In the battle of the Trough (near Moorefield) they killed many settlers. In 1757 another party, many of which were mounted on stolen horses, almost annihilated a company under command of Captain Mercer at Capon river, in Hampshire county. For two years bands of warriors under Kilbuck hung about the settlements on the upper Potomac. In 1758 they invaded Pendleton county via the old Seneca war path and surprised and burned the fort at Upper Tract, killing every occupant. Then they appeared before Fort Seybert on the South Fork (Moorefield river) and after inducing the occupants to surrender, massacred all except a girl who escaped and one boy, James Dyer, who was carried into captivity. After burning the houses they retreated via Greenwalt Gap and the Seneca war path. Many of the backwoodsmen, uncertain of their security, retired to the Shenandoah or farther east, leaving their house unprotected from the Indians' torch.

Finally, after a period of defeat and humiliation, important events turned the scale of war. In England, a master of organization in the person of William Pitt was placed in control and in the winter of 1757-58 he prepared for victory by using his substantial parliamentary majority

to equip the dogs of war. In Pennsylvania too, preparation was made for greater efficiency in fighting. After Braddock's defeat and the resulting attack of the Indians upon the unprotected frontier settlements, whose settlers had been unable to induce the peaceful legislature to provide them with powder and lead and other warlike stores, the Quakers, who had always opposed appropriations for war or even the establishment of militia for self-defense, found themselves in a very embarrassing situation. Threatened with expulsion, in 1756 they voluntarily and public spiritedly retired to private life and patriotically allowed Scotch-Irishmen to be elected to the legislature in their places. Such a patriotic act of political disinterestedness, has seldom been paralleled in the history of legislative bodies. To the Scotch-Irish in no small degree was due the result of the final contest against the French in western Pennsylvania. They had no conscientious scruples against prosecution of war or the voting of a strong militia act for defense. Under the changed conditions, with Scotch-Irishmen in the lead, the legislature voted needed supplies of war for an expedition to recover the Monongahela and the Ohio.

Immediately after the retreat of Braddock's army, Washington had begun the agitation for an attack upon the French strongheld at Fort Duquesne, feeling the futility of waiting on the frontiers to be attacked. In 1756 and again in 1757, he urged the necessity of sending an expedition over the Alleghanies to drive the French from the Monongahela and the Ohio. In 1758 he was gratified at the decision in favor of a movement to execute his recommendations. Under the new British plans of offense, Brigadier John Forbes, with 1,900 regulars (including 1,200 Scotch Highlanders) and 5,000 provincials was ordered to recapture Fort Duquesne and to repair the loss occasioned by Braddock's tragic failure.

Virginia and Pennsylvania decided to stand together in a common effort to drive the French from the Ohio. But what route should be used in crossing the Alleghanies? At first Forbes selected Williamsport, Maryland, as his base but following some advice from John St. Clair he changed his original plan and made Raystown (Bedford, Pennsylvania) his base of supplies. Apparently, however, he planned for a while to march by way of Carlisle and Bedford to Fort Cumberland with a plan to use Braddock's road from that point to the Monongahela. He planned to cut a road from Bedford to Fort Cumberland in May, 1858, when he ordered Washington's regiment to Fort Cumberland. Washington fully expected that Braddock's road would be cleared for use and in July wrote to Bouquet suggesting that Virginian troops should be ordered to proceed to Great Crossings and construct forts there, but he found Colonel Bouquet unalterably fixed on a new route to the Ohio from Bedford. Although Washington was prejudiced in favor of the Virginia route he gracefully accepted the final decision in favor of the new rival route, led the Virginians northward over the newly cut road to Fort Bedford, plunged westward to the Loyalhannon and himself supervised the cutting of Forbes' road westward from Fort Ligonier toward Hannastown (Greensburg) and Fort Duquesne.

Washington, at the head of the Virginians, put new life into the expedition. He desired to push forward more rapidly. When the expedition reached Hannastown (on November 5, 1758) after fifty days had been spent in opening fifty miles of road, he was surprised to learn that General Forbes, who was so sick that he could not walk, had decided to stop the advance and go into winter quarters. Fortunately, however, following the arrival of news that the French garrison at Fort Duquesne was not in a condition for resistance, he was sent forward with 2,500 men to attack. In five days he advanced from Hannastown to a point within seventeen miles of the Ohio and on November 25 he reached the fort, a pile of blackened ruins. The French, deciding not to risk a fight, had burned their barracks and stores and scattered by land and water, some down the Ohio (to Fort Massac), others to Presq'Isle, and the commander with a small body guard to Fort Machault, the Venango of former years. Their retreat to Canada was rendered

impracticable by the English control of Lake Ontario following the capture of Fort Frontenac.

The power of the French in the Ohio valley was ended. Their few posts hundreds of miles further west were too remote to menace the Virginia frontier. The fate of western Virginia no longer hung in the balance. The way was cleared for the colonization which soon followed. The race best suited to conquer the wilderness had won.

Settlements were threatened with delay, however, by two events which followed the treaty of Paris of 1763 and put the patience of the backwoodsmen to another test. The king, desiring to prevent conflicts with the Indians, commanded his "loving subjects" not to purchase or settle lands beyond the mountains "without our especial leave and license." The Indians of the West, the unconquered allies of France, were unpacified and, organized under the superior leadership of Pontiac, formed an active "conspiracy" to resist the Anglo-French treaty of peace and to renew the war on their own account. The injunction of the king resulted in no great inconvenience to those who felt the call of the West. Pontiac's war proved more inconvenient.

The seizure of English forts at Mackinac, Sandusky, St. Joseph and at Ouiatanon (near Lafayette) on the Wabash resulted in a reign of terror along the western frontier. Fortunately Detroit and Fort Pitt successfully withstood the attacks made upon them. In measures for defense on the upper Ohio, Virginia and Maryland were far more active than Pennsylvania whose conduct was critized by General Amherst.

Pontiac's blow fell almost simultaneously at all points from Illinois to the frontier of Virginia. In the reign of terror which followed, the settlers fled from the frontiers for protection. They deserted the Greenbrier; they hurried to points east of the Alleghenies. More than five hundred families from the frontiers took refuge at Winchester. The Indians who prowled through western Virginia extended their raids to the South Branch of the Potomac.

The Indians made a determined effort to take Fort Pitt. They tried treachery, deception and direct assault. They dug holes in the river bank, and burying themselves out of sight, kept up a fire for weeks, they tried to set fire to the fort by shooting burning arrows upon the roof. They offered the garrison safe passage across the mountains to the settlements if it would agree to evacuate, they falsely represented that resistance was useless. The commandant replied that he intended to stay and that he had plenty of provisions and ammunition and that additional armies were approaching to exterminate the Indians. Apparently discouraged by this answer, the Indians for a time ceased to push the siege vigorously. In July, however, they renewed the attack with great fury. Finally on the last day of July, 1763, evidently expecting the arrival of General Bouquet from the East, they raised the siege and disappeared.

Meantime General Bouquet was marching to the relief of Fort Pitt, with five hundred men and a large train of supplies. As he marched west from Cumberland he found the settlements broken up, the houses burned, the grain unharvested, and desolation on every hand, showing how relentless the savages had been in their determination to break up the settlements. On August 2, 1763, he arrived at Fort Ligonier, which had been besieged, but he found that the Indians had departed. Leaving part of his stores there, he hastened forward toward Fort Pitt and on the route his troops were attacked at Bushy run. After a desperate battle which was closed by stratagem in causing the Indians to fall into a trap, he marched forward to Fort Pitt and prepared to end the war. Deciding that his force at that time was not large enough to enable him to invade the Indian country west of the Ohio, he proceeded to collect about two thousand men. In the summer of 1764 he carried the war into the enemy's country, and struck directly at the Indian towns in order to bring the savages to terms. Before he had advanced

very far west of Pittsburgh, he learned that the tribes had resorted to various devices to retard his advance and thwart his purposes. But he proceeded rapidly, and with such caution and in such force that prevented any danger of an attack by the alarmed Indians, who now foresaw the destruction of their towns and sent a delegation to ask for peace. Although he signified his willingness to negotiate peace on condition that the Indians surrender all white prisoners in their hands, he did not halt in his advance to wait for a reply. Soon he was within striking distance, and the Indians in order to save their towns and having learned something from their defeat, promptly accepted his terms and delivered over two hundred prisoners, a large number of whom were women and children.

Finally in 1765, after the Indians had become wearied of their confederacy and cowed by repeated defeats, the French induced Pontiac to sue for peace.

Thenceforth until the beginning of the Revolutionary war, westward expansion beyond the mountains did not encounter more than customary local opposition from a few tribesmen who jealously watched the passage of the Appalachians.

CHAPTER VII

ADVANCE GUARD OF THE TRANS-ALLEGHANY WEST

The successful outcome of the final English struggle against French and Indians determined the destiny of the unsettled trans-Alleghany territory which English frontiersmen desired to occupy, and opened the way for permanent foundations of a great republic yet unborn. In the ten years of peace which followed the peace of 1763 and the defeat of Pontiac, the frontier line of settlements, disregarding the king's proclamation of 1763,[1] advanced across the Alleghanies and through the wilderness to the Ohio at an estimated average rate of seventeen miles per year, until temporarily stopped by the Indian attacks of 1774.

The first settlers of trans-Alleghany Virginia came on foot or on horseback by the trails or roads which usually followed old Indian paths. For thirty years wagons were not used for travel or transportation across the mountains. The two or three wagons that found their way into the region after the close of the Revolutionary war, or soon thereafter, were taken along by a slow and laborious process.

Two main routes of travel were opened in the contest for control of the Ohio, but others farther south became important. Some had already been used by early traders with the Indians.

Possibly as early as 1740 Virginians, Marylanders and Pennsylvanians opened trade with the Indians of the Monongahela and in beginning operations they consulted with Indians in regard to the easiest route and chose the route later known as Nemacolin's path, leading from the mouth of Wills creek (Cumberland, Maryland) to the "forks of the Ohio" (Pittsburgh). This route was cleared and marked in 1750 under the general direction of Colonel Thomas Cresap of Old Town, Maryland, for the Ohio Company, by Nemacolin, a Delaware Indian residing at the mouth of Dunlap's creek, which was first known as Nemacolin's creek.

Another early route was Dunlap's path leading from Winchester via Wills creek to the mouth of Dunlap's creek. From the mouth of Wills to the top of Laurel Hill, near the Great Rock, it was identical with that of Nemacolin. By Virginia statute of 1776, it had a temporary legal existence as a part of the dividing line between the newly created counties of Monongalia and Youghiogheny, but later it passed into oblivion.

Another route, originally an Indian trail, much travelled by early traders and adventurers, and used by Captain Trent in February, 1754, on his way to the Monongahela, was the road opened by Colonel James Burd in 1759 from the summit of Laurel Hill to the mouth of Redstone, to facilitate communications from Virginia and Maryland to Fort Pitt by use of river transportation. This road may be regarded as the extension

[1] In the decade between the French and Indian war and the opening of the Revolution, settlements could be made only in opposition to the policy of the English government. Although Governor Dinwiddie in 1754 in order to encourage volunteers to enter military service had set apart 100,000 acres along the Ohio to be granted to soldiers, George III, desiring that the trans-Allegheny region should remain a hunting ground for the Indians, or at least expecting to control the later settlement and government of the territory, on October 7, 1763, issued a proclamation forbidding the colonists to grant warrants, surveys or patents in the territory until it could be opened by treaties with the Indians—thus theoretically extinguishing their titles to lands beyond the proclamation line. Two years later he directed the governors of Virginia and Pennsylvania to remove by force all settlers in that region—an order which was never executed in Virginia.

of Braddock's road to the nearest navigable water of the West, and it probably led to some settlements between 1759 and 1763 in the vicinity of the newly erected Fort Burd, at Redstone.

While Braddock's road was under construction across the mountains, in June, 1755, another army road was begun by Pennsylvania, under superintendence of Colonel James Burd and others, on a route from Shippensburg via Raystown (Bedford) and the old Turkey Foot settlement to intersect Braddock's at some convenient point—probably at Great Crossings (Somerfield). At great cost and with much labor it was opened to the top of the Alleghany mountains about eighteen miles from Turkey Foot before the arrival of the alarming news of Braddock's defeat and its opening was completed via Dunbar's camp to Uniontown several years after Forbes' expedition of 1758. It was called the Turkey Foot road or Smith's road.

Forbes' road was constructed in 1758 through Carlisle and Shippensburg to Raystown and thence via Ligonier and Hannastown (Greensburg) to the present site of Pittsburgh. To connect with it Washington in the same year cut a direct road from Cumberland to Raystown.

From Bedford on the old Forbes' route, a western branch known as the Pennsylvania road via Berlin, Connellsville to Uniontown and thence to Redstone was subsequently established.

Meantime the combination of Braddock's and Dunlap's road became known as the established Virginia road.

These two roads—the Pennsylvania and the Virginia—were the two great emigrant and pack horse routes before 1800. They made Redstone a notable place for travel and trade principally for points on the Ohio but also for higher points on the Monongahela in the present limits of West Virginia. By 1796 the mouth of Dunlap's creek was a great shipping place for mill stones made on Laurel hill.

McCulloch's path, an early Indian and traders' trail westward from Winchester and Moorefield passed up Patterson's creek through Greenland Gap; crossed the Alleghenies at Mount Storm (in Grant county, West Virginia), led across Maryland on the general route of the Northwestern turnpike to the Little Yough near the route of the B. & O. railway, across the Big Yough, through Herrington and Murley's Glades, via the Crab Orchard across the Pennsylvania line into Fayette county east of the summit of Laurel hill which it crossed at Wymp's Gap, thence (passing slightly north of Morris' Cross Roads) to McCulloch's old camp on the Monongahela between the mouth of Cheat and Neal's Ferry. This trail was known to the people of the South Branch as early as 1756. One branch of it reached Cheat river at Dunkard's Bottom (three miles from Kingwood, Preston county), at which the first permanent settlement was made in 1766. By 1784, this path eastward from Dunkard's Bottom had become somewhat overgrown with briers, but a new road from a lower point on Cheat (at Ice's Ferry near the Pennsylvania line) ascended the Laurel hill north of Cheat, connected with the main McCulloch path at the ford at James Spurgeon's on Sandy creek (New Bruceton, Preston county), thence continued northeastward via the crossing of the Youghiogheny (about fifteen miles from Spurgeon's), and to Braddock's road. Branching from the McCulloch trail at or near the present town of Gorman, in Grant county, a path crossed the Allegheny mountain, or more properly the Backbone mountain, near the Fairfax stone, thence reaching Cheat river at Horseshoe bend, in Tucker county. This has been called the Horseshoe trail. William Mayo knew of that trail as early as 1736, and probably followed it to the waters of Cheat river. During the French and Indian war an escaped prisoner, who was making his way home from Ohio, fell on the trail at the Horseshoe bend, and followed it to the South Branch. Following his directions, settlers took their way to Cheat river in 1766 and 1769 and located permanently. This was the trail followed by Simpson and the Pringle brothers, the deserters from Fort Pitt, when they made their way to the site of Buckhannon and Clarksburg, an account of which

is found in Withers' Border Warfare. The path crossed Tygart's river below Philippi and passed near Clarksburg. It was of great importance in the early years of the settlement of the present counties of Tucker, Barbour, Harrison and Upshur.

Twenty miles south of the Fairfax stone, the Shawnee (or Seneca) trail from the upper waters of the South Branch crossed the Alleghanies to the waters of Cheat near the site of Harmon, thence passing across the branches of Cheat above the mouth of Horse Camp creek, near Elkins and Beverly and near Huttonsville. It was much used by early settlers and became important for a century as the chief highway between the South Branch and Tygart's valley. Over it, travelled hundreds of pack horses loaded with salt, iron, and other merchandise, and many droves of cattle fattened for the eastern market. In the Civil War it furnished an avenue of escape for a detachment of Confederates cut off from General Garnett's army at the battle of Rich mountain, five miles west of Beverly, in 1861, and it was used by Imboden and Jones in driving eastward the horses and cattle captured in their great raid of 1863. Fifteen miles farther south the Fishinghawk trail crossed the Allegheny mountain above the Sinks of Gauley, and crossing Cheat river at the mouth of Fishinghawk creek, entered Tygart valley at Beverly. The Tygart family fled east by that trail at the time of the massacre on the site of Beverly in 1754.

Some fifteen miles further south another trail crossed the Alleghenies from the head of the North Fork of the South Branch of the Potomac to the waters of the Greenbrier river. It crossed the summit of the main Allegheny mountain in Pocahontas on the route of the later Staunton and Parkersburg turnpike, and passed near the flint mines at Crab Bottom, in Highland county, Virginia, and Indians who went there for flint no doubt made use of that path both east and west. It was much used by early settlers in Greenbrier and Pocahontas counties.

Further south, connecting the Greenbrier valley with the East was another trail. Over it marched the army led by General Lewis to Point Pleasant in 1774. Many of the settlers in the Kanawha valley reached the western country over that trail. It was also one of the highways to Kentucky. In addition to the principal paths connecting the frontiers with the East there were trails from settlement to settlement and from house to house. Paths led also to hunting camps and elsewhere. So numerous were these trails that a missionary who visited the settlements of northern and central West Virginia about the close of the Revolutionary war complained that it was with the greatest difficulty he could get through the country at all.

In the new advance across the mountains, the Scotch-Irish pioneers were especially prominent. They were the flying column of the nation, both in gaining possession of the Ohio valley and finally in enforcing the demand for the entire Mississippi valley. They had a long training for their appointed mission. The society of pioneers which formed in the beginning of the eighteenth century in the great valley of Pennsylvania and its lateral extensions was the nursery of the American backwoodsmen. By 1730 the tide of pioneers began to ascend the Shenandoah from which it occupied Piedmont; and then, receiving new recruits from the East, they passed over the mountains to the West; and with the wall of the Alleghenies between themselves and the East, and with a new fire, the fire of militant expansion, put into their veins by the crossing, they found new problems which aroused new ambitions.

The Scotch-Irish immigration westward across Pennsylvania from the Susquehanna began somewhat later after a closer local acquaintance with the German element. York county was erected 1749, the first county west of the Susquehanna. Its first election precipitated a riot between the German and Irish factions. This was followed by a proprietary order preventing the further sales of York county land to the progressive Irish. Thus a large number of the latter were encouraged to push northwestward to the north or Kittatinny valley, a region which in 1750

was formed into Cumberland county, from which by later immigration were formed several counties including Bedford in 1771, Franklin in 1784, and Mifflin in 1789. Those who remained behind in old York county to participate in continued political controversy were finally, in 1800, after a decade of bitter strife and contention, separated from the stubborn German section of the county by the formation of Adams county in which the happy Irish faction predominated. But as early as 1757 the progressive Scotch-Irish began to move farther west and were supplanted by the thrifty Germans who followed closely upon their heels.

It was the more southern wholesale Scotch-Irish migration, however, which carried the Virginia frontier more rapidly toward the Ohio, thus preparing the way for a larger national history. The advance of the Virginians into the South Branch country, where Washington became surveyor of the frontier estates of Lord Fairfax, served to hasten the final struggle with France beyond the mountains. Looking down the Monongahela, Virginia saw the gateway of the West and yearned to possess it. In the crisis resulting from the French advance toward the gateway, Dinwiddie sent Lord Fairfax's surveyor on the difficult journey to warn the French against trespass. The encounter which followed furnished a new opportunity for the Scotch-Irish[2] and began a new era in American history.

The people were determined to occupy the land without purchase of Indian titles, and during the peace on the frontier from 1764 to 1774 proceeded first to secure tomahawk rights[3] and soon thereafter to establish settlement rights—pushing the frontier to the Ohio and into Kentucky. A tomahawk right, respected by the frontiersmen, was often merged into a settlement right. Although Virginia took no step until 1779 to sell lands in West Virginia, and no titles can be traced beyond that year, she respected the claims of the earlier settlers and in fact taxed these settlers on their lands before patents were issued. Pioneers, in order to hold their 100 acres on a settlement right, erected any kind of a pole cabin or log cabin near a good spring of water. They could preempt 100 acres additional if found free of prior claims. Surveys, both the earlier ones and the later ones, were inaccurate and unsystematic and laid foundations for many future law suits some of which are still on the court dockets. In early years, speculators patented large tracts—10,000 to 500,000 acres—often overlapping scores of farms, but they could not hold land already occupied, and in many cases the large tracts were sold for taxes or otherwise transferred to the people in smaller tracts. These permanent settlements, tentatively beginning as early as 1764, became especially augmented both in extent and number from 1772 to 1774, numbering a total population of about 30,000 by 1775. They were seriously affected by the conditions which precipitated the battle of Point Pleasant in 1774, and by the renewed danger of

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[2] The Scotch-Irish were proud of their ancestry and desired to be distinguished from the real Irish. This is illustrated by the following incident: Joseph and Samuel McClung had charge of the collection of the tithes on the watershed of the Greenbrier. In 1775 they posted a list of the men liable for this tax. At that time Andrew Donally was living in that section, on Sinking Creek. In some way they had heard a rumor that Donally had changed his name by omitting the O; the rumor stating that he was a papist and that his name was really O'Donnally. So in posting the lists they placed the O before his name. Donally's wrath was great. A verbal apology would not suffice, He compelled these two gentlemen to have prepared a formal instrument setting out the facts, and apologizing for the insult, which paper after being witnessed by Wm. Hamilton, Wm. McClennahan, James Hughart and Richard May (his neighbors) was taken before the May term of the Botetourt County Court, 1776, where it was proved and in due and solemn form ordered to be recorded.

[3] From 1766 to 1777 inclusive, 1,197 tomahawk claims were marked within the limits of the old Monongahela county of the Revolution, and later established before commissioners. These homestead rights increased from 7 in 1766 and 22 in 1769 to 91 in 1770, 143 in 1772, and 247 in 1773, then decreased to 168 in 1774, but increased to 227 in 1775.

Indian attacks beginning about 1777 and continuing in some sections until the treaty of 1795 following Wayne's victory against the Indians in northwestern Ohio. Was it any wonder that the Indians fought to retain a country which they and their fathers had used for a summer retreat for many generations—a land famous for game and fish and with abundance of fruits and nuts which could be obtained without toil?

Especially after the treaty of Fort Stanwix[4] the enterprising yeomanry actively pushed forward over the mountains to the Greenbrier and New rivers, to the Monongahela, down the Ohio as far as Grave's creek. Preparation for settlement further down the Ohio was begun by the survey of land of George Washington at the mouths of the Kanawhas. The first settlements made in the District of West Augusta before 1774 were grouped in a circular belt around a large wilderness of heavy forest land which remained largely unsettled for two decades later. The chief points of the circle were the Middle New and Greenbrier rivers, thence westward down the New and Big Kanawha to the Ohio, the Monongahela with its upper branches (Cheat, Tygart's valley, Buckhannon and West Fork) and the region around Wheeling and Grave creek on the Ohio.

In 1760 James Moss reared his cabin at Sweet Springs, now in Monroe county. In 1769 the Woods family settled and built a fort on Rich creek about four miles east of the site of Peterstown which fourteen years later became the home of Christian Peters, an American soldier who served in Lafayette's corps at Yorktown. To the same region in 1770 came the Manns, Cooks, Millers, Alexanders, Nickels, Campbells, Dunsmores, Hokes, Lakes, Calloways, Sweeneys, Haynes, Erkines, Grahams, and Hutchinsons—largely from the Virginia valley. Adam and Jacob Mann (of English origin from Kent) and others built a fort on Indian creek about ten miles west of the present town of Union; the Cooks from the valley of Virginia built a few miles from its mouth, the Keenys later built a fort on Keenys Knobs farther down the river.

By 1769 settlers began to push up the Greenbrier and to form the more western nuclei of settlements which later contributed to the advance down the Kanawha, to the Ohio and over the divide to the Monongahela. A settlement was made at a fort on Wolf creek (Monroe county) and another farther north (in Greenbrier county) at Fort Spring. In 1769 the first permanent settlement in Greenbrier county was made at Frankford by Colonel John Stuart, Robert McClenachan, Thomas Renick and William Hamilton followed by others from Augusta county. In the same year, Thomas Williams settled about two miles south of the site of Williamsburg and near him William McCoy and William Hughart established homes. In 1770 on the site of Lewisburg was built the old Savanna fort which became Fort Union. Later settlements were made in 1771 at the foot of Hughart's mountain by John Patton and on Culberton's creek by William Blake, in 1772 on Muddy creek by William McKinney, and in 1773 on Big Clear creek by William McClung (who patented a large tract on Meadow river) and on the site of Fort Donnally by Andrew Donnally. In 1774 a settlement was made on the White Sulphur Springs lands. Farther up the stream by 1773 a settlement was established at Little Levels (now in Pocahontas) by John McNeil and others from the lower valley of Virginia.

At the same time settlers began to venture down the Kanawha. In 1770 the land around the site of Montgomery was originally taken up by Levi Morris who later came by mule from Alexandria, Virginia, and built the first house there. In 1773 the big bottom survey on which

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[4] By the terms of the treaty of Fort Stanwix (now Rome, New York) in 1768 the Six United Nations ceded to the King of England practically all of West Virginia, except what is known as the "Indiana Cession," a large territory north of the Little Kanawha (about 4,950 square miles), which they reserved and granted to Captain William Trent and other Indian traders in consideration of merchandise taken from them by the Indians on the Ohio in 1763. The General Assembly of Virginia repudiated the title of the traders who therefore never came into possession of any part of the cession.

Charleston now stands, was located by Colonel Thomas Bullitt. In the same year Walter Kelly from North Carolina invaded the trackless forest which lay between Camp Union and the mouth of the Kanawha and made the first family settlement in the Kanawha valley (at the mouth of Kelly's creek). In 1774, on the site of Old Brownstown (now Marmet) on the Kanawha, Leonard Morris made a permanent settlement. The same year settlements were made at the mouth of the Kanawha (on the site of Point Pleasant), on lands surveyed by George Washington in 1770. Kelly's place became the point of embarkation for later home-seekers and travelers from the East and was often called the "Boat Yards."

Even earlier the pioneer settlers were penetrating into the wilds drained by the Monongahela. By 1772 nearly all the land in Tygart's valley was located—although few patents were obtained for it until ten

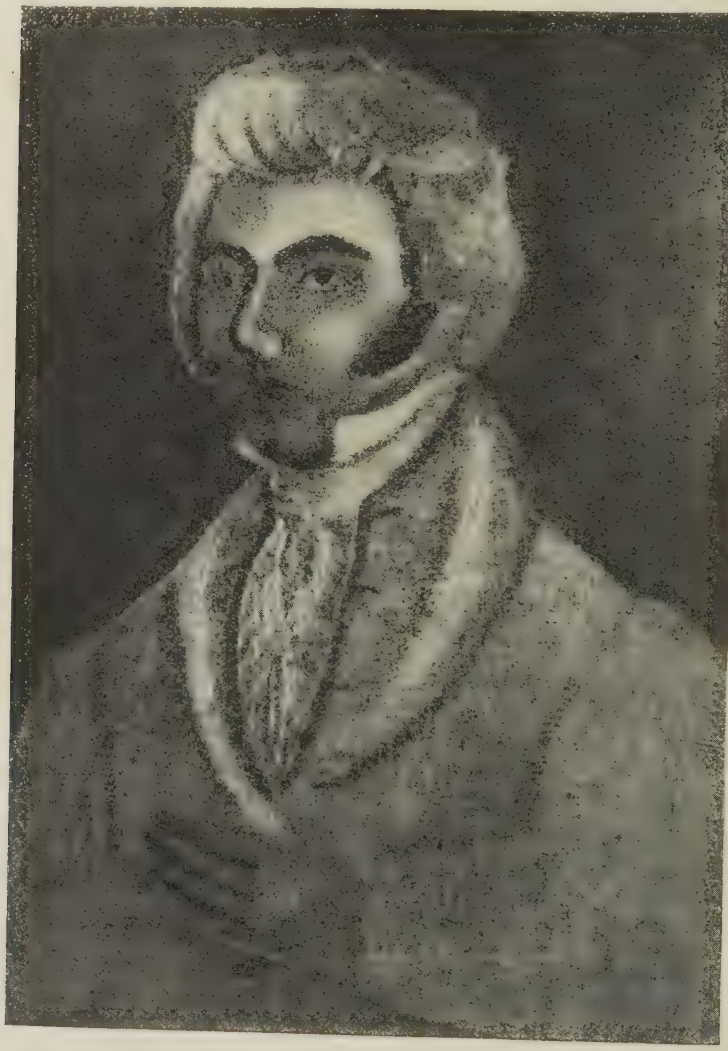
Westfall's Fort, Tygarts Valley, Beverly, Built 1774

or fifteen years later. Two forts were built (at Beverly and near Huttonsville) in 1774. In 1764 at the mouth of Turkey creek on Buckhannon river a forest camp was established by the Pringles and others who had deserted from garrison duty at Fort Pitt and after roaming through Maryland went west down Horseshoe to Cheat thence over the divide to Tygart's valley. To this camp came prospective settlers who by 1769 brought their families to the Buckhannon valley and made several settlements which were followed by others at Booth's creek in 1770 and at Simpson's creek and Hacker's creek in 1772. In 1764 John Simpson, a trapper from the South Branch established his cabin opposite the mouth of Elk creek on the site of Clarksburg, around which settlers began to locate lands in 1772.

In 1772, Col. William Lowther and his brother-in-law. Jesse and Elias Hughes, starting from the present site of Clarksburg (to which they recently moved from the South Branch) followed the West Fork of the Monongahela to its head waters near the present site of Weston and crossing the divide followed Sand creek to the Little Kanawha and proceeded to name the tributary streams, including the Hughes river. Early in 1773 Lowther built below the site of West Milford a cabin

which was still standing in 1908, and there he lived until his death in 1814. Jesse Hughes, who had married Miss Grace Tanner (a sister of one of the pioneer settlers of Roane county) settled on Hacker's creek.

About 1772 or perhaps a year later, Captain James Parsons taking his brother, Thomas, with him left Moorefield and passed over the Allegheny and Backbone mountains to Cheat by the Horse Shoe trail (passing near the Fairfax stone)[5] and selected at Horse Shoe some lands for which they later obtained patents. Later in crossing back and forth on



ZACHWELL MORGAN, FIRST SETTLER AT MORGANTOWN, 1767

their fine horses while locating and surveying their lands they strategically reversed the shoes on their horses in order to elude any straggling bands of Indians who might be tempted to steal a horse to ride.

[5] This route was first discovered about 1762-63 by James Parsons in finding his way eastward across western Virginia from the region beyond the Ohio to which the Indians had carried him after capturing him at his home near Moorefield. It was also used about the same time by the two Pringle brothers who after desertion from Fort Pitt in 1761 had found their way via Geneva, Pennsylvania, to the Glades of Preston county (near Aurora) and later (feeling insecure from the visits of an increasing number of hunters from the South Branch) pushed farther toward the interior (to the Buckhannon river) in company with a straggler named Simpson who passed on to establish his cabin at the site of the future town of Clarksburg.

In 1774 a colony from Moorefield led by John Minear built a fort on the Horse Shoe and cleared some land. In 1776 Minear removed to St. George where he built a mill. In that year he carried on pack horses across the mountains the irons for the saw-mill. These families were long prominent in the history of the region which later became Tucker county.

By 1766 pioneer settlers reached the middle Monongahela region now included in Monongalia county. In 1767 the first permanent settlement at Morgantown was made by Zachwell Morgan and others and from this point David Morgan emigrated up the river to lands now included in the bounds of Marion county, in which several settlements were made by 1772. About the same time settlements were made at various points in the territory now included in Preston county; in 1769 on the waters of Big Sandy near the sites of Clifton Mills and Bruceton, in 1770 on the Sandy creek Glades and east of Cheat (the Walls settlement) and in 1770-73 at Dunkard Bottom by hunters from the South Branch who led the way for permanent Virginia settlers.

The earliest known settlement of Wheeling was made in 1769 by Col. Ebenezer Zane and two brothers, who leaving the South Branch near the present site of Moorefield, followed the trail frequented by Indians and traders from Cumberland to Redstone fort, the present site of Brownsville, Pennsylvania, and there, learning of a beautiful and fertile country bordering the waters of the Ohio, crossed the intervening country to the head-waters of the stream now known as Wheeling creek, and travelled along its banks to its confluence with the Ohio. Here they marked out a claim on the island in three divisions including nearly all of the present site of Wheeling and built a rude cabin.[6] In the following spring Colonel Zane brought his family from the South

[6] It was in December, 1767, that Col. Zane, "who was the first to explore the country from the South Branch of the Potomac, through the Allegheny glades, to the Ohio River, set out on an expedition, thither to make a location. He was accompanied on that excursion by Isaac Williams, two men named Robinson, and some others; but setting off rather late in the season, and the weather being very severe, they were compelled to return without having penetrated to the Ohio river. While crossing the glades they were overtaken by a violent snow storm. This is always a cold and stormy region but at this time the snow fell to an unusual depth, and put a stop to their further progress. It was followed by intensely cold weather, which, with the great depth of snow, disabled them from supplying the necessities of their camp by hunting, and they were compelled to subsist upon the peltries of the animals killed in the early part of their journey. Before they were able to retrace their steps homeward, they were much reduced in health and spirits. On the way home, such was the extremity of the cold, that one of the Robinsons died of its effects, Williams was much frost-bitten, and the whole party suffered exceedingly."

The succeeding spring, 1768, Col. Zane finally left his home on the South Branch, with his family and household goods, accompanied by two younger brothers, some negro slaves and other laborers, to found a new home somewhere in these Western wilds. Taking the trail of the Indian traders from Ft. Cumberland, his journey brought him to the waters of the Monongahela, at Redstone Old Fort, now Brownsville, Pa. Here he remained a year, but not liking the country, nor the quality of the land in that vicinity, he concluded to make a wider excursion in search of a more eligible location. Leaving his family at Redstone he pushed forward through an unbroken wilderness, in company with his brothers Jonathan and Silas, carrying a pack of meal, which together with the game their guns and dogs could provide, furnished their meals of subsistence. After many days' journey they struck the waters of Wheeling Creek. He was accustomed in after years to describe the impression of this scene as like a vision of Paradise.

They succeeded in ferrying themselves to the other side. Here, on instituting an examination, they were surprised to find an island, where they had expected to find a large and compact body of land connected with and forming part of the western shore. Staking out their claim on it and returning to the eastern side they marked out other claims to the choicest land, and set about such "improvements" as would confirm the title until the regular state patent could be obtained. When a rude cabin had been built, sufficient clearing made, and all the preparations made for future occupancy, it was determined to leave Silas Zane in charge of their interests while the others returned to Redstone for the family, household goods, horses and cattle, with which they were to begin a new life in the wilderness. Thus, in September, 1769, was laid the foundation of what is now the large, populous and prosperous city of Wheeling.

Branch via Redstone fort from which they floated down the Monongahela and the Ohio in canoes and pirogues. With him came Isaac Williams and domestic servants and laborers who had charge of the live stock. In 1770 other families from the South Branch joined the settlement including Col. David Shepherd, John Wetzel and the McCullochs. Constantly recurring warfare with the Indians checked the growth of the settlement, which in 1782 consisted of a fort and a few log cabins surrounding it. Its early history was made up of almost continuous struggles against the efforts of the savages to destroy it.

These settlements augmented by new arrivals in 1774 constituted an advance guard through which the Indians must penetrate to reach the interior in which new accessions were arriving from Maryland, Pennsylvania, and Virginia. By their position they also became a ren-

Old Morgan Homestead, Front St.
Built 1774. Morgantown, W. Va.

dezvous for pioneer speculators who were engaged in entering lands on the borders of Kentucky and Ohio. In 1774 protection against hostile Indians was provided by the construction of Fort Fincastle which at the formation of Ohio county in 1776 was changed to Fort Henry in honor of the new governor of Virginia.

South of Wheeling, a settlement begun at Grave creek in 1770, received new accessions in 1772.

Northward, in the territory included in Brooke a few settlers arrived in 1772, followed by others in 1774. Farther south, around the mouth of the Little Kanawha, many tomahawk rights were marked and several settlements begun between 1772 and 1776. The number of settlements in that vicinity was much increased in 1774 and 1775.

While the Monongahela and Ohio settlements rapidly increased, the boundary between Virginia and Pennsylvania was still unsettled. Beyond the western line of Maryland, where Virginia's and Pennsylvania's possessions came in contact, a bitter dispute arose, almost leading to open hostilities between the people of the two states. Virginia wanted Pittsburgh, and boldly and stubbornly set up a claim to the territory at least as far north as the fortieth degree of latitude. This would have given Virginia part of Fayette and Greene counties in Pennsylvania. The line to thirty-nine degrees, originally claimed by

Penn as the southern boundary of his grant would have given him a large part of the Monongahela region which is now included in West Virginia. In September, 1767, the surveyors of the Mason and Dixon line, who had been accompanied by an escort of the Six Nations until they reached Petersburg, Pennsylvania, continued westward from that point alone beyond the western limit of Maryland marking the northern boundary of what is now Preston and Monongalia counties. They were threatened and finally stopped near Mt. Morris on Dunkard creek, at the crossing of the Warrior branch of the Great Catawba war path, by the Delawares and Shawnees who claimed to be tenants of the country. The survey was not finally completed until seventeen years later.

In 1773 Governor Dunmore of Virginia sent Dr. John Connolly to Fort Pitt to resist occupation by Pennsylvania which had just established courts at Hanna's Town (near Greensburg) with determination to exercise jurisdiction over the lower Monongahela valley. He soon occupied Fort Pitt, changed the name to Fort Dunmore, and established a rival court and rival magistrates precipitating the bitter struggle which was stopped only by the Revolution.

Lord Dunmore's war was the inevitable culmination of a long series of mutual grievances and outrages between the Indians of the Ohio valley and the Scotch-Irish and German frontiersmen of western Virginia and Pennsylvania who had, with migratory instinct after the close of the French and Indian war and the smothering of Pontiac's conspiracy—and in spite of the policy of the English government—relentlessly pushed westward, converting aboriginal hunting grounds first into their own game forests and then into virgin farms. Although the native title to lands eastward from the Ohio to the mountains was quieted in 1768 by the treaty of Fort Stanwix, and reinforced in 1770 by the treaty of Lochaber with the southern Indians whose boundary was then fixed at the Kentucky river, many of the Indians denied the validity of the cessions.

Year by year the exasperation of the borderers, planted firmly among the Alleghenies, grew greater, and the tale of wrongs they had to avenge, grew longer. The savages grew continually more hostile, and in the fall of 1773 their attacks became so frequent that it was evident that a general outbreak was at hand. The Shawnees located on the Scioto were the leaders in all these outrages; but the outlaw bands, such as the Mingoes and the Cherokees, were as bad, and were joined by parties of Wyandottes and Delawares, as well as various Miami and Wabash tribes.

The spring of 1774 opened with everything ripe for an explosion. Borderers were anxious for a war. Early in the spring, when the hostile Shawnees began their outrages, Lord Dunmore's lieutenant (Dr. Connolly), issued an open letter commanding the backwoodsmen to hold themselves in readiness to repel an attack by the Indians. All the borderers instantly prepared for war, and were anxious to find an opportunity to fight. Cresap [7] and others near Wheeling regard Connolly's letter as a declaration of war. "Cresap's war" was the result.

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[7] Most prominent among the leaders of the whites in this Indian warfare was Captain Michael Cresap, a Marylander, who removed to the Ohio early in 1774, and after establishing himself below the Zane settlement (Wheeling) organized a company of pioneers for protection against the Indians. He was appointed by Connolly, a captain of the militia of the section in which he resided, and was later put in command of Fort Fincastle. He was a fearless and persistent Indian fighter, and just the one to lead retaliatory parties across the Ohio into the red men's country. As soon as Cresap's band received Connolly's letter they proceeded to declare war in regular Indian style, calling a council, planting the war post, etc. What is sometimes known as "Cresap's war" ensued. Several Indians while descending the Ohio in their canoes were killed by Cresap's company. Other Indians were shot within the Ohio border by intruding and exasperated whites. When Logan, chief of the Mingos, established a camp near the mouth of Yellow creek, about forty miles above Wheeling, it was regarded as a hostile demonstration. Cresap and his party, at first proposed to attack, but finally decided otherwise.

Logan's people, however, did not escape. Opposite the mouth of Yellow creek

Border warfare was precipitated by an attack on Indians at the mouth of Captina creek and a general fight of Indians and whites at a rum dispensary opposite the mouth of Yellow creek—resulting in the death of almost all the members of Chief Logan's family. Lord Dunmore, although he acted with discretion, was ambitious for glory and properly thought that a war against the Indians would prove a political measure to distract attention from the growing difficulties between the mother country and the colonies.

Later, when the Indians rose to avenge the murder of Logan's family in "Cresap's war," Dunmore himself prepared for the attack. Apprized by messengers from Cresap and Connolly that the frontier settlers were alarmed at the situation he promptly sent a defensive and punitive force of upper Potomac settlers (about 400 in number) under Major Angus McDonald[8] who hastened to Wheeling, erected Fort Fincastle, and after descending the Ohio in canoes and boats to the mouth of Captina creek invaded the Shawnee country and destroyed their towns and cornfields as far as Wappatomica (on the Muskingum) near the site of Coshocton.

The little army suffered many hardships, and encountered many perils. At times their only sustenance consisted of weeds and one ear of corn a day. The soldiers returned in a few weeks without serious loss. This forceful invasion of the Indian country was sufficient declaration of war, and produced a general combination of the various Indian tribes northwest of the Ohio.

Soon thereafter Dunmore raised an army of two wings or divisions[9] each 1,500 strong, one to advance under Dunmore over a northern route via Fort Pitt and to descend the Ohio to the mouth of the Kanawha to meet the other, an army composed of backwoodsmen under Gen. Andrew Lewis, which was instructed to rendezvous at Fort Union and march down the Kanawha.

The backwoodsmen of the Alleghenies felt that the quarrel was their own and were eager to fight. They were not uniformed save that they all wore the garb of the frontier hunter; most of them were armed with good rifles and all were skillful woodsmen, and although they were utterly undisciplined they were magnificent individual fighters.

On September 8th with 1,110 men Lewis advanced on a fatiguing march, making his road as he went, from Camp Union, guided by Capt. Mathew Arbuckle (an experienced frontiersman) along the trail via Muddy creek, Keeny's Knob, Rich creek, Gauley, Twenty Mile, Bell

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on the Virginia side of the Ohio resided the unscrupulous Daniel Greathouse, and fellow frontiersmen. They kept a carousing resort, known as Baker's Bottom, where the Indians were supplied with rum, at Baker's cabin. On the last day of April, a party of nine Indians from Logan's camp, on the invitation of Greathouse, visited Baker's place and while plied with liquor were set upon and massacred. The nine included a brother and sister of Logan, the latter being the reputed squaw of John Gibson. Michael Cresap was not present and had nothing to do with the deed, but Logan evidently believed him to be the guilty party. Vengeance and retaliation were resorted to equally by both sides.

[8] The decision to send this force was probably in part the result of the action of Indians in preventing McDonald from completing a survey of some lands. The royal authority had promised the Virginian troops a bounty in these western lands as reward for their services in the French and Indian war. A section had been allowed them by royal proclamation on the Ohio and Kanawha rivers. When in the spring of 1774 McDonald and party proceeded to survey these lands they were driven off by the Indians.

[9] In August the governor began his preparations and the plan for the campaign agreed upon. An army for offensive operations was called for. Dunmore directed this army should consist of volunteers and militiamen, chiefly from the countries west of the Blue Ridge. The northern division, comprehending the troops collected in Frederick, Dunmore (now Shenandoah), and adjacent counties, was to be commanded by Lord Dunmore in person; the southern division comprising the different companies raised in Botetourt, Augusta and adjoining counties east of the Blue Ridge, was to be led by General Lewis. The two armies were to proceed by different routes, unite at the mouth of the Big Kanawha, and from thence cross the Ohio and penetrate the northwest country, defeat the red men and destroy all the Indian towns they could reach.

creek and Kelley's creek to the Kanawha (September 21) which was followed to its mouth (some in canoes and some by trail).

It was a distance of one hundred and sixty miles from Camp Union to their destination at the mouth of the Kanawha. The regiments passed through a trackless forest so rugged and mountainous as to render their progress extremely tedious and laborious. They marched in long files through "the deep and gloomy wood" with scouts or spies thrown out in front and on the flanks, while axmen went in advance to clear a trail over which they would drive the beef cattle, and the pack-horses, laden with provisions, blankets and ammunition. They struck out straight through the dense wilderness, making their road as they went. On September 21st they reached the Kanawha at the mouth of Elk creek (present site of Charleston). Here they halted and built dug-out canoes for baggage transportation upon the river. A portion of the army proceeded down the Kanawha, while the other section marched along the Indian trail, which followed the base of the hills, instead of the river bank, as it was thus easier to cross the heads of the creeks and ravines. Their long and weary tramp was ended October 6, when they camped on the high triangular point of land jutting out on the north side of the Kanawha river where it empties into the Ohio.

At his camp, at Point Pleasant, General Lewis anxiously awaited Dunmore, whom he expected to join him, but who meantime had decided to march direct to the Scioto to a point not far from the Indian town of Chillicothe near the Pickaway plains.

While the backwoods general was mustering his "unruly and turbulent host of skilled riflemen" the Earl of Dunmore had led his own levies, some fifteen hundred strong, through the mountains at the Potomac Gap to Fort Pitt. Here he changed his plans and decided not to attempt uniting with Lewis at Point Pleasant. Taking as scouts George Rogers Clark, Michael Cresap, Simon Kenton and Simon Girty, he descended the Ohio river with a flotilla of a hundred canoes, besides keel boats and pirogues, to the mouth of the Hockhocking, where he built and garrisoned a small stockade, naming it Fort Gower. Thence he proceeded up the Hockhocking to the falls, moved overland to the Scioto, finally halting on the north bank of the Sippo creek four miles from its mouth to the Scioto, and about the same distance east of Old Chillicothe, now Westfall, Pickaway county. He entrenched himself in a fortified camp, with breastworks of fallen trees, so constructed as to embrace about twelve acres of ground.

Finally on October 9th General Lewis received through messenger (Simon Girty and others) Dunmore's orders to cross the Ohio to meet him before the Indian towns near the Pickaway plains. Although deeply displeased at this change in the campaign, he arranged to break camp that he might set out the next morning in accordance with his superior's orders. He had with him about eleven hundred men. His plans, however, were rudely forestalled.

During the night Chief Cornstalk—who, after an unsuccessful attempt to prevent the war, was now determined to bring it to a successful issue, and who, seeing his foes divided, had determined to strike first the division that would least expect the blow—ferried across the Ohio on improvised rafts a few miles above Lewis' camp his 1,000 braves, picked warriors from between the Ohio and the Great Lakes. Before daylight the alarm was given in the camp and the drums beat to arms. General Lewis, thinking he had only a scouting party to meet, ordered out Col. Charles Lewis and Colonel Fleming each with 150 men. Later, when the ringing sound of the rifles announced that the attack was serious, Colonel Field was at once dispatched to the front with 200 men just in time to sustain the line which, with the wounding of Lewis and Fleming, had given way except in a few places. He renewed the attack, which after his death was continued by Capt. Evan Shelby. The fight was a succession of single combats. The hostile lines although over a mile in length were never more than twenty yards apart. Through-

The Point Pleasant Battle Monument

out the action the whites opposite Cornstalk could hear him cheering his braves to be strong. Shortly after noon the Indians began to fall back and by one o'clock the action had ceased except the skirmishing which continued until sunset. Although the Indians had reached a position rendered strong by underbrush, many fallen logs and steep banks, under cover of the darkness they slipped away and made a skillful retreat. The whites, though the victors, had suffered more than their foes and had won the battle only because it was against the entire policy of Indian warfare to suffer a severe loss, even if a victory could be saved thereby.

The battle of Point Pleasant was distinctly an American victory, fought solely by the backwoodsmen, and as purely a soldiers' battle in which there was no display of generalship except on Cornstalk's part. It was the most closely contested of any battle fought with the northwestern Indians and the only victory gained over a large body of them with a force but slightly superior in numbers. Although to call it "the first battle of the American Revolution" would be inaccurate, it was of the greatest advantage to the American cause in the struggle for independence: for it kept the northwestern Indians quiet for the first two years of the Revolutionary struggle. It was almost equivalent to the winning of the Northwest: for if it had not been possible to occupy that region during the early years of the Revolution, it is not improbable that the treaty of 1783 might have fixed the western boundary of the United States at the Alleghenies. It opened an ever-lengthening pathway to western settlement. "Thenceforward new vigor was infused into the two chief forces of the country—American expansion and American nationalism."

Lewis, leaving his sick and wounded in the camp at the Point, and reinforced by the arrival of the Fincastle men under Colonel Christian who reached the ground at midnight after the battle, crossed the Ohio with a thousand men and pushed on to the Pickaway plains. When but a few miles from Lord Dunmore's encampment he heard that negotiations for a treaty of peace with the Indians were in progress. His backwoodsmen, however, flushed with their success and eager for more bloodshed were with difficulty restrained; but although grumbling against the earl for sending them back they were finally induced to march homeward after the treaty at Camp Charlotte.

Lord Dunmore's war was a focal point in western history. In it fought the daring frontiersmen who had carried American institutions across the Appalachian barrier, and who later became the rear guard of the Revolution.

A plan to found a new province in the Ohio valley, first urged by Dinwiddie as early as 1756, assumed definite shape in 1771 when Thomas Walpole, Benjamin Franklin and others submitted to the king a petition for a grant of land including the larger part (forty counties) of the territory now included in West Virginia and the eastern part of Kentucky which they proposed to form into a colony under the name of Vandalia, the capital of which they proposed to locate at the mouth of the Great Kanawha (now Point Pleasant). The king favored this project to organize the sparsely settled Virginia hinterland into a fourteenth colony with a government more dependent upon the crown than those of the older thirteen, but in 1775 the execution of the draft of the royal grant was postponed to await the cessation of hostilities which finally closed only with the complete loss of English jurisdiction between the Atlantic and the Mississippi.

FORT HENRY SEPT. 11 1782.

CHAPTER VIII

THE REAR GUARD OF THE REVOLUTION

The history of western Virginia in the Revolution was largely a history of relations with the Indians upon the frontier.

On the eve of the Revolution, in 1775, Lord Dunmore, among his last acts as governor of Virginia, ordered the abandonment of Fort Dunmore at the mouth of the Monongahela and Fort Blair at Point Pleasant—forts which he had established in 1774, partly to aid certain land transactions in the West and partly to impress the Indians with a sense of Virginia's power. The Virginian patriots promptly seized the fort at Pittsburgh following the news of Dunmore's order; but no patriot force was at hand to occupy Fort Blair after the commandant evacuated it and removed the cattle and stores across the mountains by way of the Big Sandy, and the fort was burned by the Indians. Fort Fincastle, which had been constructed at Wheeling in June, 1774, had no garrison.

The frontiersmen of northwestern Virginia and western Pennsylvania took prompt measures to counteract British influence with the Indians. In May, 1775, they met at Pittsburgh in a convention which formed a committee of safety and sent a petition to the Continental Congress concerning the fear of an Indian attack. A conference with the Indians, previously called by Dunmore, was arranged for September of 1775 and delegates to attend were appointed by Virginia and Pennsylvania and by Congress. James Wood was sent by Virginia to confer with the Indians and to invite them to attend for the purpose of making a treaty. Representatives from the Ottawas (from near Detroit), Wyandots, Shawnees, Mingoes, Delawares and Senecas, appeared. Among them was Cornstalk who had led the Shawnees at Point Pleasant. The treaty of peace which was there concluded was regarded as especially important to western Virginia. Possibly it prevented a general Indian war on the frontier during the Revolution. At least it secured a pledge of neutrality which was kept for two years, thus permitting western Virginians to cross the mountains to join the Revolutionary forces in the East, and enabling the frontier to establish itself more firmly against later attacks which might otherwise have thrust it back again to the eastern base of the Alleghenies. Thus it helped to determine the boundaries of the treaty of 1783 and the destiny of the trans-Allegheny region.

Forts and places of shelter were erected in many places as a precautionary measure against sudden attack.

At the beginning of the Revolution, the following forts were already in use:

Along the Ohio:

Fort Wells, built in 1773 on the dividing ridge between the waters of Cross creek and Harmon's creek, in Cross creek district, Brooke county;

Fort Henry, built in 1774 on what is now Market street, Wheeling;

Fort Shepherd, built in 1775, at the forks of Wheeling creek in Triadelphia district, Ohio county;

Fort VanMeter, built in 1774 on the north side of Short creek, five miles from the Ohio river in the present Richland district, Ohio county;

Fort Tomlinson, built in 1670 on the site of the present city of Moundsville;

Fort Blair, built in 1774 on the site of the present city of Point Pleasant.

Along the Monongahela:

Fort Martin, built in 1773 on the west side of the Monongahela river on Crooked run in Case district, Monongalia county;

Fort Statler, built about 1770 on Dunkard creek in Clay district, Monongalia county;

Fort Pierpont, built in 1769 one mile from present village of Easton and four miles from present city of Morgantown, in Union district, Monongalia county;

Fort Morgan, built in 1772 on the site of the present city of Morgantown;

Fort Cobun, built in 1770 near Dorsey's Knob on Cobun creek in Morgan district, Monongalia county;

Fort Stewart, built in 1773 on Stewart's run, two miles from the present village of Georgetown in Grant district;

Fort Prickett, built in 1774 at the mouth of Prickett's creek on the east side of the Monongahela river five miles below the present city of Fairmont;

Fort Powers, built in 1771 on Simpson's creek in Simpson district, Harrison county, on the present site of Bridgeport;

Fort Jackson, built in 1774 on Ten Mile creek in Sardis district, Harrison county.

In the eastern valley of the Monongahela, the following forts were built along the Cheat:

Fort Morris, built in 1774 on Hog run in Grant district, Preston county;

Fort Butler, built in 1774 at the mouth of Roaring creek, on the east side of the Cheat in Portland district, Preston county;

Fort Westfall, built in 1774 about one quarter of a mile south of the present town of Beverly, Randolph county;

Fort Currence (also called Fort Cassino), built in 1774 half a mile east of the present site of the village of Crickard in Huttonsville district, Randolph county.

Along the Greenbrier branch of the Kanawha-New Valley:

Fort Donnally, built in 1771 near the present site of Frankfort, ten miles north of Lewisburg in Falling Spring district, Greenbrier county;

Fort Keekley (also known as Fort Day and sometimes as Fort Price), built in 1772 on the Little Levels in Academy district, Pocahontas county.

Along the Great Kanawha:

Fort Woods, built in 1773 on Rich creek, four miles east of Peterstown in Red Sulphur Springs district, Monroe county;

Fort Culbertson (sometimes called Fort Byrd, Fort Field or Culbertson's Bottom Fort), built in 1774 in Crump's Bottom on New River in Pipestem district, Summers county;

Fort Morris, built in 1774 on the south bank of the Kanawha, opposite the mouth of Campbell's creek, Loudon district, Kanawha county.

The following additional forts were erected and in use during the period of the Revolution:

Along the Ohio:

Fort Chapman, built near the site of New Cumberland in Hancock county;

Fort Holliday, built in 1776 on the present site of Holliday's Cove, Butler district, Hancock county;

Fort Edgington built near the mouth of Harmon's creek nearly opposite Steubenville, in Cross creek district, Brooke county;

Fort Rice, built on Buffalo creek near the present site of Bethany college in Buffalo district, Brooke county;

Fort Beech Bottom, built on the east bank of the Ohio, twelve miles above Wheeling, in Buffalo district, Brooke county;

Fort Liberty, built on the site of the present town of West Liberty, Ohio county;

Fort Bowling, built above Wheeling in the panhandle;

Fort Link, built in 1780 in Middle Wheeling district, near the present town of Triadelphia, Ohio county;

Fort Wetzel, built on Wheeling creek in Sandhill district, Marshall county;

Fort Clark, built on Pleasant Hill in Union district, Marshall county;

Fort Beeler, built in 1779 by Colonel Joseph Beeler on the site of the present town of Cameron;

Fort Martin, built near the mouth of Fishing Creek in Franklin district, Marshall county;

Fort Baker (known as Baker's Station or Fort Cresap), built in 1782 at the head of Cresap's Bottom in Meade district, Marshall county;

Fort Randolph, built early in 1776 on the old site of Fort Blair which the Indians had burned after its abandonment by the British garrison.

Along the Monongahela:

Fort Baldwin (the most western fort of white men in the county), built on the site of Blacksville in Clay district, Monongalia county;

Fort Dinwiddie (also called Rogers' Fort), built on the site of the present village of Stewartstown, Union district, Monongalia county;

Fort Harrison, built on the west side of the Monongahela river at the source of Crooked run, Case district, Monongalia county;

Fort Burris, built on the "Flatts" on the east side of the Monongahela river in Morgan district, Monongalia county;

Fort Kerns, built on the west side of the Monongahela river opposite the mouth of Decker's creek in Morgan district;

Fort Pawpaw, built in Pawpaw creek in Pawpaw district, Marion county;

Fort Edwards, built five miles south of Boothsville in Booth creek district, Taylor county;

Fort Harbert, built on Tenmile creek in Harrison county;

Fort Coon, built on the West Fork river in Harrison county;

Fort Richards, built on the west bank of the West Fork river in Union district, Harrison county;

Fort Nutter, built on the east bank of Elk creek, on the present site of the city of Clarksburg;

Fort West, built on Hacker's creek in Hacker's district, Lewis county (within the present corporate limits of Jane Lew);

Fort Buckhannon, built near the present town of Buckhannon;

Fort Bush, built a little above the mouth of Turkey run in Upshur county.

Along the Cheat:

Fort Minear, built in 1776 on the east side of Cheat on the site of the present town of St. George in Tucker county;

Fort Wilson, built two miles south of Elkins on the east side of the Tygart's Valley river in Randolph county;

Fort Friend, built at Maxwell's Ferry on Leading creek in Randolph county;

Fort Hadden, built at the mouth of Elkwater creek in Huttonsville district, Randolph county;

Fort Warwick, built in Huttonsville district, Randolph county.

Along the Greenbrier branch:

Fort Arbuckle, built by Captain Mathew Arbuckle at the mouth of Mill creek, four miles from the mouth of Muddy creek in Blue Sulphur district, Greenbrier county;

Fort Savannah, built on the Big Levels on the site of the present town of Lewisburg in Greenbrier county;

Fort Stuart, built four miles southwest of Lewisburg, Greenbrier county.

Along the Kanawha:

Fort Cook, built about three miles from the mouth of Indian creek in Red Sulphur district, Monroe county;

Fort Kelly (also known as Kelly's Station), built on the Kanawha, twenty miles above Charleston at the mouth of Kelly's Creek, in Cabin creek district, Kanawha county.

In 1776 various preparations for defense were made by the assignment of militia.

As early as May, 1776, a company of troops was sent from Pittsburgh to Point Pleasant to garrison Fort Randolph which had been built in place of the earlier Fort Blair. About the same time Captain John Lewis and Samuel Vance had their companies of Augusta militia in service at Fort Warwick. Sergeant Aaron Scaggs had command of some Montgomery county militia in service on Bluestone river, guarding Mare's and McGuire's stations. Captain John Henderson had a company of Botetourt volunteers guarding the frontiers. They began in May at Cook's Fort and ranged the country up New river through the present Virginia county of Giles. Companies were kept at this fort (which was located in Monroe county, at Indian creek, near Red Sulphur Springs) from 1776 to 1780. (In 1777 Captain Archibald Wood was in charge of these troops, and in the same year Captain Joseph Cloyd, of Montgomery, had troops in that section. In 1780 Captain Gray had command. Among the men engaged in this service were William Hutchinson, Phillip Cavender, Nicholas Wood, John Bradshaw, and Francis Charlton. Its spies were often at Fort Wood, on Rich creek, and patrolled the county for thirty miles or more, until they met the spies

from Fort Burnsides. They went at times to the head of Bluestone river to guard the settlers there while gathering their crops.)

Another precautionary measure of 1776 was the sending of Captain John McCoy's company to the West Fork of the Monongahela river. Men from this company were stationed at Fort West, Lowther's Fort, and at Nutter's Fort.

By the beginning of 1777, the signs of fresh trouble with the Indians appeared in acts of hostility which became more frequent thereafter. Along the exposed frontier from Kentucky to the head of the Ohio, the alarm soon became general. The venerable Cornstalk, finding that he could not much longer restrain the young warriors of the Shawnees from joining in the conflict, went to Fort Randolph at Point Pleasant to warn the garrison of the danger. When the commandant decided to retain him as a hostage to influence the peace of the Shawnee warriors, he was apparently content to remain at the fort with his sister and some other Indians. When the military expedition arrived in the fall from the Greenbrier and other eastern points with plans for an invasion of the Indian country, he willingly furnished information in regard to routes and rivers. Unfortunately following the action of lurking Indians in killing a soldier who had crossed the river to hunt, he (and also his son) was murdered by enraged soldiers at the fort (who after the semblance of a trial were acquitted). The fierce Shawnees, no longer held in check by their former chief, and prompted to revenge his murder which had occurred while he was on a friendly mission, promptly joined in the war against the Americans. They became the foremost in raids, the most tireless in pursuit, and the least merciful in the treatment of unfortunate prisoners who fell into their hands.

Among the new preparations for defense in western Virginia in 1777 was the despatch of a company from Rockingham county to Tygart's valley, the despatch of an additional force to Warwick's fort, the despatch of a force to garrison a fort on Hackett's creek, the assignment of a Greenbrier company to Elk river, later transferred to Point Pleasant and the assignment of a Hampshire county company to Fort Pitt from whence it was sent by General Hand to the fort at Wheeling.

The most important event of the year (1777) was the preparation for sending an army into the Indian country—especially against Detroit. Plans were made for the expedition to start from Point Pleasant, from Staunton and other points, especially from Augusta and Rockbridge counties. Several companies of men were marched to Point Pleasant. To provide for the wants of the troops a lot of cattle were driven to the Point, a company from the fort meeting the cattle at the mouth of Elk river. There were about 700 of these volunteers. It was while these volunteers were at the fort that Cornstalk, his son, Ellinipsco and two Indians called Red Hawk and Petalla were brutally murdered by these men. It was while at the Point that the news of Burgoyne's surrender was announced to the troops. General Hand was late in arriving, and decided to abandon the expedition. He had, before announcing that decision, irritated the men greatly by complaining that they were feasting too high, and by issuing orders to shorten the pay and cut down the daily allowance of food. When the attempt was made to put this order into effect, nearly every man in the fort shouldered his gun, put on his knapsack and started for home. Colonel McDowell persuaded General Hand to rescind the order, and the men returned.

In western Virginia there was very little trouble from Tories. After the suppression of Dr. John Connolly's plot of 1775, there were two cases of threatened or apprehended trouble from the Tories in western Virginia during the Revolution. One was in the Monongahela valley, where there was very little Tory sentiment. In August, 1777, Colonel Thomas Gaddis of Westmoreland county, Pennsylvania, revealed evi-

dence of a conspiracy (perhaps largely rumor) connected with an apprehended attack upon Pittsburgh by a large expedition from Detroit.

Gaddis at once warned Lieutenant Colonel Thomas Brown at Redstone Old Fort on the Monongahela that the Tories had associated for the purpose of cutting off the inhabitants; that Brown must therefore keep a strong guard over his powder magazine, which supplied all the Virginia counties west of the mountains, and also warn the friends of the American cause to be "upon their watch." Colonel Brown acted with promptness posting a guard of fifteen men over the magazine, which Colonel Gaddis with about 100 men went in pursuit of the loyalists. But the officer who did most in uncovering and destroying this conspiracy was Colonel Zackwell Morgan of Monongalia county, Virginia. With 500 men he hastened to "Miner's Fort" in his vicinity, whence he wrote (August 29) to Brigadier General Edward Hand at Pittsburgh that he had been forced to raise all the men possible, unenlisted as well as enlisted to put a stop to what he called "This unnatural unheard of frantic scene of mischief * * * in the very heart of our country." Morgan said that he had already taken numbers who confessed to having sworn allegiance to the King, with the understanding that some of the leading men at Fort Pitt were to be "their rulers and heads." He declared further that such of his prisoners as had made confession agreed that the English, French and Indians would descend on Pittsburgh in a few days, when the loyalists were to embody themselves and Fort Pitt was to be surrendered with but little opposition. Morgan added that he had been astonished at some of the persons taken into custody, but that he was determined to purge the country before disbanding his troops. The conspiracy proved to be short lived under the prompt measures taken by Colonels Morgan and Gaddis, although some of its leaders remained at Pittsburg until the following spring. In the neighboring country it required only a skirmish to disperse the loyalists.

The only life lost as the result of the conspiracy was that of a loyalist by the name of Higginson or Hickson. Toward the end of October, when Colonel Zackwell Morgan and four associates were returning across the Cheat river with this man as their prisoner, Hickson was drowned. Morgan was charged with having pushed him out of the boat in which the passage of the stream was made, and the coroner's inquest found an indictment of murder against the Colonel. In consequence the militia of Monongalia county was thrown into a state approaching mutiny, and most of the officers resigned. Fortunately, the trial, which was held at Williamsburg, resulted in Colonel Morgan's acquittal.

The rumored expedition from Detroit proved to be only another Indian raid, which was directed not against Fort Pitt but against Fort Henry at Wheeling.

The other plot or conspiracy for an uprising was east of the Alleghenies in the region now included in Hardy, Grant and Pendleton counties but part of which was then in Hampshire county. The center of the plot was near the site of Petersburg in Grant county. A number who were implicated in the conspiracy lived twenty miles above at Upper Tract and others on the Moorefield river near the base of the Shenandoah mountains. Their purpose was first shown by their refusing to pay their taxes or to contribute to Hampshire's quota of men for the army. When Colonel Van Meter was sent from Oldsfields with thirty militiamen to enforce the payment of taxes, fifty Tories armed themselves and assembling themselves at the house of a German, named John Brake, declared that they would resist the demands by force. Van Meter, finding that their strength was greater than he had anticipated, thought best not to attack at that time. After attempting to convince them by arguments that they were in the wrong, he returned to Romney, leaving them still in arms and defiant. The Tories, regarding themselves as victorious became more insolent. They organized

a company, elected John Claypole as their captain and prepared to march away to join the British along the eastern coast as soon as the opportunity might present itself. Their self-confidence and defiance resulted in their ruin. General Daniel Morgan of the Continental army learned of their organization while he was in Frederick county, about sixty miles distant. Collecting 400 militia, he advanced against them and without attempting to open any parley or argument, as Van Meter had done, he pressed them closely and completely conquered them, shooting several and accepting the surrender of Claypole and Brake. Many of those who had been so defiant made amends by joining the American army and by fighting until the end of the war.

The period of military operations in western Virginia during the Revolution extended from September, 1777, to September, 1782. During this period there were three main invasions by hostile forces of Indians commanded by white men, and other smaller invasions. The three main invasions were the attacks against Fort Henry at Wheeling in 1777, the attack against Fort Randolph and the extended invasion up the Kanawha to the Greenbrier in 1778 and another attack against Wheeling in 1782. The smaller invasions consisted of numerous troublesome raids and pillaging expeditions of Indians against various points between the Greenbrier and the Pennsylvania line. In 1778 the region along the Monongahela was invaded three times. In 1779 it was invaded again. In 1780, Greenbrier was invaded and raids were also extended eastward to the region now included in Randolph county and to the Cheat river and the base of the Alleghenies within the present limits of Tucker county. A large step toward reducing the danger of these invasions was the Virginia expedition of General George Rogers Clarke in 1779 against the British post at Vincennes.

The attack on Fort Henry (earlier known as Fort Fincastle) at Wheeling in September, 1777, was a determined one but fortunately was unsuccessful. The fort, although a strong one with high walls, had no cannon except a wooden dummy erected to scare the Indians who, however, were quick in discovering the sham. It was under the command of Col. David Shepherd. The plan of defense was simply to prevent the enemy from breaking through the gate or from starting a fire. The attack by over 300 Indians led by a white man, Simon Girty, was begun by an ambuscade and a pretended retreat which enticed into a trap two squads of men—a pursuing force of fourteen men—leaving in the fort, besides women and children, only about a dozen men (not soldiers) to resist the attack. Following a demand for surrender and an attempt at argument which was cut short by a shot from the fort, the assault began with a series of determined but unsuccessful rushes against the gate and the stockade posts. After the failure of these rushes in which logs and stones were used as battering rams, attempts were made to fire the fort until the fire from the port-holes drove the enemy from the walls. The attack was then renewed at a safer distance, by riflemen who wasted large quantities of powder in unsuccessful efforts to hit the defenders by shooting through the portholes. After two days the attacking force amused themselves by burning all the cabins and barns of the neighborhood and by a barbecue of the cattle of the neighborhood. While the enemy feasted, the fort was reinforced by the arrival of Colonel Andrew Swearingen with fourteen men; and soon thereafter it received an additional forty men, commanded by Major Samuel McCulloch, who following a sharp encounter with the Indians escaped capture by the famous leap on horseback down the precipitous bluff east of Wheeling. The Indians, discouraged by their failure [1] to capture the fort, and by their heavy losses, departed—probably with the determination to return later.

[1] The success of the defense of the fort against the Indians was probably in part due to a supply of powder which had been obtained from New Orleans. In 1776 two men named Gibson and Linn descended the Ohio and Mississippi, from Pitts to New Orleans, and brought back a cargo of 135 kegs of gunpowder, pro-

Following the attack upon Fort Henry the Indians laid an ambuscade at Grave Creek Narrows, a short distance below Wheeling, and killed twenty men who had been sent under the leadership of Captain William Foreman, of Hampshire county, to assist in defending the settlements along the Ohio.

In 1778 the Indians visited nearly all settlements west of the mountains, even making raids to the base of the Alleghenies. The most important operation of the year was the Shawnee siege of Fort Randolph at Point Pleasant to avenge the death of Cornstalk, and the attack on Donnally's Fort in Greenbrier county. At Fort Randolph 200 Indians approached the place and set an ambuscade as they had done at Wheeling. When the soldiers at the fort, suspecting the trick, refrained from leaving the fort to fight, the savages threw off all disguises and openly came forward in battle line. After one week of unsuccessful attempt to carry the besieged fort by storm they abandoned the siege and moved up the Kanawha in the direction of Greenbrier with the expectation of finding a weaker fort.

The Commandant at Fort Randolph apprehended the danger which threatened the Greenbrier country 160 miles distant, and called for volunteers to pass the Indian army in order to warn the settlers. Two soldiers volunteered to carry the news of danger. They were dressed like Indians and painted black by Cornstalk's sister who had continued to remain at the fort after the death of her brother. Succeeding in passing the Indians on Meadow River they gave the warning on Greenbrier in time to enable the settlers to escape to places of safety. Twenty men with their families took shelter at Donnally's Fort near the site of Frankfort and about a hundred families retired to Lewisburg. At Donnally's Fort, which was the first one attacked, preparations were made for the expected siege. The Indians arrived at night but delayed the attack until morning. Failing in their rush upon the door they attempted to enter by raising the floor from beneath and by climbing the walls to the roof above. The men upstairs sprang from their beds and poured into the invaders such a severe fire that they beat a hasty retreat, leaving seventeen dead in the yard and contenting themselves thereafter with firing at a safe distance.

Meantime the settlers at the Lewisburg Fort learned from their scouts that the fight was in progress at Donnally's and quickly sent sixty-six men to the relief of the besieged fort. Upon the approach of this relief the Indians fled and never troubled Greenbrier again.

Later in the war, in 1782, the Indians made one raid across the Alleghenies. Led by an Englishman named Timothy Dorman, they burned the fort on Buckhannon river, crossed into Randolph county and, proceeding over the Seneca trail, reached the head of Seneca creek in Pendleton county but were promptly driven westward by the settlers.

A large factor in reducing the danger on the frontier was the expedition of George Rogers Clarke, consisting largely of Virginians, which, in 1779, carried the war into the Indian country. This expedition, after penetrating as far as the Mississippi river in the Illinois country, marched eastward to Vincennes in the dead of winter, surprised and captured the place, liberated 100 white prisoners, seized valuable military stores and sent as a prisoner to Richmond the commander of the fort, Governor Hamilton, who had hoped to conquer western Virginia and to capture the key to the West at Pittsburgh. This victory, which gave the United States a basis for claiming the Mississippi as a western boundary, dampened the ardor of the Indians and made war no longer an amusement for them.

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cured from the Spanish authorities and intended for the use of the Continental army. Altho they probably used canoes or bateaux instead of flat-boats, it is stated, that when they reached the falls of the Ohio, in the spring of 1777, they were obliged to unload their boats and carry their cargo around the falls. The success of their trip gave an impetus to the flat-boat trade, which rapidly increased in magnitude, and which, except during temporary suspension arising from Spanish hostility continued for many years.

In 1781 another expedition was sent against the Indians. It was organized under the command of General Brodhead, consisting of about 300 men, crossed the Ohio at Wheeling, attacked the Delaware Indians in Ohio and destroyed several of their towns. In the latter part of the Revolution additional attacks were planned against Wheeling. An attack planned in 1781 was abandoned for some reason. A contemplated attack in the summer of 1782 was thwarted. About 300 Indians accompanied by Simon Girty and commanded by a British officer named Caldwell moved toward Wheeling but suddenly dispersed to defend their homes, after hearing a false report that General Clarke was invading their country.

The last siege of Fort Henry occurred in September, 1782, and has sometimes been regarded as the last battle of the Revolutionary. The attack was made by forty irregular British soldiers and 230 Indians under the command of Captain Bradt, who apparently did not regard the surrender of Cornwallis as the end of the war. The attack was so sudden that there was barely time for the people to repair to the fort after they had received warning from the commandant. The enemy began by the demand of an immediate surrender, which was refused. Having learned by experience that rushes against the stockade walls were not likely to be successful, the enemy remained beyond rifle range until dark. During this delay the garrison was fortunate in receiving small reinforcements from the captain and crew of a boat from Pittsburgh which was loaded with cannon balls for the garrison at Lewisville.

During the night the savages tried more than a score of times to set fire to the fort by firing hemp placed against the palisades, but fortunately the hemp was too damp to burn. They next tried to break in the gate by assaults with logs but were unsuccessful. They then decided to burn the cabin of Colonel Zane (located near the fort), from which they had been annoyed during the attack by shots fired by Colonel Zane and his family, but again their attempt failed.

The story of Elizabeth Zane's bravery in this connection is well known. Ebenezer Zane's cabin stood very near to the fort. He considered it near enough to be successfully defended and he was anxious to hold it, as it was believed that the enemy would burn all the houses in their power as they had done in 1777. Two white men and a negro remained in the cabin with Zane. While the attack was delayed, the discovery was made that a keg of powder which was needed in the fort had been left in Zane's cabin. To get it while scores of Indians were within shooting distance was extremely perilous, but several volunteers offered themselves for the service. Among them was Elizabeth, daughter of Ebenezer Zane, and upon her insistence she was sent for the powder. As she ran from the fort across the open space to the cabin, the Indians saw her but refrained from firing, simply exclaiming contemptuously, "A squaw." But when she emerged from the cabin door a few minutes later with the powder in a tablecloth that had been tied around her waist by her father, the purpose of her mission was suspected and bullets struck all about her as she ran, but she fortunately escaped harm and safely entered the fort.

Finally the Indians jeered at what they supposed was a wooden cannon (but what was a real cannon) mounted on one of the bastions where they could easily see it. Doubting the genuineness of the cannon they challenged the garrison to fire it. Then, taking possession of an empty cabin near the fort, they proceeded to make night hideous with their leaps and yells. Suddenly in the midst of their howls their revelry was stopped by a cannon ball which broke a joist and precipitated the entire howling crowd to the floor below. Instigated by the repeated firing of the cannon thereafter they decided to make a cannon of their own for reply. Improvising a siege gun from a hollow log, wrapping it with chains from a neighboring blacksmith's shop, and loading it with cannon balls taken from the boat at the river's edge, they adroitly

aimed it at the gate of the fort and applied fire to the powder. Discouraged by the result of the explosion which left some of them wounded by splinters and did no harm to the fort, they retired and unsuccessfully turned their attention to Rice's fort in the vicinity.

The following traditional story of the end of the siege is interesting. "Girty, finding that all his efforts to reduce the works proved abortive, discontinued his fire, again summoned the commandant to surrender, promising him at the same time that if they complied with the conditions of the proclamation of the English governor, Hamilton, of Detroit, and laid down their arms, the lives of all should be spared. This offer the Virginians peremptorily rejected. While the negotiations between Zane and Girty were in progress, the restless warriors, some of whom had seen French artillery in Canada, found a hard, hollow maple log and resolved to convert it into a siege gun with which to batter down the gate of the fort. One end was tightly plugged, and then they went into the smithshop, which stood near the fort, and secured a number of log chains and traces which they wrapped around their cannon to add to its strength. Then a touch-hole was made and they dragged the gun to the high hill in the rear of the fort, where it was heavily charged with powder and loaded with stones and such pieces of iron as they had been able to find about the cabins outside of the fort. Then the great gun was trained upon the gate of the fort and a large body of the savages gathered around to witness the result of their first experiment in artillery tactics. The fire was applied—the cannon was shivered into a thousand fragments and about twenty of the anxious Indian warriors went suddenly to their long homes. The survivors made an instantaneous retreat which neither the threats nor entreaties of the disappointed Girty were able to arrest."

At the close of the Revolution the negotiations for the extension of the American western boundaries to the Mississippi were greatly facilitated by the success of the operations in the West during the war. The Lord North proposition to hold the Ohio valley as a barrier by recognizing the independence of the Indians in that region had little chance of adoption. The Indian chiefs, when informed by the governor of Canada (in July, 1783) that the war was over, were reluctant to stop the fighting, and they remained sour and disappointed. It was evident that they would not immediately cease to give trouble to the advancing settlers in the new era of an awakening life in the West.

During the Revolution, the older settlements grew and some new ones were made. Settlements and population continued to multiply west of Harper's Ferry along the Potomac and up the South Branch. Shepherdstown was a busy industrial town through which there was much travel and traffic and for many years thereafter it continued to maintain its position as a center of trade. During the war it had many industries, and few places rendered more useful and valuable service to the cause. "Clothing was made; shoes, hats, rifles, shotbags, and all other military accoutrements; wagons, saddles and many other things were manufactured for the use of the soldiers. The town was like a hive of industrious bees. The humming of looms; the whir of numerous spinning wheels; the marching of militia and state troops; the lumbering off of wagons loaded with provisions; the markets held in the village; and the constant stream of pack horses, into and out of the town; with now and then the arrival of a half-spent express rider with news from the seat of war, must have made it a lively and noisy little center. Sometimes a long line of prisoners would pass through the place, strictly guarded by the Continental soldiers in blue and buff, or in one of the picturesque uniforms adopted by the state troops."

The new county of Berkeley, including all the territory now embraced in Berkeley, Jefferson and Morgan, was formed from Frederick county in 1772. The town of Bath (Berkeley Springs) was incorpo-

rated in 1776 and laid off into lots a year later.[2] Martinsburg (named in honor of Colonel T. B. Martin) was established in October, 1778, by act of the Assembly (of 1777), which also named seven trustees in whom the titles to lots were vested. The first sheriff was Adam Stephen, who was constituted and appointed by a commission from the governor for Berkeley county on the 18th day of April, 1772.

Tradition relates an animated contest that took place between Sheriff Adam Stephen and Jacob Hite, Esq., in relation to fixing the seat of justice for this county and by which the latter lost his life. Hite contended for the location thereof on his own land at what is now called Leetown, in the county of Jefferson. Stephen successfully advocated Martinsburg. Hite became so disgusted and dissatisfied that he sold out his fine estate and removed to the frontier of South Carolina. "His removal proved fatal; for he had not long settled in that state before the Indians murdered him and several of his family in the most shocking and barbarous manner."

The first court was held in the dwelling house of Edward Beeson, situated on the land now owned by Mr. A. J. Thomas, at the north end of the city. The building was a rude log house and consisted of one story and a half. The first court house erected was built of stone, and located where the present fine structure now stands.

In the Middle New river region settlement continued to expand. The first important settlement on the Bluestone tributary of the New river was made by Mitchell Clay in 1775 at Clover Bottom (five miles north of Princeton). A settlement on the site of Alderson was made in 1775-77 by Rev. John Alderson a Baptist minister from Rockingham county. Here he organized a Baptist church in 1781. In 1778 Thomas Ingles and family located in Wright's valley near the site of Bluefield; but finding himself too dangerously near the Indians' trail from the head of Tug of Sandy southward across East river mountain to Wolf's creek and Walker's creek settlements, he soon removed to Burke's Garden. In 1780 the Davidson and Bailey families located at Beaver Pond Spring, a branch of the Bluestone—where they built a fort, battled with the Indians and maintained their position on the border until the close of the Indian wars in 1795. In the same year John Toney settled at the mouth of East river at Montreal (now Glenlyn). John and Christian Peters settled on the site of Peterstown in 1783—a year later than the settlement of Capt. George Pearis at Pearisburg on land entered in 1780 by William Ingles. The influx of population was increased during the Revolution by the arrival of immigrant Tories from North Carolina (including David Hughes who settled on Sugar run in 1780) and at the close of the Revolution by American and Hessian soldiers seeking new homes.

By the construction of Fort Randolph at Point Pleasant the New river and Greenbrier settlements were protected from larger bands of Ohio Indians although they still suffered from smaller bands who evaded the frontier defenses. The murder of Cornstalk at Point Pleasant in 1777 incited new Indian hostilities which lasted long after the Revolution, bringing upon the pioneer settlers the horrors of savage vengeance and retarding the advance of the frontier lines of settlement. In 1778 Fort Randolph was attacked by a large force of Indians who being compelled to withdraw started toward the New river settlements which were saved only by timely warning. In 1783 Indians destroyed the settlement of Mitchell Clay, but they were pursued along the old trail

[2] The springs at old "Bath" are historic, their use as a health resort dating back to Washington's time. They were originally owned by Lord Fairfax, and in 1776 the tract of land including the spring was set apart by an act of the Virginia legislature as a health resort under the control of 14 trustees. Washington, Lord Fairfax, and other noted men of their time had cottages there. The locality was then reached by the Bath or Warm Spring road, which after crossing the Shenandoah Valley from Washington enters the Hancock quadrangle at Hedgesville and passes over the hilly country around the north end of Meadow Branch Mountains.

BEAVER
ALLEGHENY
WASHINGTON
WEST MORELAND
YOUGHIOGANIA
OHIO
MONONGALIA
WESTAUGUSTA
GREENBRIER
FAYETTE
HAMPSHIRE
DISTRICT OF
WEST AUGUSTA.
and original counties
formed therefrom,
1776.

from the Bluestone across Flat Top mountain and over the divide between the Guyandotte and Coal river along the top of Cherry Pond mountain and were overtaken near the mouth of Pond fork (in Boone county). In the fight that followed many fell before the fire of the pursuers and their backs furnished strips of skin used as souvenir razor-straps for years later.

The problems which tested the spirit and endurance of the frontiersmen of this period is illustrated by the story of Mrs. Margaret Hanley Paulee who starting with her husband and son and others, in September, 1779, from Monroe county to go to Kentucky,[3] was captured by a party of Shawnee Indians about five miles from the mouth of East river and taken to their town at Chillicothe and finally, after her ransom in 1782, returned home through the wilderness via Pittsburgh with eight other ransomed captives.

In Greenbrier county, which was created in 1777, new settlers arrived in 1778 and 1780 and continued to arrive thereafter. In October, 1776, from the District of West Augusta was formed the counties of Youghiogheny, Monongalia and Ohio. Monongalia included all the territory drained by the Monongahela in Virginia and considerable territory in the southwest part of Pennsylvania. Its first county seat was on the plantation of Theophilus Phillips (two miles from the site of Geneva, Pennsylvania), which was located in the most thickly populated part of the county. During the Revolution the settlers manned the feeble stockade forts against Indian attacks, at the same time their ranks furnished men to participate in the campaigns and battles of the East.

At the close of the Revolution, the settlement of the boundary dispute with Pennsylvania reduced the bounds of Monongalia and necessitated the removal of the county seat. From 1774 to 1780 Virginia courts continued to sit on territory claimed by Virginia in western Pennsylvania. An agreement on the boundary was finally reached by negotiations of 1779 which were ratified by Virginia in June, 1780. The temporary survey of the Mason and Dixon line was completed in 1781, and the permanent survey in 1784 (soon followed by the completion of the survey of the western boundary of Pennsylvania northward to Lake Erie in 1785-86). In April, 1782, before the Pennsylvania-Virginia boundary line was run through Monongalia, and therefore prior to the regular administration of civil government in the disputed territory, confusion was threatened; and between the Youghiogheny and the Monongahela, and in the larger part of Washington county, there was (among the settlers opposed to the transfer to Pennsylvania) a strong sentiment expressed in conventions favorable to a proposed new state including the territory west of the Alleghenies from the Kanawha to Lake Erie—a resurrection of the old Walpole grant of 1772 (the abortive *Vandalia*). It was counteracted by an act of Pennsylvania, passed December, 1782, but was revived in 1794 by some of the leaders of the Whiskey Insurrection.

In 1782 the county seat of Monongalia was located at Morgantown by an act of the legislature which made Zackwell Morgan's the place of holding court and designated Morgan's and Bush's Fort (now Buckhannon) as voting places. At Morgantown was built a frame court house which by 1802 was replaced by a brick structure.

The region stretching along the head streams of Cheat and Tygart, forming the southwestern part of the Monongahela drainage system, received some of the earliest settlers who passed over the divide from

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[3] In September, 1779, John Pauley and family and others set out from the Greenbrier section to go to Kentucky via the hunters trail. They crossed New river at Horse Ford near the mouth of Rich creek, then down New and up East river which was the shortest route to Cumberland Gap (there were no settlements then on East river). This route was via Bluefield, Bluestone-Clinch divide to the Clinch and down Clinch and via Powell's river and was the route usually followed by Greenbrier-New section to Kentucky.

the older-settled bordering region of Pocahontas. The scattered settlements along Tygard's valley, in which three new forts were built in 1777, were attacked by Indians late in 1777 and again in 1779, 1780, 1781 and 1782—after which this valley remained free from Indian invasions, with one exception, in May, 1791. The most disastrous invasion of 1781 began by an attack on a party of men who were returning from a visit to Clarksburg to obtain deeds from the land commissioners, and it closed by an attack which almost broke up the settlement on Leading creek.

On upper Cheat a new settlement was begun on the site of St. George in 1776 by John Minear, who, after building a stockade, moved his family and led a colony of others from the South Branch. Here he promptly built a saw mill which was probably the first one west of the mountains. Soon thereafter small colonies were established at various points along Cheat. They usually led their cows and brought a few utensils and other "plunder" on packhorses. On the revival of the Indian war in 1777 the Parsons colony, which had been established above St. George in 1772-74, built a fort and soon thereafter a grist mill and a saw mill.

During the first four years these settlements prospered and were considerably increased by the arrival of new immigrants who brought with them horses, cows and other domestic animals. Although somewhat secluded and less exposed to Indian attacks than other parts of the frontier, they were not free from anxiety. Finally in March, 1780, while several St. George settlers had gone to take their produce to market at Winchester in order to obtain salt, iron, ammunition and tools, they were attacked by Indians who, after crossing the Ohio near Parkersburg, had besieged the fort on Hacker's creek and disturbed the settlers of Buckhannon and Tygart's valley.

In April, 1781, Minear and others went to Clarksburg to obtain their land patents from the commissioners of Monongalia and while returning, just before crossing the Valley river below Philippi, were attacked by Indians who murdered Minear and then turned south and murdered settlers on Leading creek. A year later one of three small forces of militia from Hampshire county sent by the governor of Virginia to protect the border settlements was stationed on Cheat near St. George. After 1781 these settlements were free from Indian invasions.

After the expedition of Lord Dunmore there was a revival of the movement of settlers westward from the Monongahela toward the upper Ohio—a movement which continued at intervals throughout the Revolution. The chief outpost of defense was Fort Henry which was besieged by the Indians in 1777. In 1780, near the site of Triadelphia the settlers erected Fort Link which was attacked in 1781. Ohio county was formed in 1776. Its first courts were held at Black's cabin on Short creek near the site of West Liberty.

To the settlements farther up the river came new homeseekers in 1774-76, largely from New England. Below Wheeling creek in the present limits of Marshall county, new settlements were made in 1777.

CHAPTER IX

NEW CALL OF THE FRONTIER: AWAKENING OF THE WEST

At the close of the Revolution, Washington, the prophet of the West, who had been interested in the trans-Allegheny region for more than three decades, again directed his attention to the region beyond the Alleghenies and to the problems of the West. He became a promoter of expansion of internal improvements, recognizing that the awakening and encouragement of the West was the hope of the East. Instead of resting peacefully in slippers and armchair before a Mount Vernon fireplace, after retirement from the honors with which he had been loaded, he promptly decided to make a journey into the western wilds, partly to look after his neglected farms in western Pennsylvania and partly to obtain information in regard to the best possible routes for communication between East and West. The leader of the ragged armies became a leader in facing the problems of expansion and unification. His anxious eyes were looking at the doors of the Allegheny wall and specially to the waterways which might be utilized in securing a commercial union of the East with the West. While contemplating national problems, he had the spirit of the West, which he desired to open to the flood-tides of pioneers and to weld to the East by the bands of commerce.

He still had faith in the trans-Allegheny region in which he had learned his earliest lessons in war—first as commander of the Virginia expedition of 1754, next in the march with "Bulldog" Braddock in 1755, and finally as leader of the vanguard of Forbes' army to the capture of Fort Duquesne. To him it was no encumbrance. To study its problems and to render additional aid in awakening it from the sleep of ages, he made his last ride over the Alleghenies—a remarkable ride which involved many inconveniences and hardships, including one night in the rain amid the Alleghenies 300 miles from home and with only a cloak for a cover. His diary of this trip and its affiliated correspondence reflect the enterprising heart of the man who first saw the light of a better day for America, and show he was the greatest man in America. Leaving his home on September 1, 1784, a day after Lafayette had completed a two weeks' visit with him, he traveled via Leesburg and Smickers' Gap to the Shenandoah, thence via Charlestown, Back creek (near Martinsburg), Bath (Berkeley Springs) and Old Town to Cumberland, thence over the worn path of Braddock's road to Simpson's (near Connellsville) and thence northwest to his lands on a branch of Chartiers creek (north of Washington, Pennsylvania).

At Bath he was shown a model of Rumsey's new steamboat constructed for sending rapid current and from it he obtained a new idea of revolutionizing the trade of the West and the awakening of America.

As he crossed the Alleghenies, which he hoped to annihilate more effectively than Braddock's road had done, he saw evidence of the great migration which had just begun.

At Simpsons where still stands the old mill which may be regarded as a monument to the unknown Washington who dreamed of the new America, he received an odd Scotch-Irish delegation of rough frontiersmen who had squatted on his rich land in western Pennsylvania and against them he became plaintiff in suits. This is an interesting specific instance of a western contest for squatter's rights and tomahawk claims.

Here he learned for the first time that the survey of the Mason and Dixon line westward from the corner of Maryland had left the mouth of Cheat river in Pennsylvania thus disappointing his plans for an all Virginia route to the Ohio via Cheat, the West Fork and Monongahela and the Little Kanawha.

On September 22, after spending several days in the neighborhood of Washington, Pennsylvania, Washington started on his return trip. Stopping at Beasontown (Uniontown) to engage an attorney to prosecute his suit, he learned that the West Fork of the Monongahela had its headwaters very near to the waters of the Little Kanawha, and that Cheat river was navigable to Dunkard's bottom from which a road was already marked across the mountain to the Potomac with a view to obtain further information in regard to waterway route he sent his baggage back by the old route and decided to return part of the way by an unknown route, southward via Pt. Marion, Pennsylvania, and across the dividing ridge toward the site of Morgantown.

At the surveyor's office at the house of John Pierpont (about four miles from Morgantown) he stayed all night, and sent for Zackwell Morgan from whom he received information in regard to three routes east of the Potomac. Here also he met Albert Gallatin who possibly received from him the first inspiration for a system of internal improvements.

After leaving Pierponts he crossed Cheat at Ice's Ferry (the old McCulloch's landing), followed the "New road" eastward over Laurel Hill to Bruceton, thence southward and eastward to the North Branch, crossing the Yough near the site of Webster Switch on the B. and O. railroad where a bridge was later erected on the old pioneer "Moorefield Road."[1] From the North Branch he continued southeastward to the upper waters of the South Branch (above Moorefield) and thence through Brook's Gap to Staunton, thence eastward and northeastward to his home. Immediately upon his return to Mount Vernon he drew a plan for commercial union of the Monongahela with Virginia by the Potomac river route. Referring to certain objections of Philadelphia merchants Washington said that there were in western Pennsylvania 100,000 inhabitants, many of whom thought of demanding separation from Pennsylvania in case the most practical water communication with the sea board should be kept closed on account of selfish interests, and that they had a right to demand that Pennsylvania should open the communication which would benefit them most. In presenting the whole plan to Governor Harrison on October 10, 1784, he also referred to the unfortunate jealousy of the Potomac region felt by the James river region.

Largely as a result of Washington's efforts Virginia and Maryland in 1785 authorized the formation of a company to open the navigation of the Potomac and to construct a highway from the uttermost western waters, and requested Pennsylvania to improve the navigation of any stream in her territory which was found to be the best avenue between the Potomac and the Ohio. Washington was selected as the president of the Potomac Company which was organized in the same year, and he selected Mr. Rumsey as superintendent of its construction which was soon begun. Considering the spirit of emigration and other signs of a

[1] Washington followed the "new road to Sandy creek," but instead of following it to its connection with Braddock's Road, east of the winding ridge, he crossed Sandy creek at James Spurgeons and followed the route of McCulloch's path southeast across the glades of Sandy and of Yough, upon which Governor Johnson of Maryland had settled two or three families of Palatines, to Longstons on the North Branch of the Potomac. At that time a good road from Dunker's Bottom via Charles Friends was suggested as feasible.

At the same time Maryland was extending a road westward from the mouth of Savage creek via Friends to connect at the state line with a road which Monongalia county was extending eastward from Dunker's Bottom. Before 1786 a "state road" from Winchester via Romney to Morgantown was authorized by act of Virginia Assembly. Its extension to the Ohio to the mouth of Fishing creek was authorized in 1786 and to the mouth of Graves creek in 1795.

Rumseyan Monument, Shepherdstown

new awakening, he wrote Richard Henry Lee (on December 14, 1785) suggesting the wisdom of congressional action to have the western waters explored and chartered and to mark a smooth road to the West to make easy the way "before we make any stir about the navigation of the Mississippi."

Other phases of the awakening of the West which were important events in the early development of western Virginia, or events in western Virginia in which western Virginia felt a live interest, and in which Washington's influence and service were also of great use were:

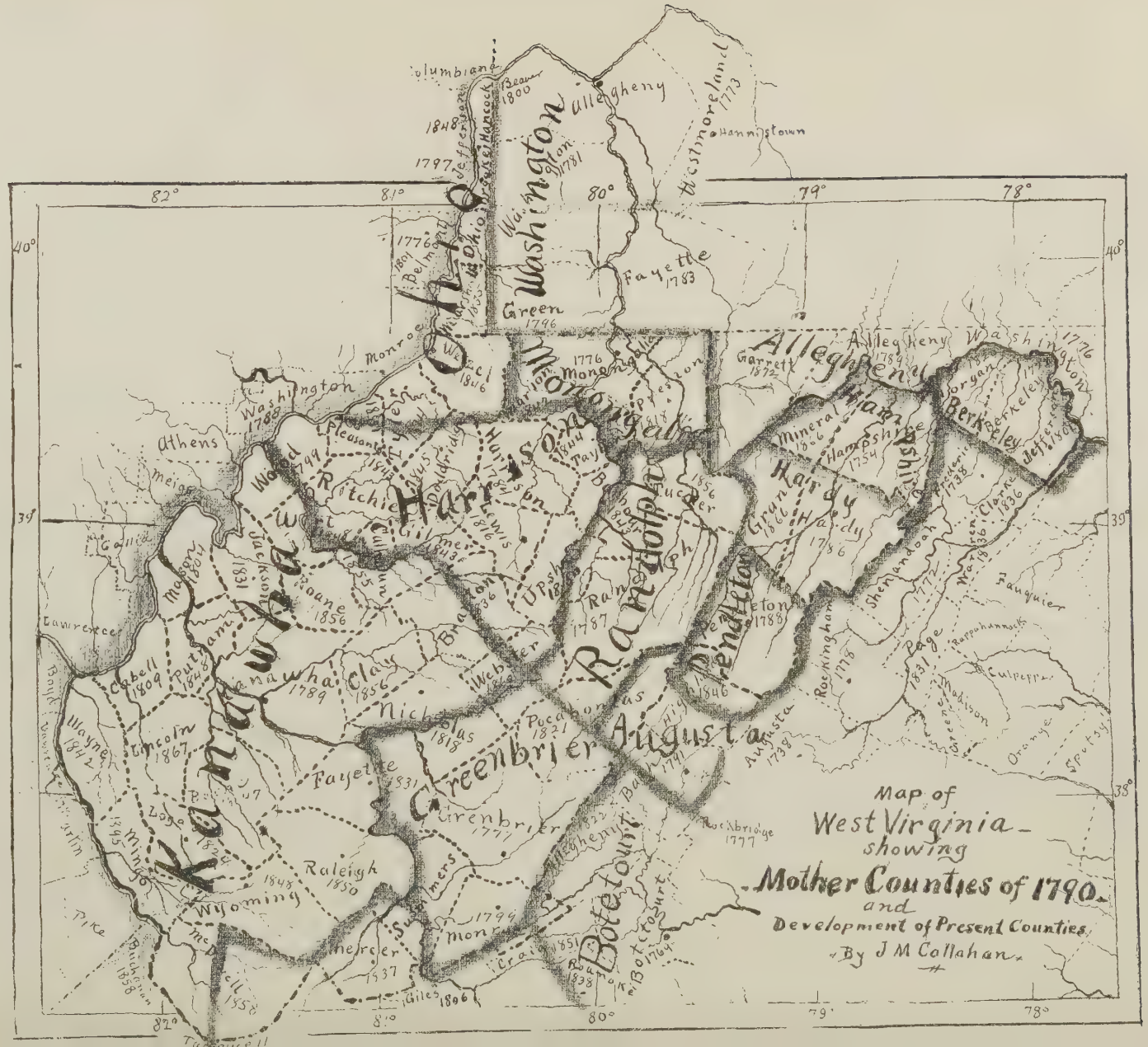
(1) State cessions of trans-Ohio territory to the national government;
(2) Organization of the northwest territory in 1787;
(3) Efforts at adjustment of the Indian problem in the new territory, finally resulting in the Wayne's victory of 1794 and the treaty of Greenville in 1795;
(4) Provision in the Jay's treaty of 1794 for withdrawal of the British from Detroit and other frontier posts;
(5) Negotiating on the question of the navigation of the lower Mississippi, resulting in the temporary adjustment of 1795 with Spain—an adjustment which prepared the way for the later permanent adjustment by the acquisition of Louisiana;
(6) The establishment of a post office at Morgantown and Wheeling in 1794, and of mail boats on the Ohio in 1795;
(7) The opening of Zanes' Trace as a direct mail route from Wheeling via Zanesville, Lancaster and Chillicothe to the northern bank of the Ohio opposite Limestone (Maysville) Ky. in 1796; and
(8) The admission of Kentucky and Tennessee as states—(Kentucky in 1792, and Tennessee in 1796);

Western Virginia had a special interest in the Indian question which was the storm center of western politics for over a decade after the close of the Revolution. The territory east of the Ohio was still not entirely free from danger of Indian raids after the treaty of Fort McIntosh negotiated in 1785, the expedition of George Rogers Clark up the Wabash in 1786, the Harmar expedition of 1787-88, and the treaty of Fort Harmar in 1789. It could not feel sure of complete safety until the Indians who swarmed the valley of the Wabash could be confined to that valley. With a view to greater security for the entire Ohio frontier, President Washington, in 1791, authorized an expedition which, starting from the mouth of the Kentucky river, pushed through woods of the Indiana country and attacked the Weas towns (near the site of Lafayette, Indiana), and destroyed the growing corn at Ouiatanon. Soon thereafter, in October, 1791, he authorized an expedition which advanced northward from Cincinnati under command of St. Clair, governor of the Northwest Territory—an expedition which terminated in an inglorious defeat, resulting in new Indian raids and bold demands for retention of the land north of the Ohio and west of the Muskingum.

Finally Washington appointed to the command on the Ohio the famous General Anthony Wayne, who promptly began the active preparation of a new army at Fort Washington (Cincinnati), in 1793 (after failure of negotiations) moved northward into the Indian country and built Fort Greenville, and in the summer of 1794 advanced again, erected Fort Defiance, and defeated the Indians who attacked him at Fallen Timbers on the Maumee. The result of this expedition, and of Wayne's victory, was the Treaty of Greenville of 1795, which, together with the surrender of the British posts at Detroit and at other points along the Canadian boundary, gave the hope of permanent security to the upper Ohio region.

All forts built between 1783 and 1795 (a period in which the communities were frequently troubled by wandering bands of Indians) were built on the Kanawha or near the mouth of the Little Kanawha. Those on the Kanawha were:

Fort Tackett, erected after 1783, one-half mile below the mouth of Coal river in Jefferson district, Kanawha county;
Fort Lee, erected in 1788 on the site of the present city of Charleston;


Ohio
Washington
Allegheny
Monongalia
Harrison
Kanawha
Randolph
Pendleton
Greenbrier
Augusta
Botetourt
Hampshire
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Berkeley
Jefferson
Morgan
Frederick
Shenandoah
Clarke
Page
Rockingham
Augusta
Rockbridge
Culpeper
Orange
Fauquier
Rappahannock
Madison
Spotsylvania
Hannastown
Fayette
Green
Monroe
Preston
Taylor
Barbour
Upshur
Lewis
Gilmer
Braxton
Webster
Pocahontas
Nicholas
Clay
Roane
Jackson
Mason
Putnam
Cabell
Wayne
Lincoln
Logan
Boone
Raleigh
Wyoming
McDowell
Mercer
Summers
Monroe
Greenbrier
Pocahontas
Bath
Alleghenny
Giles
Tazewell
Pike
Buchanan
Wirt
Ritchie
Doddridge
Tyler
Pleasants
Wood
Athens
Meigs
Gallia
Lawrence
Martin
Floyd
Carroll
Grayson
Wythe
Smyth
Russell
Tucker
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Shenandoah
Clarke
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Rockingham
Augusta
Rockbridge
Bath
Alleghenny
Botetourt

Fort Cooper, erected in 1792, eight miles from the mouth of the Kanawha in what is now Cooper district, Kanawha county.

Near the mouth of the Kanawha, opposite the foot of Six-Mile Island in the Ohio river, now in Robinson district, Mason county, Fort Robinson was constructed in 1794.

Those near the mouth of the Little Kanawha were:

Fort Neal (Neal's Station) erected after 1783, one mile from the mouth of the Little Kanawha, nearly opposite the city of Parkersburg;

Fort Belleville built in 1785-86 by Captain Joseph Wood and ten men hired in Pittsburgh as laborers for a year, on the site of the present village of Belleville, in Harris district, Wood county;

Fort Flinn, built in 1785 at the mouth of Lee creek in Harris district, Wood county.

The spirit of the new era of nationality and expansion was felt in the older communities. Although western development was retarded for a time by the conditions of the critical period preceding the adoption of a new constitution, and for a time thereafter by the fear of Indian attacks on the western frontier, there was a steady growth in the older settlements and an increasing movement to form new settlements.

In the region which now constitutes the eastern panhandle, Middletown was established in 1787 and Drakesville in 1791. The increase of settlement in Hampshire county is indicated by the establishment of new towns: Watsontown in 1787, and Springfield (at Cross Roads) in 1790. In 1786 the new county of Hardy was formed with the county seat at Moorefield which had been established on the land of Conrad Moore in 1777.

In 1793 the alarm created by prowling bands along the upper Kanawha and lower New was quieted by the organization of a company of men under Captain Hugh Caperton of the Greenbrier section to proceed to the Elk and to scout the country to the Ohio. After 1795 settlers from Greenbrier and the Kanawha began to occupy new lands in the region which in 1818 was formed into the new county of Nicholas (formed from Kanawha, Greenbrier and Randolph).

In Fayette near Montgomery a large tract of land was secured by Henry Montgomery after his service in the Point Pleasant campaign and was used by him as a stock farm. In the vicinity of Ansted the earliest settlers were Baptist squatters who arrived about 1790. At Sewell, Peter Bowyer settled in 1798 and established a ferry.

The Bullett lands including the site of Charleston were purchased in 1788 by George Clendenin of Greenbrier who brought with him several daring pioneers. Fort Clendenin was built in 1788. Attack upon it by Indians in 1791 was the occasion of the famous historic ride of "Mad Anne Bailey" up New river to Fort Union to secure needed supplies.

Of all the celebrated characters of pioneer times, there were none more remarkable than Anne Bailey, the pioneer heroine of the Great Kanawha valley. Her maiden name was Hennis and she was born in Liverpool, England, in the year 1742. When she was in her nineteenth year, her parents both having died she crossed the ocean to find relatives of the name of Bell, then (1761) residing near Staunton, Virginia. Here soon after (1765) she wedded Richard Trotter, a distinguished frontiersman and a survivor of Braddock's defeat.

A cabin was reared near where Swope's Depot on the Chesapeake and Ohio Railway now stands, and there in 1767 a son, William, was born. The year 1774 brought with it Dunmore's War, and Richard Trotter enlisted in General Lewis' army and at the battle of Point Pleasant, October 10, 1774, yielded up his life in an attempt to plant civilization on the banks of the Ohio.

From the moment the widow heard of her husband's death, a strange, wild fancy seemed to possess her, and she resolved to avenge his death. Leaving her little son to the care of a neighbor, Mrs. Moses Mann, she at once entered upon a career which has no parallel in Virginia annals. Clad in the costume of the border, she hastened away to the recruiting stations, where she urged enlistments with all the earnestness which her zeal and heroism inspired. Then she became a nurse, a messenger, a scout, and for eleven years she fearlessly dashed along the whole western border, going wherever her services required, and thus the wilderness road from Staunton to Point Pleasant was all familiar to her.

November 3, 1785, at Lewisburg, in Greenbrier county, she was married a second time, her husband being John Bailey, a distinguished frontiersman from the Roanoke river. Fort Lee was erected by the Clendenins on the present site of the city of Charleston in 1788-89 and to it John Bailey and his heroic bride at once removed.

In 1791, the fort was besieged by a large body of Indians, and to the terror of the garrison, it was found that the supply of powder in the magazine was almost exhausted. A hundred miles of wilderness lay between Fort Lee and Lewisburg, the only place from which a supply of powder could come. Colonel George Clendenin, the commandant at Fort Lee, asked for volunteers to go to Lewisburg, but not a soldier in that garrison would brave the task. Then was heard in a female voice the words "I will go," and every inmate of the fort recognized the voice of Anne Bailey.

The fleetest horse in the stockade was brought out and the daring rider mounted and disappeared in the forest. Onward she sped. Darkness and day were one to her. It was a ride for life and there could be no stop. Lewisburg was reached; there was but a short delay, and she was returning with two horses laden with powder. The garrison in Fort Lee welcomed her return, and she entered it, as she had left it, under a shower of balls. The men thus supplied, sallied forth and forced the savages to raise the siege.

At Clendenin in 1789 the first court of the newly formed county was held. By act of 1794 Charleston became a town. Below Charleston on the Kanawha settlements were retarded. On December 12, 1791, Daniel Boone (then a resident of the Kanawha) writing briefly concerning conditions in the Valley said: "From the Pint (Point Pleasant) to Alke (Elk) 60 miles; no inhabitants; from Alke to the Bote Yards (mouth of Kelley's creek), 20 miles; all inhabited."[2] In 1788 at the mouth of Coal river, Lewis Tackett, who came with the Clendenins, erected a fort—the only one between Fort Donnally and Point Pleasant. In the same year his fort was destroyed by a band of Shawnees from the Scioto. Not until twelve years later Stephen Teays came from Virginia and established below Coalsmouth a ferry and an inn for travellers between the East and the Ohio valley.

After 1794 settlements along the Kanawha above Coalsmouth developed rapidly. From the region at the mouth Mason county was formed in 1804. The new county was long retarded in development. Point Pleasant which was first settled in 1774 on lands surveyed by Washington four years earlier, did not grow for many years. Residents had a superstition that the cruel murder of Cornstalk in 1777 had caused a curse to rest upon the place.

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[2] While acting as Lieutenant-Colonel of the county, Boone, by letter to Gov. Henry Lee, dated December 12th, 1791, reported the military establishments of Kanawha as follows:

"For Kanaway county 68 privits Leonard Cuper Captain, at Pint plesent 17 men John Morris junior Insine at the Bote yards 17 men Two spyes or scutes Will be necessary at the pint to sarch the Banks of the River at the Crosing places. More would be Wanting if the could be aloude. Thos Spyes Must be Compoused of the inhabitence who Well Know the Woods and waters from the pint to Belleville 60 mildes no inhabitence also from the pint to Elke 60 mildes no inhabitence from Elke to the Bote yeards 20 Mildes all inhabited."

Boone was in the Kanawha Valley as early as 1774. When Lord Dunmore organized his Shawnee campaign in 1774, he put Boone in command of three garrisons—Fort Union (now Lewisburg), Donnally Fort, Stewart's Fort—in the Greenbrier country, to protect the citizens in the rear of Gen. Lewis' army.

Much of Boone's time while he lived in the Kanawha Valley was spent in locating and surveying lands. He was familiar with the geography and topography of the whole country. He had traveled, and hunted, fought and trapped, up and down all the streams and knew where the good lands lay.

Among other tracts, he located over 200,000 acres in two adjoining surveys beginning where Boone Court House now stands, and running across the waters of Guyandotte, Twelve Pole and Big Sandy, to the Kentucky line. These surveys were made in 1795. The surveying party cut their names and the dates on beech trees at several places on the route.

The following is a copy of an original report of a survey made by Daniel Boone, at Point Pleasant in 1791:

"June 14th 1791

"Laide of for Willeam Allin ten acres of Land Situate on the South Este Side of Crucked Crick in the County of Conhawway and Bounded as followeth Viz Beginning at a rad oke and Hickory thence North 56 West 23 poles to a Stake thence South 56 Este 23 poles to a Stake thence South 34 West 58 poles to the Beginning Daniel Boone."

Following the Revolution, settlers in the region now included in Mercer and McDowell counties had experiences with the Indians which did not encourage the expansion of their settlements. Their difficulties are illustrated by the following incidents:

Starting on the fall hunt with his sons on November 12, 1788, Captain Henry Harman, who, after a stay near Salem, North Carolina, had settled in New river valley in 1758 and later on Kimberling creek, met a party of Indians who fired on him on the right bank of Tug Fork of Sandy in the present McDowell county and after a bloody fight was compelled to return. In 1789 other raiding parties came up Dry Fork of Big Sandy and attacked the settlers. In the fall of that year a body of them came into the Bluestone and Clinch settlements, crossed East river mountain to the waters of Clear fork of Wolf creek and after depredations returned via Flat Top mountain and North Fork of Tug Fork, carrying a Mrs. Wiley to the Indian town of Chillicothe where she remained until September, 1792, when she returned home via the Kanawha and New rivers. In 1790 another marauding party entered Bluestone and upper Clinch settlements and stole many horses. In the spring of 1791, while Andrew Davidson had left his settlement at the head of East River (nearly one-half mile from the east limits of Bluefields) to visit at Smithfield (Drapers Meadows) from whence his father had moved about ten years earlier; Indians captured his wife and children and took them to their town in Ohio where the children were shot. On the route (near Logan court house) Mrs. Davidson gave birth to a child which the Indians drowned the following day. She remained in captivity till after Wayne's victory at Fallen Timbers. In 1792 while with a party of militia in pursuit of a band of Indians who had stolen horses in Bluestone and upper Clinch settlements, Samuel Lusk was captured in an attack on a creek flowing into the Guyandotte and taken to the Ohio town (Chillicothe). While the Indians were on their fall hunt in the region of the lakes in September he escaped with Mrs. Wiley in a light canoe down the Scioto and up the southern bank of the Ohio opposite to Gallipolis where a few French lived with whom they took refuge. They feared to follow up Big Sandy or the Guyandotte. Lusk decided to take no risks by attempt to return through Virginia mountains. He secured passage on a passing push-boat bound for Pittsburgh. Thence he went to Philadelphia where he found Major Joseph Cloyd of Back creek with whom he returned home—about one month after his escape from Chillicothe. Mrs. Wiley declined to go via Philadelphia and a few days after his departure started on her tiresome trip up the Kanawha and New to the home of her husband's people at Wiley's Falls in (now) Giles county. Richard Bailey a revolutionary soldier who had moved from (now) Franklin county (then Bedford county) and settled in 1780 at Beaver Pond Spring a branch of Bluestone, now in Mercer county and built "Davidson-Bailey Fort" discovered in March that Indians had stolen his boy's calf (March, 1793). Major Robert Crockett military commander of Wythe county then at the head of Clinch, gathered a party (including Lusk) and followed the Indians and overtook them at their camp on the island at the mouth of Island creek (opposite Logan) attacked the camp which rapidly dispersed (March 15) leaving their stolen horses behind them.

Awaiting the cessation of dangers from Indians the beginning of development along the Big Sandy was delayed for two decades after the surveys made by George Washington along the Tug. In February, 1789, however, the advance guard began to arrive from the East and attempted the first settlement at the junction of the Tug and the Sandy on the Vancouver tract 40 miles from any other settlement. Here on an original survey made by Washington for John Fry about 1770, 10 men under Charles Vancouver built a fort, raised some vegetables and deadened about 18 acres, but the appropriation of their horses by the Indians prevented the completion of their plans to raise a crop. Soon thereafter a second settlement was attempted near the mouth of Pigeon. The earliest settlement in the present limits of Mingo county was made at the mouth of Gilbert on the Guyandotte after 1795 by French peasants under a man named Swan whose purpose was to start a vineyard there, followed by another on the Tug (at the mouth of Pond creek) by the Leslies, but all the inhabitants of these places were driven away by Indians. Provision for protection of later settlers along the waters of Big Sandy was made by the construction of blockhouses in 1790, after which the Indians ceased to give trouble in that region, although they stole horses in the Scioto valley as late as 1802. The Leslies who returned in 1791 and located at John creek were the earliest permanent settlers in the Sandy valley. They were soon followed by many others including the Marcums on Mill creek (near Cassville).

Into the old District of West Augusta settlers came in large numbers

after the Revolution. Both in the Monongahela country and along the upper Ohio stockade forts and block houses were built for protection, and roads which began to emerge frequently followed the tops of ridges in order to avoid Indian ambushes in the hollows. In 1785 by an act of the legislature, Morgantown was established as a town on fifty acres of land belonging to Zackwell Morgan and vested in five trustees with power to lay out lots for sale and to locate streets. To stimulate the growth of the town the act of incorporation required every purchaser of a lot to erect upon it in four years a house at least eighteen feet square with a chimney of stone or brick. In 1788 an extension of three years was allowed on account of Indian hostilities, and in 1792 a further extension was granted because of difficulty of procuring building materials. The final Indian attack in this vicinity occurred on the site of Blacksville in 1791. Along the eastern border in spite of the Indian attacks on the settlement at Dunkard Bottom in 1778 and 1788 new clearings prepared the way for the later county of Preston. Near the Maryland boundary in 1784 Francis and William Deakins selected numerous choice tracts of land. By 1786 new pioneers located at Brandonville and in the vicinity of Aurora. In 1787 at Salem a German settlement was made. Settlements were increased in 1789 by arrivals from the South Branch and later by immigrants from Ireland and Pennsylvania. From 1785 the pioneer clearings slowly widened into farms. In 1784 Monongalia was divided by the legislature, and Harrison county was erected from that part south of a line drawn from Ford Fork on the Maryland boundary to the headwaters of Big Sandy, thence down the Big Sandy and Tygart's to the West Fork, thence up West Fork to Bingamon creek and up Bingamon to the Ohio county boundary. To the new county was refunded her proportion of the cost of erecting the public buildings in Monongalia. The county seat was located at Clarksburg which, although a mere group of log cabins in 1781, was becoming a settled community and in 1785 it had several stores and was incorporated as a town. In 1788, and at other dates, it was visited by Bishop Francis Asbury who in his official capacity had journeyed horseback from North Carolina via Greenbrier county and Tygart's valley. In 1790 it had primitive roads connecting it with both East and West.

Midway between Morgantown and Clarksburg the basis for the later county of Marion was laid by the arrival of many families who settled in the vicinity of the site of Fairmont and at other points. At the head of West Fork the first settlement on the site of Weston was made by Henry Flesher who in 1784, after an attack by a party of Indians, discreetly took refuge for a time at the settlement made by Thomas Hughes and others on Hacker's creek.

Few actual settlements were made in the upper part of the West Fork valley until after the treaty of Greenville in 1795. Colonel Jackson was the first to enter this field. He secured a large boundary of land where Jacksonville now stands, in Lewis county; also a smaller tract at the forks of the river. In 1797 he settled four families by the name of Collins on his larger tract, giving each fifty acres of choice land. They were to remain until the colony was permanent and open a "Bridle Path" to the Flesher settlement, at Weston. These settlers were hardy and gave their names to the township known as "Collins Settlement." The Collins were afterwards followed by the Bennetts: William, Joseph, Abram and Jacob, who came over the Seneca Trail from the Upper Potomac. The Bennetts were fruit growers and propagated trees from seed brought from the Potomac. They left numerous descendants in the country.

Among the early pioneers who found their way into Northwestern Virginia after the close of the war of 1776 was Henry McWhorter. He was born in Orange County, New York, November 13th. 1760. His father, a linen-weaver by trade, hailed from Northern Ireland and settled in New York after the close of the French and Indian war.

Early in life he married a Miss Fields, and soon afterwards, with her and one or two children, sought a home in the wilds of Northwestern Virginia, settling on McKensies Run, a branch of Hackers Creek, in Harrison county, in 1784. Here he erected his cabin and cleared land, but three years later moved to near West's Fort, where "Jane Lew" now stands, and on the south bank of the murkey Hackers Creek, within a few hundred yards east of West's Fort, built a house of hewn logs, where he resided for 37 years. This house—18½ feet by 24 feet, of most substantial construction, of pioneer characteristics, with fireplace 6 feet 10 inches wide and 3 feet 6 inches high—is the oldest house in the historic Hackers Creek Valley, if not in Central West Virginia.

After settling here McWhorter experienced many privations from Indian warfare, and underwent all the horrors and hardships of pioneer life upon the border.

Being a millwright by trade he erected near his residence, on the banks of the creek, the first mill in what are now Lewis and Upshur Counties. To this mill came the settlers from a radius of many miles to get their corn ground, and to this mill came the settlers from the Buckhannon settlement, following the blazed path leading through the wilderness from one settlement to the other. And it is a traditional fact that no customer of his ever returned home "hungry and cold." It is still related of him that at one time the settlements were suffering from a scarcity of breadstuff, and parties came from distant settlements and offered him over $1.00 per bushel for all the corn stored in his mill, which offer he refused, giving as his reason that if he did so his neighbors would suffer.

He made frequent trips to Fort Pitt (now Pittsburgh) in flat boats, via the West Fork and Monongahela rivers, exchanging furs, jerked venison, etc., for ammunition and other home necessities.

On one of these trips he was accompanied by Jesse Hughes, the most noted Indian scout and fighter in Western Virginia (of whom local tradition says "he spared neither age nor sex when on an Indian Killing").

The earlier settlement on the Buckhannon was broken up in 1782 by Indians who also destroyed the fort.

The first settlement in the present limits of Barbour was probably made in 1780 two miles northwest of Philippi—soon followed by other scattered settlements, for which there were many grants of land, especially in 1786-88 and thereafter. As early as 1787, when the Randolph county court ordered the survey of a road from Beverly to Sandy creek, Daniel Booth probably lived near the site of Philippi, but the original owner of the land on which the town stands was William Anglin who probably settled there as early as 1783. The place was called Anglin's Ford in 1789 when the Randolph court ordered the survey of the road to connect it with Jonas Friend's (the site of Elkins). The place was later called Booth's Ferry, named for Mr. Booth, who, about 1800, established or owned the old ferry which was not abandoned until after the completion of the wooden bridge at Philippi in 1852.

Randolph county was formed from Harrison county in 1787 by act of October, 1786. At that time it included half of Barbour, half of Upshur, much of Webster and all of Tucker. At its first county court held in 1787 a county seat contest between the people of Leading creek and the people of the vicinity of the later town of Beverly was decided in favor of Beverly. In 1788 plans were adopted for a court house which was not completed until ten years later and was not used after 1803. In December, 1790, Beverly was established as a town, by the Virginia assembly, on lands owned by James Westfall.

In 1787 and 1789 these Cheat settlements were again invaded by the Indians. Among the most prominent men of the county after Capt. James Parsons and John Minear was the industrious James Goff who settled on Cheat near the Preston county line by 1786 and at one time owned the greater part of the land from the Minear claim to Rowlesburg. Others prominent were the Dumires who settled in the eastern part of the county above the upper tributaries of Horse Shoe run and the Losh family, one of whom built a grist mill on Horse Shoe run at an early date.

Perhaps one of the most prominent men in the community was Samuel Bonnifield, who, after the Revolution, in which he served, crossed the Alleghenies from Maryland and settled on Cheat two miles from St. George, and in 1796 became justice of the peace in Randolph county—an office which he held continuously for fifty years except during his period of four terms as sheriff. He died on Horseshoe Run four

miles from St. George, in February, 1848, at the advanced age of 96. His house, built in 1823, was still standing a few years ago and was used as a stable.

In the region of the upper Ohio the large advance guard of pioneers of 1785-87 was followed by a cessation of land entries until 1795 when entries were redoubled in number by a "new irruption." West Liberty was incorporated as a town in 1787. It was the county seat of Ohio county until Brooke county was formed in 1797. Wheeling, which was laid out into town lots in 1793, established as a town by legislative act in 1795, became the county seat in 1797.

To the settlements farther up the river to which new home seekers had come in 1774-76 (largely from New England), several patents were located from 1785 to 1787. After 1787 there was a cessation of entries until 1795, after which the advance guard was augmented rapidly. Charleston (later Wellsburg) which was laid out in 1790 and established by act of legislature in 1791, became the county seat of the new county of Brooke at its formation in 1797. In the region now included in Hancock county the earliest settlement was made about 1776 by Mr. Holliday at Holliday's Cove. In 1783 and thereafter other settlements were begun by soldiers of the Revolution. In 1783 George Chapman located 1,000 acres including the site of New Cumberland. After 1790 and especially after 1795 arrivals increased. In 1800 Hugh Pugh located 400 acres including the site of Fairview.

Below Wheeling creek settlements, now included within the limits of Marshall county were made in 1785, 1790 and thereafter. In 1798 Elizabeth (now Moundsville) was laid out on Tomlinson's land facing the ferry across the Ohio which was established in the same year. In the territory later included in Wetzel county the first clearing was made by Edward Doolin, who about 1780, patented and entered upon lands at the mouth of Fishing creek including the site of New Martinsville. After his death, resulting from an Indian attack upon his home in 1784, part of his land was bought by Presley Martin who was soon followed by Friend Cox. The settlement received few accessions for the next decade and grew very slowly thereafter.

The region of western Virginia about the mouth of the Little Kanawha secured few settlers before 1785, but its unbroken solitudes became more and more tempting in the decade which followed. In 1783 several tomahawk or preemption claims to rich bottom lands on the Virginia side of the Ohio were made by Robert Thornton, Samuel and Joseph Tomlinson (and their sister Rebecca) three Briscoe brothers, and others. The lands on the site of Parkersburg which were claimed by Robert Thompson on the basis of a tomahawk entry made ten years earlier, were confirmed to him by the land commissioner. In the same year they were assigned to Alexander Parker (of Greene county, Pennsylvania) who in 1784 received a patent from Governor Beverly Randolph of Virginia. At the death of Parker in 1800 these lands descended to his daughter whose title was disputed by John Stokely and others.

One of the first permanent settlers at the mouth of the Little Kanawha was Captain James Neal of Greene county, Pennsylvania, who first arrived in 1783 as deputy surveyor of Samuel Hanway of Monongalia (to survey the entry of Alexander Parker on the site of Parkersburg). He brought others with him by flatboat in 1785 and on the south side of the river erected Neal's station, the first block house in the vicinity which served as a place of protection for both settlers and travelers. Two years later he brought his family.[3] Later he became a justice of

[3] Other early arrivals were the Cooks and Spencers from Connecticut, the Beesons from Pennsylvania, the Hamamans, Creels, Pribbles and Kincheloes. Some came from Virginia and Maryland all the way to Redstone on horseback, or over the state road from Alexandria via Winchester, Romney, Clarksburg to the Ohio opposite Marietta which was built under authorization of 1789 and some from Pennsylvania by flatboat.

the peace with authority to perform the rites of marriage. He and his son-in-law, Hugh Phelps, were among the most prominent of the early residents. Although security was increased by the erection of Fort Harmar on the site of Marietta in 1786 and Farmer's Castle at Belpre in 1789 the station was threatened in 1790 by Indian bands who continued to invade the Little Kanawha region.

At the site of Williamston on which the Tomlinson brothers (Samuel and Joseph) made a tomahawk entry in 1770, the first permanent settlement was made in March, 1787, by Isaac Williams, an experienced frontiersman,[4] following the establishment of Fort Harmar directly across the Ohio at the mouth of the Muskingum in 1786. It was made on a wilderness farm of 400 acres of land preempted and partially improved in 1783 by the Tomlinson brothers for their sister, Mrs. Rebecca Martin, whom Williams married in 1775 at Grave creek where she had been housekeeper for her brothers since the death of her first husband in 1771. The new settlement soon became a noted and interesting place and here Williams remained until his death thirty years later. By 1789 it was connected with Clarksburg and the East by a trail cleared by Capt. Nicholas Carpenter and sons who drove cattle over it to Marietta[5] and were killed on it by the Indians in 1791.

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[4] Isaac Williams was born at Chester, Pennsylvania, in 1737. At the age of 18 he served in the Braddock campaign as a ranger and spy under the employ of Virginia. In 1758-67 he hunted on the Missouri river. In 1768 he conducted his parents from Winchester and settled them on Buffalo creek (now in Brooke county) near West Liberty. In 1789 he accompanied the Zanes in explorations around Wheeling, Zanesville and elsewhere. In 1774 he accompanied Governor Dunmore in the expedition against the Shawnees and was present at the treaty negotiations near Chillicothe. He died September 25, 1820.

[5] Marietta located at the mouth of the Muskingum, opposite the Williams settlement, was settled in 1788. At a meeting of the directors of the Ohio Company, held November 23, 1787, it was resolved to at once establish a settlement of the lands of the Company in the Northwest Territory. General Rufus Putnam was chosen superintendent, and early in December, six boat-builders were sent forward to Simrall's Ferry—now West Newton—on the Youghiougheny, under the command of Major Hatfield White. The party reached its destination in January, and at once proceeded to build a boat for the use of the Company.

In midwinter the pioneers left their New England homes and began the journey to others to be found in the Western wilderness. They passed over the Alleghenies and reached the Youghiougheny about the middle of February. The "Mayflower," as the boat was called, which was to transport the settlers to their destination, was forty-five feet long, twelve feet wide and of fifty tons burthen. All things were in readiness. The voyagers embarked at Simrall's Ferry and passed down the Youghiougheny into the Monongahela; thence into the Ohio, and thence down that river to the mouth of the Muskingum, where they arrived April 7th, 1788, and there made the first permanent settlement of civilized men within the present limits of Ohio.

From 1790 to 1794 the settlements near the mouth of the Little Kanawha were much disturbed by Indians. In the autumn of 1790 Jacob Parchment, from the Belleville garrison, was killed by a band of nine Indians passing, when he was about a mile from the stockade. During the autumn of this year (1791), James Kelly, of Belleville, was killed by Indians, while working in the field, and his oldest son, Joseph, was carried captive to a Shawnee town in Ohio, where he was adopted, and remained until after the Wayne Treaty of 1795.

In 1791, Capt. Lowther stationed twelve rangers at Neal's Fort; October 4th, 1791, Nicholas Carpenter, with a drove of cattle, was attacked by the Indians, led by Tecumseh, at a place on what has since been called "Carpenters Run," the exact spot is said to have been on land now owned by Hon. John Prine Sharp. Mr. Carpenter was a man of prominence, having served as justice, sheriff of his county and trustee of Randolph Academy of Clarksburg, but was at the time crippled from a wound previously received.

In the fall of 1792 the son of Captain James Neal and a man named William Triplett were massacred at the mouth of Burning Springs run where they were hunting buffaloes.

In May, 1792, Moses Hewitt, who had ventured up the ravine from Neal's Station to hunt his horse was captured about a mile from the station, but later escaped while his captors were securing honey from a bee tree.

In the spring of 1792, savages appeared near Belleville and captured Stephen Sherrod who later escaped and returned home safely the following day. In 1793, Malcom Coleman of Belleville was shot by savages at a hunting camp near Cottageville on Mill Creek. The famous Bird Lockhart while on a deer hunt in the autumn of 1793 to secure venison for his friends at Williams Station was attacked by two savages on his return route to the station (Williamstown).

The interior regions now included in Ritchie county (formed from Harrison, Lewis and Wood in 1843) were first opened to the notice of settlers in 1789 by the construction of a state road from Clarksburg to Marietta which for nearly forty years was an important thoroughfare to the Ohio. It was still almost an unbroken wilderness for another decade. The first cabin home in its limits was built as early as 1800 by John Bunnell on the site of Pennsboro. In 1795, Mrs. Maley of Philadelphia exchanged her dowry for 1,000 acres near the site of Harrisonville, but although she promptly started with her husband on the long journey she turned aside to the upper Shenandoah from which she moved to Ritchie in 1803.

Part of the bottom lands below the mouth of the Little Kanawha first located in 1771 by George Washington were included in the survey of a tract located in 1782 by William Tilton and Company, a mercantile firm of Philadelphia who in 1785 employed Joseph Wood of Pittsburgh to act as agent for the colonization and sale of the lands. A large tract at the site of Belleville was selected as a place to begin settlement. In the fall of 1785 Wood freighted a boat with cattle and utensils to begin the new settlement and left Pittsburgh, November 28, with Tilton and four Scotch families—landing at the site of Belleville on December 16, 1785. Here they completed the erection of a block-house early in January, 1786. Mr. Wood then laid out the new town of Belleville, donating a lot to each actual settler. One hundred acres were cleared the first year. When Tilton returned to Philadelphia in the spring of 1786 Wood was left in charge as sole agent of the company and manager of the settlement. He continued to make improvements and provide good defenses. New families arrived in 1787 and also a company of hunters from Lee creek where they had erected "Flinn's station." In 1790 Wood married one of the earlier emigrants, the marriage being performed at Belpre because no one in Belleville had authority to officiate at the wedding. A year later he moved to Marietta where he later filled many important offices. In 1796 Belleville received a new stimulus by the addition of Connecticut emigrants led by George D. Avery who for several years thereafter conducted a merchandise business there in connection with shipbuilding.

A glimpse of the rush of pioneer immigrants to the Ohio following the treaty of Greenville, after Wayne's victory of 1795, the experiences incident thereto and the conditions along the route between Maryland and Wheeling and southward along the Ohio, is obtained from a letter written at Belleville (near the earlier Flinn's station) in Wood county in November, 1796, by Samuel Allen describing a journey from Alexandria via Cumberland to the Ohio via "broadaggs (Braddocks) old road" undertaken by himself and several other New Englanders under the management of Mr. Avery who had lots to sell at Belleville. He

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In 1793, the Indians stole three horses near Neal's Station and were pursued by Capt. Bogard into Ohio and up Raccoon Creek; and in March of that year Capt. William Lowther reported many crossing the Ohio and said that on the 3rd of that month they had stolen six horses near Clarksburg, whereupon he pursued them to Williams Station and with five men additional, there procured, had gone by water to about four miles below Belleville, and followed them fifty miles into Ohio, where he retook four of the horses, killed one Indian and wounded another; he sent the skin of one of their heads, as convincing evidence of their presence.

In 1794, Ensign Bartholomew Jenkins was stationed at Neal's Station. Capt. Bogard at Newberry, Lieutenant Morgan at Fishing Creek, Lieutenant Evans at Fish Creek, Ensign Jonathan Coburn at Middle Island and Capt. Morgan, with his free lance and thirty followers, penetrated beyond the Ohio about two hundred miles up the Muskingum, destroyed a town, killed one Indian, and brought back three women and two children. In March of this same year, Joseph Cox was captured on his way to the mouth of Leading Creek by a party of savages who spared his life as he played fool and availed himself of the Indians' peculiar consideration for idiots and lunatics; in the early part of April, possibly by the same party, Paul Armstrong's wife and three younger children were killed at their home just below Parkersburg, on the Ohio just above Blennerhassett Island; his sons, Jeremiah, aged nine years, John, aged eleven years, and an older daughter, Elizabeth, were carried captives down and across the river.

states that the fare from New London to Alexandria was $6.00 for each passenger and that freight for goods for sixty cents per cwt. At Alexandria wagoners were hired to carry the goods across the mountains to Morgantown on the Monongalia at a cost of "thirty-two shillings and six pence for each hundred weight of women and goods."[6] On June 30 the company left Alexandria. The men walked the entire 300 miles and for three days Mr. Allen carried a very sick child which without proper medical assistance died (July 14) on the mountain in Alleghany county, Maryland, and was tenderly laid to rest in a grave beside those of several strangers who had died crossing the mountains. Leaving Braddock's road near the Pennsylvania line, the company reached Morgantown on July 18. They found the river too low for boats but four days later favored by rains which rapidly raised the river, part of the company embarked before the arrival of all their wagons—leaving orders with a local merchant to send their goods. As soon as the rise in the river would permit, on July 23, Mr. Allen and two others started by land with the cattle and horses via Wheeling creek and on August 9 arrived at Belleville. Along the entire route from Morgantown to Wheeling they found the country settled and a pleasant road, and saw "beautiful plantations," and "large fields of corn and grane" but over the large part of the route from Wheeling to Belleville except along the banks of the river they passed through a wilderness broken only by a blind foot path and in which they found it "very difficult to get victules to eat." Along the river they found some inhabitants who had arrived in the spring and had no provisions except what they had brought with them. At Belleville, the new settlers found the "country as good as represented and settling very fast." They found life on the Ohio interesting and were not tempted to return to New England. They had caught the spirit of the West, and had faith in the future of their own village from which they could see boats which passed on the river laden with families hunting new homes. Mr. Allen's letter to his father (see Chapter X) furnishes a live picture of local conditions.

In 1796 Eric Bollman who journeyed from Cumberland west over the Alleghanies spent the first night at West Port (Maryland) and on the afternoon of the second day passed through the Glades onto which many hundred head of cattle were driven yearly from South Branch, etc., for pasturage and after the second night "breakfasted with the large and attractive family of Tim Friend the noble hunter and dined at Dunkards Bottom on Cheat, spent the third night with Mr. Zinn and arrived at Morgantown on the following day." He regarded this as the nearest point at which to reach the western waters. From the latter point he travelled via the mouth of George's creek (near Geneva), through Uniontown, Brownsville and Washington to Pittsburgh.

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[6] Ten years earlier, in 1784, the people on the Monongahela, in Pennsylvania, paid five cents a pound to have their merchandise carried on pack horse from Philadelphia, and in 1789 they paid four cents for carrying from Carlisle to Uniontown. Packing by horses was a business which many followed for a living. Wages paid the packhorse driver were fifteen dollars per month, and men were scarce at that price. In 1789 the first wagon loaded with merchandise reached the Monongahela River, passing over the Braddock road. It was driven by John Hayden, and hauled two thousand pounds from Hagerstown to Brownsville, and was drawn by four horses. One month was consumed in making the trip, and the freight bill was sixty dollars. This was cheaper than packing on horses.

Probably wagons were used before 1789 for hauling household goods in the long emigrant trains across the Alleghenies. Boats upon the Monongahela and Ohio before that year bore abundant evidence that the wagon roads over the mountains were well patronized by wheeled vehicles, as well as by flocks and herds. It is recorded that from November 13 to December 22, 1785, there passed down the Ohio 39 boats, with an average of ten persons in each. In the last six months of 1787 a count at the mouth of the Muskingum river, on the Ohio side a short distance above Parkersburg, showed that 146 boats passed, with 3,196 passengers, 165 wagons, 191 cattle, 245 sheep, and 24 hogs. From November, 1787, to November, 1788, there passed down the Ohio 967 boats, 18,370 people, 7,986 horses, 2,372 cows, 1,110 sheep, and 640 wagons.

In October, 1798, Felix Renick with others starting from the South Branch of the Potomac to visit Marietta on the third night reached Clarksburg "which was then near the verge of the western settlements except along the Ohio." West of Clarksburg he spent the night in the woods but early next morning unexpectedly found a "new improvement" established by a lone man who had settled in the wilderness to accommodate the travellers at high prices. After two more nights in the woods he reached his destination.

Settlements along the Little Kanawha were greatly increased by the tide of new immigration following the treaty of Greenville of 1795. As danger decreased many new families arrived; the Cooks and Spencers from Connecticut, and the Beesons from Pennsylvania who settled

Mr. and Mrs. Harman Blennerhassett

on the river near the site of Parkersburg; the Hannamans, Creels, Pribbles and Kicheloes on the Kanawha; the Beauchamps on the site of Elizabeth and the Hendersons farther above; the Neals, Phelps, Foleys, Wolfs and others (including Blennerhassett) below the Kanawha. In 1797, Harman Blennerhassett came via Pittsburgh to Marietta and in 1798 located on the upper half of the island where he could hold his colored servants as property and at the same time be near intelligent and educated officers of the American army who had settled at Belpre. The island first entered by Washington in 1770 and later surveyed in 1784 under a patent issued by Gov. Patrick Henry, had been owned since 1792 by one Backus. Blennerhassett lived in the old block house until he completed his mansion in 1800.

By 1798 there were enough settlers to justify steps to secure a new county by separation from Harrison, and in the following year Wood was formed with interior boundaries beginning at a point on the Kanawha, thirty miles from the Ohio northeast, and extending thence northeast to the Ohio county line at a point twenty-one miles from the Ohio. Much contention arose concerning the location of a county seat which

the court was authorized by the assembly to select "at or near the center of the county as situation or convenience would permit." The principal claimants or contestants, for the court house were the Spencers at Vienna and Isaac Williams at the Ferry. Justices of the county court who met in 1799 at Hugh Phelp's residence fixed the location at Neal's station. Those who met at Isaac Williams in October, 1800, ordered the erection of public buildings on lands of Williams, but a month later by a vote of 10 to 6 adjourned to Hugh Phelp's house at which they unanimously agreed to erect the court house and whipping post above the mouth of Little Kanawha at its junction with the Ohio on lands of John Stokely. The village at that time was called "The Point" or Stokelyville consisting of a half dozen log cabins. Here Stokely (whose patent was dated December 8, 1800) laid out a town which until 1809 was called Newport. On an adjoining part of the Parker estate which was saved to the Parker heirs (700 acres) the new town of Parkersburg was laid out.

In 1810 an act was passed establishing Parkersburg adjoining and including Newport and allowing the seat of justice to be removed to a proposed brick house. The survey of the town was made by George D. Avery, a surveyor and lawyer of Belleville. In 1812 or 1813 a contract was made for a new two-story court house to be built of brick 40x40. Trouble resulted at once. Vienna and Munroe or Neals on the south side continued to assert their claims. Some objected to the extravagance and others to the location. The Vienna people prepared a petition to the legislature which proceeded to appoint commissioners (from Ohio and Mason counties) to decide the contest. The decision was in favor of the public square in Parkersburg, and there the court house was erected in 1815 and also the old whipping post.

Above Wood county in the present territory of Pleasants settlements were made by 1797. In the territory now included in Tyler, the earliest centers of settlement were at Sistersville which were laid out in 1814 as the county seat and at Middlebourne which was established as a town in 1813 and has been the county seat since 1816. Sistersville at which a ferry was established in 1818 was later known as a good boat landing.

Farther up the Little Kanawha in the region of Wirt county the first settlement was made in 1796 on the site of Elizabeth by William Beauchamp who was soon followed by others and in 1803 built a grist mill. The earlier name of Beauchamp's Mills was changed to Elizabeth in 1817 in honor of David Beauchamp's wife whose maiden name was Elizabeth Woodyard.

Eastward and southward in Calhoun (formed from Gilmer in 1856) in Gilmer (formed from parts of Lewis and Kanawha in 1845) in Braxton (formed from Lewis, Kanawha and Nicholas in 1836) in Clay (formed from Braxton and Nicholas in 1858) and in Webster (formed from Nicholas, Braxton, and Randolph in 1860) development of settlements was delayed and retarded by location. On a Virginia map of 1807 no towns are shown between upper Tygart and the mouth of Elk. In the territory of Roane (formed from parts of Kanawha, Jackson and Gilmer in 1856) the first settlers, Samuel Tanner and family, reached Spring creek valley and located in 1812 at the site of Spencer on lands included in a survey of 6,000 acres patented by Albert Gallatin in 1787 and later owned by J. P. R. Buerau who located at Gallipolis with other French colonists in 1791. This settlement was called Tanner's Cross Roads from 1816 to 1839 after which it bore the name of New California until 1858 when it was incorporated under the name of Spencer.

Along the Ohio below Wood county, in the territory now included in Jackson county (formed from Mason, Kanawha and Wood in 1831), the first actual settlers were William and Benjamin Hannaman who arrived in 1796. With them came James McDade, who became an Indian scout along the Ohio between the two Kanawhas. Others settled in 1800. In 1808 John Nesselroad settled at the mouth of Sand

creek. Among those who came with him was Lawrence Lane who reared his cabin on the site of Ravenswood—on lands which William Crawford surveyed for George Washington in 1770 and which were settled by squatters who were later ejected by the agents of Washington's heirs. Ravensworth (accidently changed to Ravenswood by the map engraver) was laid out in 1836 three years after Ripley became the county seat.

About sixteen miles above Point Pleasant on 6,000 acres of the Washington lands a settlement designed as a Presbyterian colony was begun in 1798 by Rev. William Graham who for twenty-one years had been president of the first academy west of the Blue Ridge. The attempt failed at the death of its leading spirit who died at Richmond a year later, resulting in the withdrawal of the discouraged colonists. The place is still known as Graham's Station.

Along the lower Kanawha in the territory which later (1848) formed Putnam county settlement was delayed until after 1799—although sites for homes had been selected over twenty years before and George Washington and his surveyors had visited it in 1770. A settlement at Red House was made in 1806 but none was made at Winfield until about 1815.

New life appeared farther up the Kanawha, in the vicinity of Charleston. One of the chief leaders in the early development of this region was Joseph Ruffner who arrived in 1795 and with penetrating eye saw a great future for the valley. After the burning of his barns in the Shenandoah country, he set out to find iron-ore lands. At a point on the Cow Pasture which may not have been more than twenty miles from Clifton Forge, he stopped at the house of Col. John Dickinson from whom he quickly arranged to buy a survey on the Kanawha, including the salt spring, for 600 pounds sterling which was about $3,000. The next spring (1795) he rode out to Kanawha on horseback alone. From Greenbrier he followed for 100 miles the track along which only four years before Mad Anne Bailey had run the gauntlet of the Indians in carrying ammunition to the Clendennin Fort. When he reached Gauley river he found it "booming," but he undertook to cross it and succeeded. How he did has been told by the devoted antiquarian, John L. Cole, who got it from the lips of Paddy Huddlestone, Sr., who lived a few miles below Kanawha Falls, and who witnessed it. Cole, in repeating the incident impersonated Huddlestone, who said:

"One day I walked up the river and found Gauley very high; drift running. I travelled on up stream and when I got about seven miles from the mouth of Gauley I saw a man on the opposite side of the river leading his horse down a steep place to the bank of the river. There was no trail to this point, and I don't know how he got there, but he looked as if he meant to cross the river, but I didn't think he would be fool enough to try to ford it, or to swim it with all the load he had on. I couldn't imagine what he was going to do. But presently he took a short-handled axe from his saddle and went to work on a dry chestnut tree that had fallen against the cliff. The trunk he cut into lengths and split. He then took a rope and tied the pieces to his horse's tail and dragged them to a place to suit him. Then he took from his saddle bags some wrought nails and made a raft, which he put into the water and loaded his things onto it. He tied the raft to his horse's tail and pushed him into the river, jumped on the raft and started over. He guided the horse by speaking to him and got over safely. Then he knocked the raft to pieces, put the nails back in his saddlebags and came home with me for the night. This man was Joseph Ruffner."

Ruffner's visit to Clendennin's fort was the arrival of a new power in the Kanawha valley—a power which was to create, to strengthen, to develop and to abide. He at once saw rich resources of many kinds. "There were hundreds of acres of the finest saw-mill timber; there was the land fat with vegetable matter, loose and easily cultivated; there was the beautiful Kanawha or Woods river, alive with fish, navigable for large boats, and communicating with a vast system of navigable

streams pouring their water into the Gulf of Mexico; and in spite of the departure of the elk and buffalo, there were still deer, beaver, otter and raccoon, and bears enough to bed all the armies of Europe."

With faith in the future of the region he was willing to risk a residence there and to contribute his money and energy to assist in improvements. Before he left the place he owned everything from Elk river to the "head of the bottom," about three miles. The bottom was owned by three of the brothers Clendennin—George, William and Alexander—from each of whom he received a deed.

In a few days after his purchase Joseph started back to Shenandoah, and in the autumn of the same year (1795) he removed his family to Kanawha, excepting his oldest and only married son, David, who remained another year in Shenandoah.

He continued to be land-hungry, even after he had bought the great bottom, as shown by a deed made to him in 1797 by Wm. T. Taylor, of Kentucky, for 6,660 acres on Sixteen-mile creek, on the Ohio river below Point Pleasant.

Whilst waiting for the time when his attention could be somewhat withdrawn from his farm work, he leased to Elisha Brooks, "a droll genius," the privilege of making salt from the brine that was wasting at the edge of the river, and before the lease expired the proprietor had ceased his labors.

He died in March, 1803, aged over 63 years. In his own mind his western career was just beginning, but his unfinished work was left in able hands. He left four sons. The fourth son, Samuel, was the only feeble one, and he became so when in infancy he was nearly burnt to death in his cradle.

The will is dated February 21, 1803, less than a month before he died. His home "plantation" and all his personal property he gives to his wife until her death, after which Daniel was to become the owner.

In the will he divided the bottom (exclusive of the town) into three parts. The lower division he gave to David, who then lived upon it; the middle to Daniel after his mother's death; and the upper division to Tobias. Joseph, Jr., and Abraham received outlying lands. The front bottom of the Dickinson survey containing the Salt Spring, was given to David, Joseph, Tobias, Daniel and Abraham (to all the sons jointly, except poor Samuel, who was to be taken care of by contribution from all the rest). To each son was given a lot in Charleston. David seems to have fallen heir to all the town lots not otherwise disposed of.

South of the Great Kanawha, "the whole country swarmed with surveyors and speculators" after the news of Wayne's victory and the treaty of 1795. Even before the certainty of safety from Indians along the old war paths, the wide wilderness domain between the few scattered settlements invited the enterprise of land speculators of the East who procured from the Virginia land office at a nominal price, land warrants for large entries and tracts of lands which were later located in the unbroken forest under a policy whose methods, resulting in uncertainty of land titles, long continued to hinder and retard settlements. Nearly if not quite all the territory south of the Kanawha and the Ohio to the headwaters of Holston, were entered, surveyed and carried into grant. Robert Morris surveyed grants for about 8,000,000 acres of land much of which was patented to him as assignee of Wilson Carey Nicholas in 1795. The territory comprised within the present counties of Mercer, Raleigh, Fayette, McDowell, Wyoming, Boone, Logan, Mingo, Wayne, Cabell, Lincoln, Kanawha and Putnam was almost completely shingled over with these large grants by the Virginia land office and frequently they lapped upon each other. Commencing on the East River mountain on the south side and then again on the north side were grants to Robert Pollard, one for 50,000 and the other for 75,000 acres, then came the grant of 80,000 acres to Samuel M. Hopkins, a grant of 50,000 acres to Robert Young, 40,000 acres to McLaughlin, 170,000 acres to Moore and Beckley, 35,000 acres to Robert McCullock, 108,000 acres to Rutter and

Etting, 90,000 acres to Welch, 150,000 acres to DeWitt Clinton, 50,000 acres to Dr. John Dillon, 480,000 acres to Robert Morris, 500,000 acres to the same, 150,000 acres to Robert Pollard, 500,000 acres to Wilson Carey Nicholas, 300,000 acres to the same, 320,000 acres to Robert Morris, 57,000 acres to Thomas Wilson, 40,000 acres to George Pickett, and farther down Sandy, Guyandotte and Coal rivers were large grants to Elijah Wood, Smith and others.

Peace having been restored along the frontier settlements, and no further danger being apprehended from the Indians, there was also a great rush to the most desirable parts of the New river valley and westward by people from eastern Virginia and western North Carolina. The region along Middle New river settled rapidly, and civilization advanced by the construction of houses, the opening of roads and the election of civil officers. The people complained of the inconvenience of travel to the county seat at Lewisburg. Conditions of growth soon resulted in a demand for the formation of a new county. In a large degree this region was settled independently of that covered by Greenbrier. Naturally the two localities came to have divergent views in local matters. A numerously signed petition of 1790, voicing the people of the sinks of Monroe, asked for a new county because of the natural barrier of the Greenbrier river. It stated that the court house was forty miles from any point on New river. For five years the movement for separation appeared to lose its energy. It was revived, however, and finally, through the wire-pulling of John Hutchinson, the legislature on January 14, 1799, passed an act creating the county of Monroe, named in honor of James Monroe who several times visited the Red Sulphur Springs. Hutchinson also lobbied through the assembly a bill to establish the town of Union, and another to relieve the people of Monroe from the Greenbrier taxes of 1799 assessed before Monroe was organized.

Union was not yet a town. About a mile north of the site chosen for the new court house, James Byrnside had made a home in 1762. Nearer the site of the proposed town James Alexander had built a cabin in 1774. His farm was chosen for the county seat. At a session of August 21, 1799, the trustees ordered that "the size of buildings on each lot must be one square log house of the same size of 16x18 feet, two stories high." There was prompt remonstrance against the choice of county seat. A petition with many signers condemned it "as being far from the center thus disregarding the act creating Monroe, and also as illegal, on the ground that the justices of the new county were appointed and commissioned without the consent of the court of Greenbrier." The decision, however, was not changed. Houses were soon begun in the neighborhood. About a year after it was founded the town had a store, opened by Richard Shanklin. It tried to obtain the location of the district court (for the counties of Greenbrier, Botetourt, Montgomery, Kanawha and Monroe) but was not successful.

Sweet Springs was the seat of the district court for a period of eleven years—a period of discord. Finally by an act of the assembly of February, 1807, Lewisburg became the seat. This removal was a result of an agitation which arose much earlier. A petition of 1800 requested that the court be moved to Union on the ground that the proprietor's tavern is given a monopoly "under the most inconvenient charges and regulations." Union was represented as in "the heart of a compact and plentiful settlement rapidly progressing."

In a petition of 1802, the proprietor of Sweet Springs argued that his court house is of stone, much larger than the one at Union, and with walls two feet thick; and that his jail had two rooms, whereas the jail at Union had a single room eighteen feet square. Only two felons have escaped from his jail. In 1804, there were 419 petitioners asking that the court remain at Sweet Spring for the reason that its court house was more commodious than those at Fincastle and Lewisburg.

The Sweet Springs began to attract attention after the arrival of the Lewises in 1782, although the first building was only a log hut known as

the "wigwam." Early in the nineteenth century the place became well known and had as guests many prominent men. It is reputed to be the place where Jerome Bonaparte wooed and won his American wife, Elizabeth Patterson, whom his despotic brother refused to recognize.

Peterstown began its official existence in 1803 as the result of a petition by Christian Peters, in which it is stated that an area of eighteen and one-half acres had been laid off in lots and streets. The earliest purchaser of a lot was Isaac Dawson in 1807. The place grew and prospered. An important factor in its growth was the fine waterpower on Rich creek.

The distribution of wealth was very unequal in Monroe. A few families had gradually come into possession of very large areas of the best farming and grazing lands. A numerous element of the population was thus squeezed into a condition of tenantry.

Part of Monroe was combined with parts of Montgomery and Tazewell in 1806.

Coincident with the increase of immigration a "vast throng of people from the New river valley quickly penetrated the country between the New river settlements and the Ohio and settled on the Sandy, Guyandotte and Coal waters, even reaching to the Ohio." Among them were the McComases, Chapmans, Lucases, Smiths, Coopers, Napiers, Hunters, Adkinses, Acords, Allens, Fryes, Dingesses, Lusks, Shannons, Baileys, Jarrells, Egglestons, Fergusons, Marcums, Hatfields, Bromfields, Haldeons, Lamberts, Pauleys, Lawsons, Workmans, Prices, Cookes, Clays, Godbeys, Huffs, McDonalds, Whites, Farleys, Kezees, Perdues, Ballards, Barrets, Toneys, Conleys, Stollings, Stratons, Buchanans, Deskins, and many others who largely peopled and left honored descendants throughout the section.

On the territory later (1847) included in Boone the first settlement was made in 1798 on Big Coal river near the mouth of White Oak creek, by Isaac Barker. At that time the nearest neighboring settlement was that of Leonard Morris at Marmet, and the nearest grist mill was at the mouth of Gauley. In the decade which followed clearings were made and homes built in the Coal river valley by many hardy pioneers from Monroe, Greenbrier, Cabell and Kanawha counties and from Virginia and Pennsylvania.

One of the earliest pioneers of the interior region south of the Kanawha was Edward McDonald (great-grandfather of Judge Joseph M. Sanders) who entered and surveyed the valuable land on Clear Fork of Guyandotte (in Wyoming county) which David Hughes, the tory, had pointed out to him for a blanket and a rifle. In 1802, in company with his son-in-law, Capt. James Shannon, he removed to Guyandotte and took possession of the land. Captain Shannon, who settled a few miles above the Big Fork of the Guyandotte found Indian wigwams still standing in the bottoms. In 1812 James Ellison (born at Warford, 1778), a distinguished frontier Baptist preacher, planted the Guyandotte Baptist church on the site of Oceana.

In Lincoln the first settlers were four men named McComas who arrived from beyond the mountains in 1799 and after raising a crop of corn in the fall returned for their families. Near them other cabins soon appeared. Farther away on Ranger's branch (tributary of Ten Mile creek) Isaac Hatfield settled in 1800 and was soon followed by others. Among the early settlers along Trace fork was John Tackett who arrived with his family in 1801. On the site of the county seat, David Stephenson erected a cabin in 1802. Near the mouth of Slash creek on Mud river (twelve miles southeast of Hamlin) Luke Adkins settled in 1807 and near him several others reared their cabins. In 1811 Richard Parsons led the way through the wilderness to the mouth of Cobbs run upon which others soon built neighboring cabins.

On the upper streams and tributaries of the Big Sandy valley a considerable population from North Carolina, Virginia and Maryland settled before the settlements were made near the mouth. Near the forks

of Big Sandy, Samuel Short reared his cabin (near Cassville) about 1796, followed by others in 1798 and subsequent years. Near the mouth, Stephen Kelley settled in 1789 followed by a neighbor in 1799, and others in 1800. On the upper waters of Twelve Pole the first settler arrived in 1799. On the same stream at the mouth of Lick creek, James Bias settled in 1802 and was followed by others in 1802 and 1803. Near the site of Trout's Hill, Jesse Spurlock and Samuel Fergerson built cabin homes in 1802 and were followed by others in 1802 and 1806.

The present territory of Cabell was settled at a comparatively late date. The earliest settlements in the territory were located on the Savage grant made in 1775 to John Savage and fifty-nine other soldiers of the French and Indian war on lands surveyed by William Crawford about 1771 and extending from above the Guyandotte and up the river for a short distance down the Ohio to the Big Sandy and up the Big Sandy on both sides. The earlier grant included 28,627 acres. In a later lawsuit it was stated that in 1775 some of the grantees partitioned[7] the lands among themselves and after taking possession set up a claim of exclusive ownership to the allotments which they held, but according to established tradition there were no settlers on the grant before 1796. Parts of the grant were occupied by squatters after that date. The first permanent settlement was made in 1796 at Green Bottom by Thomas Hannon of Botetourt county. Guyandotte was settled soon thereafter by Thomas Buffington and others on the Savage grant in 1775. It became the county seat in 1809 and was made a town by legislative act in 1810—three years ahead of Barboursville. At Salt Rock on the Guyandotte, Elisha McComas settled about 1800. Between Guyandotte and Barboursville, at the Shelton place, Edmund McGinnis settled with his family in 1802. Midway between Barboursville and Guyandotte a settlement was also made by Jacob Hite (grandson of Joist Hite) who came to the Savage grant in 1808.

The new stimulus to trans-Allegheny road improvement and to other development, which followed Wayne's victory over the Indians in western Ohio in 1795 was greatly increased by the admission of Ohio as a state, and the acquisition of Louisiana in 1803. Visions of a larger life for the lower Monongahela region followed Gallatin's report of 1806 in favor of a national road which, over a decade later, was completed from Cumberland across western Maryland and southwestern Pennsylvania to Wheeling.

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[7] The surveyor at this partition probably was Thomas Buffington, of Hampshire county, whose father had purchased the interest of John Savage. It is supposed that when the survey was made there were no white people residing anywhere near the land. It appears that not a single person entitled to a share in the "Savage Grant" ever took possession of it. Either the soldiers themselves, or their heirs, sold and assigned to others their interest in the grant.

The partition of 1775 was not satisfactory. In 1809, a chancery suit was begun to set it aside. The land was afterwards sold for the United States direct tax, and the assignees of the claims purchased of the soldiers, desired to set up and have their rights adjudicated.

By act of January 5, 1810, twenty acres of land on the upper side of the Guyandotte part of the Savage grant, Military Survey, held by Thos. Buffington, was condemned and upon it was established the town of Guyandotte.

CHAPTER X

GLIMPSES FROM TRAVELERS' RECORDS

Glimpses of the early conditions and early wayfaring life along the chief routes of travel through western Virginia may be obtained from diaries, journals or letters in which early travelers recorded their observations, experiences and impressions. The records which follow begin with the journal of Bishop Asbury, the greatest Methodist circuit rider of the early period of American nationality, who frequently visited the valleys of the Potomac and the South Branch, of the New and the Greenbrier, and of the Monongahela and Tygarts, and close with a diary of Col. George Summers, the land hunter who rode down the Kanawha and up the Ohio to Wheeling and West Liberty in 1808.

1. Extracts from Journal of Rev. Francis Asbury. Glimpses of the early life, especially along the Tygart's valley and the lower Monongahela may be obtained from the Journal of Rev. Francis Asbury, bishop of the Methodist Episcopal church, who made long trips on horseback through western Virginia, and in fact from Georgia to Pennsylvania, eastward to Maryland and Virginia and northward to the Jerseys and to New England. The following extracts are selected for illustration:

Saturday, June 2, (1781) Preached at Martinsburg; afterward returned to Brother Bruce's; he is a lily among the thorns.

Monday, 4. (1781) I preached to a few lifeless people at Stroud's.

Tuesday, 5. (June, 1781) Had a rough ride over hills and dales to Guest's. Here brother Pigman met me, and gave an agreeable account of the work on the south branch of Potomac.

Thursday, 7. I set out for the south branch of Potomac—a country of mountains and natural curiosities. * * * We found some difficulty in crossing Great Capon River; three men very kindly carried us over in a canoe, and afterward rode our horses over the stream, without fee or reward; about five o'clock we reached W. R.'s.

Friday, 8 (June, 1781) Not being able to cross the South Branch, we had to bear away through the mountains, and to go up one or about two hundred yards elevation.

Sunday, 10 (June, 1781) I preached at eleven o'clock to about two hundred people with a degree of freedom. I then rode to R. Williams's. On my way I had a view of a hanging rock that appears like a castle wall, about three hundred feet high, and looks as if it had been built with square slate stones; at first glance a traveller would be ready to fear it would fall on him. I had about three hundred people; but there were so many wicked whisky drinkers, who brought with them so much of the power of the devil, that I had but little satisfaction in preaching.

Monday, 11 (June 1781) From Williams's I crossed the South Branch and went to Patterson Creek. I came to a Dutch settlement (in Mineral Co.): the people love preaching, but do not understand class-meeting, because they are not enough conversant with the English tongue; and we cannot all do as J. Hagerty and H. Wydner, who speak both languages; could we get a Dutch preacher or two to travel with us, I am persuaded we should have a good work among the Dutch. I love these people; they are kind in their way.

* * * I am now in a land of valleys and mountains, about ten or fifteen miles from the foot of the Alleghany—a mountain that, at this part of it, is two days' journey across; thither some of our preachers are going to seek the outcasts of the people.

Monday, 18. (June 1781) I was led to wonder at myself when I considered the fatigue I went through; travelling in the rain; sleeping without beds, etc., and in the midst of all I am kept in health.

Wednesday, 20. We had hard work crossing the Fork Mountain, being sometimes obliged to walk where it was too steep to ride. I was much blessed in speaking to about ninety Dutch folks, who appeared to feel the word.

Friday morning. (June 16, 1784). From Sharpsburg I hastened on to Shepherdstown, where the Lord set home his word. Came to sister Boydstone's, one of the kindest women in Virginia. Here all things were comfortable.

Thursday, June 17. I preached at Martinsburg to a hundred people or more.

Sunday, 20 (June 1784) I attempted to preach at Newtown.

Friday, 25. We had hard work in crossing a mountain six miles over, and it was still worse the next day in crossing the greater mountain. I found it very warm work, though stripped. We struggled along nevertheless, and met with about four hundred people at Strayder's.

Sunday, 27 (June 1784) I was assisted to speak felling words to some souls at Vanmetu's, though in pain and weariness. Thence I hasted to preach at six o'clock at Hoffman's, a third time this day. About ten o'clock at night I came to brother Dew's, very weary, and lodged there.

Wednesday, 30 (June 1784) I had freedome of spirit and utterance, at J. Cressap's, to a large congregation; and although still weak in body, I preached again at Barratt's in the evening.

Thursday, July 1. We began to ascend the Alleghany, directing our course towards Redstone.

Sunday, 4. At Cheat River we had a mixed congregation of sinners, Presbyterians, Baptists, and it may be, of saints: I had liberty, and gave it to them as the lord gave it to me—plain enough. Three thick—on the floor—such is our lodging—but no matter: God is with us.

Tuesday (July, 1785) Rode to the Springs called Bath; now under great improvement. I preached in the play-house, and lodged under the same roof with the actors. Some folks, who would not hear me in their own neighborhood, made now a part of my audience, both night and morning. Leaving Bath I came to brother Dew's (on the South branch of the Potomac) very unwell.

Virginia.—Thursday, (June 1, 1786) I reached Shepherdstown with difficulty, and in pain.

Saturday, 3. (July 1786) We rode twenty-eight miles along very bad roads to Melbourn's. Brother Watters preached.

Sunday, 4. The Lutheran minister began a few minutes before I got into Winchester: I rode leisurely through the town, and preached under some spreading trees on a hill to many white and black people. * * * I then went once more to Newtown. I had but little freedom in speaking. I called on Mr. Otterbine: we had some free conversation on the necessity of forming a church among the Dutch, holding conferences, the order of its government, etc.

Rode to Col. ———'s, as welcome as snow in harvest. My soul is kept in peace; but my poor body is much fatigued, and I am lame withal. I came over a rough road to Johnson's, and preached to a most insensible people.

Monday, 12 (June, 1786) Rode thirty-one miles; spoke at Dewitt's to about fifty people; rather hard this, after riding so far: I shall go elsewhere, and do more good, I hope.

Tuesday, 13. (June 1786) I had an open time at Col. Barratt's. My lameness discourages me. Praise the Lord! there is a little religion on the Maryland side of the Potomac, and this is some comfort, without which this Alleghany would make me gloomy indeed. Sick or lame, I must try for Redstone tomorrow.

Thursday, 15 (June 1786) We rode about twenty-two miles, and were kindly entertained for five shillings and sixpence.

Saturday, 17. We have a heavy ride to Morgantown. I was to have been there at four o'clock, but missing my way, I made it six.

Monday, 30 (June 1788) Crossed the high mountains, and came to H———'s in Green Brier.

Tuesday, July 1. I enlarged on Gal. iii, 22. We then rode to M'Pherson's, a serious family on Sinking Creek, where I preached with some freedom. After crossing some considerable mountains, and preaching occasionally, on Friday we arrived at the Sweet Springs: here I preached, and the people were very attentive.

Saturday and Sunday, 5, 6. I had large congregations at Rohoboth. I preached with some satisfaction.

Monday, 7. Our troubles began; it being the day we set out for Clarksburg. Thirty miles brought us to W———'s on the Great Levels.

Tuesday, 8. Reached M'Neal's, on the Little Levels, where almost the whole settlement came together, with whom I found freedom on Matt. xi, 28-30. Our brother Phoebus had to answer questions propounded to him until evening.

Wednesday, 9. We rode to the Clover Lick, to a very remote and exposed house. Here we found good lodgings for the place. The former tenant had made a small estate by keeping cattle, horses, etc., on the range, which is fertile and extensive.

Thursday, 10. We had to cross the Alleghany mountain again, at a bad passage. Our course lay over mountains and through valleys, and the mud and mire was such as might scarcely be expected in December. We came to an old, forsaken habitation in Tyger's Valley. Here our horses grazed about, while we boiled our meat. Midnight brought us up at Jones's, after riding forty, or perhaps fifty, miles. The old man, our host, was kind enough to wake us up at four o'clock in the morning. We journeyed on through devious lonely wilds, where no food might be found, except what grew in the woods, or was carried with us. We met with two women who were going to see their friends, and to attend the quarterly meeting at Clarksburg. Near midnight we stopped at A———'s, who hissed his dogs at us: but the women were determined to get to quarterly meeting, so we went in. Our supper was tea. Brothers Phoebus and Cook took to the woods; old ——— gave up his bed to the women. I lay along the floor on a few deer-skins with the fleas. That night our poor horses got no corn; and next morning they had to swim across the

Monongahela. After a twenty miles' ride we came to Clarksburg, and man and beast so outdone that it took us ten hours to accomplish it. I lodged with Col. Jackson. Our meeting was held in a long, close room belonging to the Baptists. Our use of the house it seems gave offense. There attended about seven hundred people, to whom I preached with freedom; and I believe the Lord's power reached the hearts of some. After administering the sacrament, I was well satisfied to take my leave. We rode thirty miles to Father Haymond's (at Fairmont) after three o'clock, Sunday afternoon, and made it nearly eleven before we came in. About midnight we went to rest, and rose at five o'clock, next morning. My mind has been severely tried under the great fatigue endured both by myself and my horse. O, how glad should I be of a plain, clean plank to lie on, as preferable to most of the beds; and where the beds are in a bad state, the floors are worse. The gnats are almost as troublesome here, as the mosquitoes in the lowlands of the seaboard. This country will require much work to make it tolerable. The people are, many of them, of the boldest cast of adventurers, and with some the decencies of civilized society are scarcely regarded, two instances of which I myself witnessed. The great landholders who are industrious will soon show the effects of the aristocracy of wealth, by lording it over their poorer neighbours, and by securing to themselves all the offices of profit or honour. On the one hand savage warfare teaches them to be cruel; and on the other, the preaching of Antinomians poisons them with error in doctrine: good moralists they are not, and good Christians they cannot be, unless they are better taught.

Tuesday, 15. I had a lifeless, disorderly people to hear me at Morgantown, to whom I preached on "I will hear what God the Lord will Speak." It is matter of grief to behold the excesses, particularly in drinking, which abound here. I preached at a new chapel near Colonel Martin's, and felt much life, love, and power. Rode to the widow R——'s, and refreshed with a morsel to eat; thence to M. Harden's, where, though we had an earth floor, we had good beds and table entertainment.

Friday, 18. Rode forty miles to quarterly meeting at Doddridge's, where we had a melting season.

Tuesday, 22. Our conference began at Union Town. We felt great peace whilst together; and our counsels were marked by love and prudence.

Virginia.—Tuesday, 29. Reached Barratt's, where we had a little rest and peace. We had left our horses at Old Town on the other side of the river, but I thought it best to have them brought over and so it was; for that night there were two stolen. On Monday we rested; on Tuesday rode down to Capon; and on Wednesday visited Bath. I took lodgings at brother Williams's, was well fixed, and found the waters to be of service to me.

Friday, 29. We left Bath, and on the Saturday and Sunday following attended a quarterly meeting. I felt enlargement on Peter's case, and also in the love-feast.

Wednesday, 3. (September, 1788) Rode from I. Hite's to the Blue-Ridge; the weather was warm, and so were the hearts of the people.

Thursday, 4. I preached at Leesburg, and was very warm on, "Thou wilt arise and favour Zion"; and the people seemed to be somewhat stirred up.

Friday, 9. (July, 1790) We had a tedious, tiresome journey over hills and mountains to Pott's Creek.

Sunday, 11. The morning was rainy. About noon I set out for the Sweet-Springs, and preached on 1 Cor. i, 23-29.

Thursday, 15. Rode to Rohoboth, where brother W—— preached, and brother A—— and myself spoke after him and the people appeared somewhat affected.

Friday, 16. We had twenty miles to Green-Brier courthouse:—here some sat as critics and judges. We had to ride thirty-one miles without food for man or horse, and to call at three houses before we could get water fit to drink—all this may serve to try our faith or patience.

Saturday, 17. Some very pointed things were delivered relative to parents and children, from Gen. xviii, 19. After being in public exercises from ten till two o'clock, we rode in the afternoon twenty miles to the little levels of Green-Brier. On my way I premeditated the sending of a preacher to a newly-settled place in the Kenhaway county.

Sunday, 18. We had a warm sermon at M'Neal's, at which many were highly offended; but I trust their false peace is broken. There are many bears in this part of the country; not long since, a child in this neighbourhood was killed by one.

Monday, 19. Rode to Drinnon's, whose wife was killed, and his son taken prisoner by the Indians.

Tuesday, 20. I believe I never before travelled such a path as I this day rode over the mountains to reach Mr. Nelson's in Tyger-Valley.

Wednesday, 21. I preached at Wilson's. Here many careless people do not hear a sermon more than once in one or two years.

Saturday, 24. Attended quarterly-meeting at Morgantown—I spoke on superstition, idolatry, unconditional election, and reprobation, Antinomianism, Universalism, and Deism.

Sunday, 25. Preached on Matt. xxv, 31, to the end; brother W—— also gave us a sermon; and a Presbyterian minister two: so here we had it in abundance.

Monday, 26. Preached at B——'s; and the next day at H——'s.

Our conference began at Uniontown on Wednesday the twenty-eighth of July:—it was conducted in peace and love.

Friday, 6. (July 1792) We had a long ride to Morgantown: we came in at

eleven o'clock, being much fatigued. I discoursed on the likeness between Moses and Christ, in the academical church.

We set out for Coventry Forge, but we missed our way, and came to brother Meredic's, in the valley.

Monday, 23 (May 1796) I rode to Rehoboth chapel, in the sinks of Green Briar, where we held conference with a few preachers. Here I delivered two discourses. Thursday, crossed Green Briar River, and had to pass along a crooked and dangerous path to Benton's. My mind is in peace.

Friday, 27. I felt my self very heavy, my mind unprepared for the congregation at Gilboa meeting-house, and could not preach with any satisfaction. After meeting the society, I came away much clouded. We came off from brother C——'s about four o'clock, aiming at the Little Levels; but darkness came on, and we had to climb and blunder over the point of a mountain, in descending which my feet were so squeezed that the blood was ready to gush out of the pores: I could hardly help weeping out my sorrow: at length we came to brother H——'s, where the kindness of the family was a cordial, and we went to rest about ten o'clock, and all was well.

Sunday, 29 (May 1796) I was very warm in body and mind at M'Neale's. In the afternoon (contrary to my sentiment and practice on the Lord's day) we took our departure, purposing to reach Morgantown on Wednesday evening, in order to attend an appointment made for me on Thursday, the second of June. We reached my old friend Drinnon's, who received us gladly, and entertained us kindly. Next day (Monday) we opened our campaign through the mountains, following a path I had thought never to travel again. Frequently we were in danger of being plucked off our horses by the boughs of the trees under which we had to ride. About seven o'clock, after crossing six mountains and many rocky creeks and fords of Elk and Monongahela [Tygarts Valley] Rivers, we made the Valley of Distress, called by the natives Tyger's Valley. We had a comfortable lodging at Mr. White's [near Huttonsville]; and here I must acknowledge the kindness and decency of the family, and their readiness to duty, sacred and civil. Thence we hastened on at the rate of forty-two miles a day. We had to ride four miles in the night, and went supperless to the Punchins [floor], where we slept a little on hard lines.

After encountering many difficulties, known only to God and ourselves, we came to Morgantown. I doubt whether I shall ever request any person to come and meet me at the levels of Green Briar, or to accompany me across these mountains again, as brother D. Hitt has now done. O! how chequered is life!

Maryland.—Wednesday, 15, (June 1796) I came to Oldtown, and preached to a few people, at brother J. J. Jacobs's, and the next day rode nearly forty miles to father F——'s.

Wednesday, 22. (July, 1796) I will now take a view of my journey for some months past. From the best judgment I can form, the distance is as follows: from Baltimore to Charleston (S. C.) one thousand miles; thence up the State of South Carolina two hundred miles; from the centre to the west of Georgia two hundred miles; through North Carolina one hundred miles; through the state of Tennessee one hundred miles; through the west of Virginia three hundred miles; through Pennsylvania and the west of Maryland and down to Baltimore four hundred miles.

2. Narrative of Rev. Henry Smith (1794). Rev. Henry Smith, an early Methodist minister, left an interesting narrative of his observations along the Monongahela in 1794. The following abstracts present a concrete picture of local conditions at that time:

From this place I pushed ahead through Clarksburg, and met my first appointment at Joseph Bennett's, about fifteen miles above Clarksburg. The people came to this meeting from four or five miles around, and among them Joseph Chiveront, quite a respectable local preacher. They were all backwoods people and came to the meeting in backwoods style, all on foot, a considerable congregation. I looked around and saw one old man who had shoes on his feet. The preacher wore Indian moccasins. Every man, woman and child besides was barefooted. Two old women had on what we then called short gowns, and the rest had neither short nor long gowns. This was a novel sight to me for a Sunday congregation. Brother Chiveront, in his moccasins, could have preached all around me; but I was a stranger and withal the circuit preacher, and must preach of course. I did my best, and soon found if there were no shoes and fine dresses in the congregation, there were attentive hearers and feeling hearts.

When I left Bennett's I went 25 or 30 miles higher up the Monongahela and preached at the house of Brother Stortze. Within a short distance of this house the Indians took a young woman prisoner, and murdered and scalped her. A messenger came and injudiciously announced that her remains had been found, and threw the whole congregation into consternation. Here I saw the men coming to meeting with their rifles on their shoulders, guarding their families, then setting their guns in a corner of the house till after the meeting, and returning in the same order.

From Stortze's we went to Edward West's [near Weston] where we had a society and preached regularly. The house was enclosed by strong and high pieces of timber set deep in the ground and close together. They had built a new house outside the enclosure. * * *

I do not know that I was in danger; but the Indians having but a little while before been through the country, and done mischief, and this being a frontier house, I did not feel myself secure in my exposed position.

From West's we went to John Hacker's on Hacker's Creek. I believe this man could read, but not write; and yet he was a magistrate and a patriarch in the settlement, and gave name to the creek, having lived here more than twenty years.

On his next preaching tour he wrote:

They were all glad to see me, but I was rather sorry, and somewhat alarmed, to find the women alone, for there was not a man or even a gun about the place. The men were all in the woods, some hunting, some digging ginseng and snakeroot, and did not come home that night; so I had to guard and comfort the poor women and children. The house was crowded. Toward sunset we all went into the house and barred the doors as well as we could. The next day the men came home before preaching. In this place we had a pretty large society, and some very pious people. They lived, in the true sense of the word, in backwoods style. Their sugar they made out of the water from the sugar tree. Their tea they got out of the woods, or from their gardens. For coffee they had a substitute, namely rye or chestnuts. Money they had but little. They traded at Winchester and other places, with ginseng, snakeroot, and skins, for salt, rifles, powder, lead, etc. All their produce was carried to market on packhorses. Their wearing apparel and bedding were mostly of their own manufacture. Religion certainly did exert a happy influence on the morals of this uncultivated people, and I was often delighted with their artless simplicity. In their way, they appeared to be as happy and contented as falls to the lot of most people. Taking all things into consideration, our congregations were good; for people made going to meeting a business, and trifles did not stop them. In the lower part of the circuit the people were more refined in their manners.

I was in Morgantown on Christmas eve, where I saw the first Indians, but they were prisoners. Captain Morgan had collected a small company of daring spirits like himself, and had gone on an Indian hunt. He crossed the Ohio and came across an Indian camp, where there were two Indians, three squaws and two children. * * *

The young women were sad and reserved. They all appeared to be uneasy and somewhat alarmed when strangers came in. After the treaty they were returned or exchanged. * * *

We preached in the court house at eleven o'clock; for we had no meeting house, neither was there any place of worship in the town. We had but one-half finished log meeting house in the whole circuit. We labored hard and suffered not a little, and did not get the half of $64 for support. We travelled through all weathers and dangers, over bad roads and slippery hills, and crossed deep waters, having the Monongahela to cross seven times every round, and few ferries. Our fare was plain enough. Sometimes we had venison and bear meat in abundance, and always served up in the best style. It is true my delicate appetite sometimes revolted and boggled, till I suffered in the flesh. I then concluded to eat such things as were set before me; for other people ate them and enjoyed health and why not I? After I had conquered my foolish prejudice, I got along better. Our lodgings were often uncomfortable. I was invited to have an appointment at a brother's house one night. After the people were gone, I found there was but one small bed in the house.

When bedtime came, the good woman took her bed and spread it crosswise before a fine log fire, and I was requested to lie down on one end; and it answered very well for me, the man and his wife, and two children. This indeed was very comfortable to what I had sometimes. Most of my clothes by this time became threadbare, and some worn out, and I had no money to buy new ones. I had to put up one night with a strange family, and I was obliged to keep on my overcoat to hide the rents in my clothes.

On this circuit I learned some lessons in the school of adversity which have been of great service to me during my itineracy. Although I never was in real danger from the Indians, yet I have often ridden fifteen or twenty miles through the woods where no one lived, the people having fled from danger; and I rode alone, for I never had any guard but the angels. The tales of woe that were told me in almost every place where there was danger; the places pointed out where murders had been committed, sleeping in houses where the people who were inured to these things were afraid to go out of doors after sunset; I say, riding alone under these circumstances was far from agreeable. I was, however, often in real danger in crossing rivers, swimming creeks, etc. I found the people remarkably kind and sociable. Many pleasant hours were spent together by the side of log fires in our log cabins, conversing on various subjects. It is true, some of us smoked the pipe with them, but we really thought there was no harm in that, for we had no anti-tobacco societies among us then. I believe James Fleming and myself were the last who traveled the Clarksburg circuit during the Indian wars.

3. Extract from Journal of Thomas Wallcutt (1790). The following is a part of the "Journal" of Thomas Wallcutt of Massachusetts who went to Marietta in 1790 and returned eastward over the new route via Clarksburg, Cumberland, Hancock, Carlisle, Pennsylvania:

Monday, 8 March, 1790 [Marietta]. We were up before sunrise, and got some hot breakfast, coffee and toast; and Captain Prince, Mr. Moody, Mr. Skinner, Captain Mills and brother, Mr. Bent, &c., accompanied us over the river to Sargent's or Williams's, and took leave of us about nine o'clock, and we proceeded on our journey. We had gone but a little way when we found the path so blind that we could not proceed with certainty, and I was obliged to go back and get a young man to come and show us the way. When we had got back to our companions again, they had found the road, and we walked twenty miles this day.

Tuesday, 9 March, 1790. The country very rough, the hills high and sharp. One third of the road must go over and on the ridges, and another third through the valleys. We walked this day about twenty-three or twenty-four miles, and slept near the forty-fourth or forty-fifth mile tree.

Wednesday, 10 March, 1790. To-day we crossed several of the large creeks and waters that fall into the Ohio. This occasioned a loss of much time, waiting for the horse to come over for each one, which he did as regularly as a man would. The country much the same, but rather better today, except that a great deal of the road runs along through the streams, and down the streams such a length with the many bridges that will be wanted, that it will be a vast expense, besides the risk and damage of being carried away every year by the floods. We had so much trouble in crossing these streams that at last we forded on foot. One of the largest in particular, after we had rode it several times, we waded it four or five times almost knee-deep, and after that a number of times on logs, or otherwise, without going in water. Two of the streams, I doubt not, we crossed as often as twenty times each. We walked this day about fifteen miles.

Thursday, 11 March, 1790. With much fatigue and pain in my left leg, we walked about fifteen miles to-day. They all walked better than I, and had got to Carpenter's and had done their dinner about two o'clock when I arrived. They appear to be good farmers and good livers, have a good house, and seem very clever people. Mr. C. is gone down the country. They have been a frontier here for fifteen years, and have several times been obliged to move away. I got a dish of coffee and meat for dinner, and paid ninepence each, for the doctor and me. We set off, and crossed the west branch of the Monongahela over the Clarksburg. The doctor paid his own ferriage. We went to Major Robinson's, and had tea and meat, &c., for supper. I paid ninepence each, for the doctor and me. Weather dull and unpleasant, as yesterday.

Friday, 12 March, 1790. We set off before sunrise and got a little out of our road into the Morgantown road, but soon got right again. We breakfasted at Webb's mill, a good house and clever folks. Had coffee, meat, &c.; paid sixpence each, for me and the doctor. Lodged at Wickware's, who says he is a Yankee, but is a very disagreeable man for any country, rough and ugly, and he is very dear. I paid one shilling apiece for the doctor's and my supper, upon some tea made of mountain birch, perhaps black birch, stewed pumpkin, and sodden meat. Appetite supplies all deficiencies.

Saturday, 13 March, 1790. Set off not so early this morning as yesterday. The doctor paid his ferriage himself. Mr. Moore, a traveller toward his home in Dunker's Bottom, Fayette County, Pennsylvania, (?) set out with us. He seems a very mild, good-natured, obliging old gentleman, and lent me his horse to ride about two miles, while he drove his pair of steers on foot. The doctor and I being both excessively fatigued, he with a pain in his knee, and mine in my left leg, but shifting about, were unable to keep up with our company, and fell much behind them. Met Mr. Carpenter on his return home. He appears to be a very clever man. When he had come to Field's I found Mr. Dodge had left his horse for us to ride, and to help us along, which we could not have done without. We got a dish of tea without milk, some dried smoked meat and hominy for dinner; and from about three o'clock to nine at night, got to Ramsay's. Seven miles of our way were through a new blazed path where they propose to cut a new road. We got out of this in good season, at sundown or before dark, into the wagon road, and forded Cheat River on our horses. Tea, meat, &c., for supper. Old Simpson and Horton, a constable, had a terrible scuffle here this evening.

Lord's Day, 14 March, 1790. Mr. Dodge is hurrying to go away again. I tell him I must rest to-day. I have not written anything worth mention in my journal since I set out, until to-day, and so must do it from memory. I want to shave a beard seven days old, and change a shirt about a fortnight dirty; and my fatigue makes rest absolutely necessary. So take my rest this day, whether he has a mind to go or stay with us. Eat very hearty of hominy or boiled corn with milk for breakfast, and boiled smoked beef and pork for dinner, with turnips. After dinner shaved and shirted me, which took till near night, it being a dark house, without a bit of window, as indeed there is scarce a house on this road that has any.

Monday, 15 March, 1790. Waited and got some tea for breakfast, before we set out. Settled with Ramsay, and paid him 9d. per meal, for five meals, and half-pint whiskey 6d. The whole came to eight shillings. Weather very pleasant most of the day. We walked to Brien's about halfpast six o'clock, which they call twenty-four miles. We eat a little fried salt pork and bit of venison at Friends', and then crossed the great Youghiogheny. About two miles further on, we crossed the little ditto at Boyles's. * * * We walked about or near an hour after dark, and were very agreeably surprised to find ourselves at Brien's instead of Stackpole's, which is four miles further than we expected. Eat a bit of Indian bread,

and the woman gave us each about half a pint of milk to drink, which was all our supper.

Tuesday, 16 March, 1790. We were up this morning, and away about or before sunrise, and ascended the backbone of the Allegheny, and got breakfast at Williams's. I cannot keep up with my company. It took me till dark to get to Davis's. Messers. Dodge and Proctor had gone on before us about three miles to Dawson's. We got some bread and butter and milk for supper, and drank a quart of cider. Mr. Davis was originally from Ashford, county of Windham, Connecticut; has been many years settled in this country; has married twice, and got many children. His cider in a brown mug seemed more like home than any thing I have met with.

Wednesday, 17 March. We were up this morning before day, and were set off before it was cleverly light. Got to Dawson's, three miles, where Messers, D. & P. lodged, and got some tea for breakfast, and set off in good season, the doctor and I falling behind. * * * We stopped about a mile and a half from the Methodist meeting near the cross roads at Cressops, and four from Cumberland, and got some fried meat and eggs, milk, butter, &c., for dinner, which was a half pistareen each. After dinner the doctor and I walked into Cumberland village about three o'clock, and put up at Herman Stitcher's or Stidger's. We called for two mugs of cider, and got tea, bread and butter, and a boiled leg of fresh young pork for supper. The upper part of the county of Washington has lately been made a separate county, and called Allegheny, as it extends over part of that mountain, and reaches to the extreme boundary of Maryland. The courts, it is expected, will be fixed and held at this place, Cumberland, which will probably increase its growth, as it thrives pretty fast already. * * *

Thursday, 18 March. Paid Mr. Dodge 6s. advance. A very fine day. We stayed and got breakfast at Stitcher's, and walked from about eight o'clock to twelve, to Old Town, and dined at Jacob's, and then walked to Dakins's to lodge, where we got a dish of Indian or some other home coffee, with a fry of chicken and other meat for supper. This is the first meal I have paid a shilling L. M. for. * * * We walked twenty-five miles to-day.

Friday, 19 March, 1790. Very fine weather again to-day. We walked twenty-four miles to McFarren's in Hancock, and arrived there, sun about half an hour high. McFarren says this town has been settled about ten or twelve years, and is called for the man who laid it out or owned it, and not after Governor Hancock. It is a small but growing place of about twenty or thirty houses, near the bank of the Potomac, thirty-five miles below Old Town, and five below Fort Cumberland; twenty-four above Williamsport, and ninety-five above Georgetown. We slept at McFarren's, a so-so house. He insisted on our sleeping in beds, and would not permit sleeping on the floors. * * *

Saturday, 20 March. A very fine day again. We have had remarkably fine weather on this journey hitherto. But two days we had any rain, and then but little. We stayed and got breakfast at McFarren's, and set out about eight o'clock, and walked about twenty-one miles this day to Thompson's, about half a mile from Buchanan's in the Cover Gap in the North Mountain. * * *

4. Extracts from Letter of Eric Bollman (1796). The following letter was written in 1796, twelve years after Washington's journey of 1784, by Eric Bollman, a traveler through Maryland and via Dunkard's Bottom to Morgantown and thence to Pittsburgh via Uniontown, Brownsville and Washington (Pa.):

From Cumberland we have journeyed over the Allegheny Mountains in company with General Irwin, of Baltimore, who owns some 50,000 acres in this vicinity. * * *

We spent the first night at West Port. Up to this point, at the proper seasons, the Potomac is navigable and could be made so quite a distance further. But even in the present state the land journey to the Monongahela, which is navigable and flows into the Ohio, is but a distance of 60 miles.

The road is not in a bad condition and could be made most excellent. This will, without doubt, be accomplished just as soon as the country is sufficiently inhabited, since there is no nearer way to reach the Western waters.

The next day we dined with Mr. M. McCartin, still higher up in the mountains. There are many settlements in this vicinity. We were entertained in a beautiful, cool, roomy house, surrounded by oat fields and rich meadows, where the sound of the bells told that cattle were pasturing near by. We dined from delicate china, had good knives, good forks, spoons, and other utensils. Our hostess, a bright, handsome, healthy woman, waited upon us. After dinner, a charming feminine guest arrived on horseback; a young girl from the neighboring farm, of perhaps 15 years of age, with such bashful eyes and such rosy cheeks, so lovely and attractive in manner that even Coopley, our good mathematician, could not restrain his admiration.

This is the "backwoods" of America, which the Philadelphian is pleased to describe as a rough wilderness—while in many parts of Europe, in Westphalia, in the whole of Hungary and Poland, nowhere, is there a cottage to be found, which, taking all things together in consideration of the inhabitant, can be compared with the one of which I have just written.

Four miles from this we reached the Glades, one of the most remarkable features of these mountains and this land.* * * Many hundred head of cattle are

driven yearly, from the South Branch and other surrounding places, and entrusted to the care of the people who live here. * * *

Only lately have the Indians ceased roving in this vicinity; which has done much to delay its cultivation, but now it is being cleared quite rapidly, and in a short time will, without doubt, become a fine place for pasturage. We spent the second night with one named Boyle, an old Hollander. Early the next morning we could hear the howling of a wolf in the forest.

We breakfasted with Tim Friend, a hunter, who lived six miles further on. If ever Adam existed he must have looked as this Tim Friend. I never saw such an illustration of perfect manhood. * * * His conversation satisfied the expectations which it awakened. With gray head, 60 years old, 40 of which he had lived in the mountains, and of an observing mind, he could not find it difficult to agreeably entertain people who wished for information. He is a hunter by profession. We had choice venison for breakfast, and there were around the house and near by a great number of deer, bears, panthers, etc. * * * We left our noble hunter and his large, attractive family unwillingly and followed a roadway to Duncard's Bottom, on Cheat river. * * *

We dined at Duncard's Bottom, crossed the Cheat river in the afternoon, reached the Monongahela Valley, spent the night in a very comfortable blockhouse with Mr. Zinn, and arrived the next day at Morgantown, on the Monongahela. We spent a day and a half here and were pleasantly entertained by Mr. Reeder and William M. Clary, and received much information, especially concerning sugar, maple trees and sugar making. From Morgantown we went to the mouth of George creek, Fayette county, Pennsylvania. As it was afternoon when we reached here we were overtaken by night and compelled to spend the night in a small blockhouse with Mr. McFarlain. We found Mr. McFarlain a respectable, intelligent farmer, surrounded as usual, by a large and happy family.

Directly after our arrival the table was set, around which the entire family assembled. This appears to be the usual custom in the United States with all people who are in some measure in good circumstances. One of the women, usually the prettiest, has the honor of presiding at table. There were good table appointments, fine china, and the simple feast was served with the same ceremony as in the most fashionable society of Philadelphia. Never, I believe, was there in any place more equality than in this. Strangers who come at this time of day at once enter the family circle. This was the case with us. Mr. McFarlain told us much about his farm and the misfortunes with which he struggled when he first cultivated the place upon which he now lives. He has lived here 30 years, a circumstance which is here very unusual, because the adventure loving nature, together with the wish to better their condition and the opportunity, has led many people to wander from place to place. * * *

The next morning when we came down we found the old farmer sitting on the porch reading a paper. Upon the table lay "Morse's Geography," "The Beauty of the Stars," "The Vicar of Wakefield," and other good books. I have entered into particulars in my description of this family because we were then only five miles from the home of Gallatin, where the people are too often represented as rough, uncultured, good-for-nothings. It is not necessary to mention that all families here are not as this, yet it is something to find a family such as this, living on this side of the mountains, 300 miles from the sea coast. We called upon Mr. Gallatin, but did not find him at home. Geneva is a little place, but lately settled, at the junction of George creek and the Monongahela.

From here we went to Uniontown, the capital of Fayette county, where we saw excellent land and Redstone Creek. We dined the following day in Redstone or Brownsville: journeyed to Washington, the capital of the county of the same name, and arrived the following day in Pittsburg.

Boats are going back and forth; even now one is coming, laden with hides from Illinois. The people on board are wearing clothes made of woolen bed blankets. They are laughing and singing after the manner of the French, yet as red as Indians, and almost the antipodes of their fatherland. * * *

5. Letter of Samuel Allen, an Emigrant from New England (1796). An old letter written in 1796 by Samuel Allen on the Ohio river at Belleville, near Parkersburg, to his father in Connecticut, describing a journey from Alexandria and Cumberland to the Ohio by way of "broadaggs (Braddock's) old road," gives a picture of certain of the more pathetic phases of the typical emigrant's experience unequaled by any published account. Incidentally, there is included a mention of the condition of the road and, what is of more interest, a clear glimpse into the Ohio valley when the great rush of pioneers had begun after the signing of the Treaty of Greenville, which ended the Indian war.

Belleville, Va., November the 15th, 1796.

Honored Parents:

Six months is allmost gone since I left N. London (New. London, Connecticut) & not a word have I heard from you or any of the family I have not heard wheather you are dead or alive, sick or well. When I heard that Mr. Backus had got home I

was in hopes of recieving a letter by him. but his brother was here the other day and sayes that he left his trunk and left the letters that he had in the trunk, so I am still in hopes of having one yet. There is an opertunity of sending letters once every week only lodge a letter in the post-offis in N. London & in a short time it will be at Belleville. The people that came with me has most all had letters from their friends in New England. Mr. Avory has had two or three letters from his Brother one in fiften dayes after date all of whitch came by the waye of the male.

General Putnam of Muskingdom (Márietta on the Muskingum) takes the New London papers constantly every week

When we arrived to Allexandria (Alexandria, Virginia) Mr. Avory found that taking land cariag from there to the Monongehaly would be less expence then it would be to go any farther up the Potomac & less danger so he hired wagoners to carry the goods across the mountains to Mogantown on the Mongahaly about one hundred miles above Pittsburg Mr. Avorys expence in comeing was from N London to Alexndria six dollars each for the passengers and two shillings & six pence for each hundred weight. from Allexandria to Morgantown was thirty two shillings and six pence for each hundred weight of women & goods the men all walked the hole of the way. I walked the hole distance it being allmost three hundred miles and we found the rode to be pritty good untill we came to the Mountaing. crossing the blue Mountain the Monongehaly & the Lorral Mountains we found the roads to be verry bad.

You doubtless remember I rote in my last letter that Prentice was taken ill a day or two before he continued verry much so untill the 10th of July when he began to gro wors the waggoner was hired by the hundred weight & could not stop unless I paid him for the time that he stoped & for the Keeping of the horses that I could not afford to do So we were obliged to keep on We were now on the Allegany Mountain & a most horrid rode the wagon golted so that I dare not let him ride So I took him in my arms and carried him all the while except once in a while Mr Davis would take him in his armes & carry him a spell to rest me. a young man that Mr Avory hired at Allexandria a joiner whose kindness I shall not forgit he kep all the while with us & spared no panes to assist us in anything & often he would offer himself. our child at this time was verry sick & no medecal assistance could be had on this mountain on the morning of the 13th as we was at breackfast at the house of one Mr Tumblestone (Tomlinson?) the child was taken in a fit our company had gone to the next house to take breakfast which was one mile on our way we were alone in the room & went & asked Mrs Tumblestone to come into the room she said she did not love to see a person in a fitt but she came into the room Polly ask her if she new what was good for a child in a fitt she said no & immediately left the room & shut the door after her & came no more into the room when that fitt left him there came on another no person in the room but Mr Tumblestone who took but little notis of the child tho it was in great distress Polly said she was afraid the child would die in one of them fitts Mr. Tumblestone spoke in a verry lite manner and sayes with a smile it will save you the trouble of carrying it any farther if it does die We then bundled up the child and walked to the next house ware we come up with our company I had just seated myself down when the child was taken in a fitt again when that had left it it was immediately taken in another & as that went off we saw another coming on the Man of the house gave it some drops that stoped the fitt he handed me a vial of the dropps—gave directions how to use them the child had no more fitts but seemed to be stuped all day he cried none at all but he kept a whinning & scouling all the while with his eyes stared wide open his face and his eyes appeared not to come in shape as before When we took dinner it was six mile to the next house the waggoners said they could not git through thro that night we did not love to stay out for fear our child would die in the woods so we set off & left the waggons I took the child in my arms and we traveled on Mr Davis set off with us & carried the child above half of the time here we traveled up & down the most edious hills as I ever saw & by nine oclock in the evening we came to the house the child continued stayed all the night the next morning at break of day I heard it make a strange noise I percieved it grew worse I got up and called up the women (who) ware with us the woman of the house got up & in two hours the child dyed Polly was obliged to go rite off as soon as his eyes was closed for the waggoners would not stop I stayed to see the child burried I then went on two of the men that was with me were joiners & had their tools with them they stayed with me & made the coffin Mr. Simkins (Simpkins) the man of the house sent his Negoes out & dug the grave whare he had burried several strangers that dyed a crossing the mountain he family all followed the corps to the grave black & white & appeared much affected.

When we returned to the house I asked Mr. Simkins to give me his name & the name of the place he asked me the name of the child I told him he took his pen & ink & rote the following lines Alligany County Marriland July the 14th 1796 died John P Allen at the house of John Simkins at atherwayes bear camplain broadaggs old road half way between fort Cumberland & Uniontown. I thanked him for the kindness I had received from him he said I was verry welcome & he was verry sorry for my loss

We then proceeded on our journey & we soon overtook the waggons & that nite we got to the foot of the mountain We came to this mountain on the 11th of the month and got over it the 19th at night We left the city of Allexandria on the

Potomac the 30th day of June & arrived at Morgantown on the Monongahely the 18th day of July

Thus my dear pearents you see we are deprived of the child we brought with us & we no not whather the one we left is dead or alive. I beg you to rite & let me no Polly cant bear her name mentioned without shedding tears if she is alive I hope you will spare no panes to give her learning.

When we arrived at Morgantown the river was so lo that boats could not go down but it began to rain the same day that I got there I was about one mile from there when it began to rain & from the 22d at night to the 23d in the morning it raised 16 feet the logs came down the river so that it was dangerous for boats to go & on Sunday the 22d in the evening the boats set off three waggons had not arrived but the river was loreing so fast that we dare not wate the goods was left with a Merchant in that town to be sent, when the river rises they have not come on yet one of my barrels & the brass Cittle is yet behind

Mr Avory said while he was at Morgantown that Cattle were verry high down the river & them that wanted to by he thought had better by then he purchased some & I bought two cows and three calvs for myself & three cows for Mrs. Hemsted & calves & a yoke of three year old stears. The next morning after the Boats sailed I set off by land with the cattle & horses with John Turner & Jonathan Prentice & arrived at Bellvill the 9th of August & found it to be a verry rich & pleasant country We came to the Ohio at Wheeling crick one hundred miles belo Pittsburg & about the same from Morgantown We found the country settled the hole of the way from Morgantown to Wheeling & a verry pleasant road we saw some verry large & beautiful plantations here I saw richer land than I every saw before large fields of corn & grane of a stout groath From Wheeling to Belleville it is a wilderness for the most of the way except the banks of the river this side—which is one hundred miles we found it verry difficult to get victules to eat. I drove fifty miles with one meal of victules through the wilderness & only a foot path & that was so blind that we was pestered to keep it we could drive but a little wayes in a day whenever night overtook us we would take our blankets & wrap around us & ly down on the ground We found some inhabitance along the river but they came on last spring & had no provisions only what they brought with them.

The country is as good as it was represented to be & is seteling verry fast families are continually moveing from other parts into this beautiful country if you would give me all your intrest to bo gack there to live again it would be no temtation if you should sell your intrest there & lay your money out here in a short time I think you would be worth three or four times so much as you now are. it is incredible to tell the number of boats that goes down this river with familys a man that lives at Redstone Old fort on the Monongehaly says that he saw last spring seventy Boats go past in one day with familys moveing down the Ohio. There is now at this place a number of familys that came since we did from Susquehanah There is now at this place eighty inhabitance. Corn is going at 2.s pr bushel by the quantity 2.s 6-d by the single bushel. There has been between two & three thousand bushels raised in Bellville this season & all the settlements along the river as raised corn in proportion but the vast number of people that are moveing into this country & depending upon bying makes it scerce & much higher than it would be

There is three double the people that passes by here then there is by your house there is Packets that passes from Pittsburg to Kentucky one from Pittsburg to Wheeling 90 miles one from that to Muskingdom 90 miles One from that to Gallipolees 90 miles the french settlement opisite the big Canawa (Kanawha) & from that there is another to Kentucky—of which goes & returns every week &—loaded with passengers & they carry the male Mammy offered me some cloath for a Jacket & if you would send it by Mr Woodward it would be very exceptible for cloaths is verry high here Common flanel is 6s per yard & tow cloth is 3s 9d the woolves are so thick that sheep cannot be kept without a shephard they often catch our calvs they have got one of mine & one of Mrs Hemstid the latter they caught in the field near the houses I have often ben awoak out of my sleep by the howling of the wolves.

This is a fine place for Eunice they ask 1s per yard for weaving tow cloth give my respects to Betsey & Eunice & tell them that I hope one of them will come with Mr. Woodward when he comes on Horses are very high in this country & if you have not sold mine I should be (glad) if you would try to send him on by Mr Woodward. I dont think Mr Avory will be there this year or two & anything you would wish to send you nead not be affrid to trust to Mr. Woodwards hands for he is a verry careful & a verry honest man & what he says you may depend upon.

Land is rising very fast Mr Avory is selling his lots at 36 dollars apeace he has sold three since we came here at that price we was so long a comeing & provisions so verry high that I had not any money left when I got here except what I paid for the cattle I bought I have worked for Mr Avory since I came here to the amount of sixteen dollars I paid him 80 dollars before we left N London I am not in debt to him at preasent or any one else I have sot me up a small house and have lived in it upwards of a fortnight we can sell all our milk and butter milk at 2d per quart Mr Avory will give me three shillings per day for work all winter & find (furnish) we with victules or 4s & find myself I need not want for business I think I am worth more than I was when I came We have ben in verry good health ever since we left home.

General St. Clair who is now govenor of the western teritoryes & General

Wilkinson with their Adicongs (Aide-de-camps) attended by a band of soldiers in uniform lodged at Bellvill a few nights ago on their way from headquarters to Philadelphia with Amaracan coulours a flying

Please to give my respects to George & James & tell them that if they want an interest this is the country for them to go to make it Please to except of my kind love to yourselves & respects to all friends who may enquire do give my love to Mr. Rogers & family & all my brothers and sisters & our only child Lydia Polly sends her love to you & all her old friends & neighbors

Your affectionate son

Samuel Allen

6. Extracts from The American Gazetteer (1797). In 1797 *The American Gazetteer* was published in Boston by Jedidiah Morse. It was a volume of about 900 pages with several maps, and dealt with the geography of "North America and the West Indies." It contains the following information in regard to towns of western Virginia:

Clarksburg, the chief town of Harrison County, Virginia. It contains about 40 houses, a court house and jail. It stands on east side of Monongahela river, 40 miles S.W. of Morgantown.

Frankfort, the capital of Pendleton County, Virginia, is situated on the west side of the South Branch of the Potowmack river. It contains a court house, jail and about 30 houses; 180 miles N.W. of Richmond.

Martinsburg, a post town of Virginia and capital of Berkeley County, situated about 8 miles south of the Potowmac, in the midst of a fertile and well cultivated country, and 25 miles from the Mineral Springs at Bath. It contains upwards of 70 houses, a court house, jail, Episcopal church, and contiguous to the town is one for Presbyterians.

Moorefields, a post town and the capital of Hardy County, Virginia, situated on the east side of the South Branch of the Potowmac river. It contains a court house and jail, and between 60 and 70 houses. It is 180 miles from Richmond.

Morgantown, a post town of Virginia, and shre-town of Mongalia County, is pleasantly situated on the east side of Monongahela river about 7 miles S. by W. of the mouth of Cheat river, and contains a court house, a stone jail and about 40 houses.

Romney, the chief town of Hampshire County, Virginia, contains about 70 dwelling houses, a brick court house and a stone jail.

The chief town is Lewisburg. At Green Briar court house is a post office, 30 miles W. by S. of Sweet Springs, and 103 west of Staunton.

Shepherdstown or Shepherdsburg, a post town of Virginia, situated in Berkeley County, on south side of Potowmack river. Its situation is healthful and agreeable and the neighboring country is fertile and well cultivated. It contains about 2000 inhabitants, mostly of German extraction.

West Liberty, a post town of Virginia, and the capital of Ohio county, is situated at the head of Short creek, 6 miles from the Ohio. It contains about 120 houses, a Presbyterian church, a court house and jail.

7. Description of a Trip by Felix Renick (1798). Felix Renick has left the following description of his experience on a trip from the South Branch via Clarksburg to Marietta in 1798, and especially gives a vivid picture of the earliest sort of taverns on the route:

Some of our neighbors who had served in Dunmore's campaign in 1774, gave accounts of the great beauty and fertility of the western country, and particularly the Scioto valley, which inspired me with a desire to explore it as early as I could make it convenient. I accordingly set out from the south branch of Potomac for that purpose, I think about the first of October, 1798, in company with two friends, Joseph Harness and Leonard Stump, both of whom have long since gone hence. We took with us what provisions we could conveniently carry, and a good rifle to procure more when necessary and further prepared ourselves to camp wherever night overtook us. Having a long journey before us, we traveled slow, and reached Clarksburg the third night, which was then near the verge of the western settlements in Virginia, except along the Ohio river. Among our first inquiries of our apparently good, honest, illiterate landlord, was whether he could tell us how far it was to Marietta (Ohio), and what kind of trace we should have? His reply was, "O yes, I can do that very thing exactly, as I have been recently appointed one of the viewers to lay out and mark a road from here to Marietta, and have just returned from the performance of that duty. The distance on a straight line which we first run was seventy-five miles, but on our return we found and marked another line that was much nearer." This theory to Mr. Harness and myself, each of us having spent several years in the study and practice of surveying, was entirely new: we however let it pass without comment, and our old host, to his great delight, entertained us till late in the evening with a detailed account of the fine sport he and his associates had in their bear chases, deer chases, &c., while locating the road. We pursued our journey next morning, taking what our host called the nearest, and which he also said was much the best route. The marks on both routes being fresh

and plain, the crooked and nearest route, as our host called it, frequently crossing the other, we took particular notice of the ground the straight line had to pass over, and after getting through we were disposed to believe that our worthy host was not so far wrong as might be supposed. The straight line crossing such high peaks of mountains, some of which were so much in the sugarloaf form, that it would be quite as near to go round as over them.

The first night after leaving the settlement at Clarksburgh, we camped in the woods; the next morning while our horses were grazing, we drew on our wallets and saddlebags for a snack, that we intended should pass for our breakfast, and set out. We had not traveled far before we unexpectedly came to a new improvement. A man had gone there in the spring, cleared a small field and raised a patch of corn, &c., staying in a camp through the summer to watch it to prevent its being destroyed by the wild animals. He had, a few days before we came along, called on some of his near neighbors on the Ohio, not much more perhaps than thirty miles off, who had kindly came forth and assisted him in putting up a cabin of pretty ample size, into which he had moved bag and baggage. He had also fixed up a rock and trough, and exposed a clapboard to view, with some black marks on it made with a coal, indicating that he was ready and willing to accommodate those who pleased to favor him with a call. Seeing these things, and although we did not in reality need any thing in his way, Mr. Harness insisted on our giving him a call, observing that any man that would settle down in such a wilderness to accommodate travelers ought to be encouraged. We accordingly rode up and called for breakfast, horse feed &c. Then let me say that as our host had just put the ball in motion was destitute of any helpmate whatever, (except a dog or two,) we had of course to officiate in all the various departments appertaining to a hotel, from the landlord down to the shoeblack on the one side, and from the landlady down to the dishwash on the other. The first department in which he had to officiate was that of the hostler, next that of the bar keeper, as it was then customary, whether called for or not, to set out a half pint of something to drink. The next which he fell at with much alacrity, was that of the cook, by commencing with rolled up sleeves and unwashed hands and arms, that looked about as black and dirty as the bears' paws which lay at the cabin door, part of whose flesh was the most considerable item in our breakfast fare. The first operation was the mixing up some pounded corn meal dough in a little black dirty trough, to which the cleaner, and perhaps as he appeared to think him, the better half of himself, his dog, had free access before he was fairly done with it, and that I presume was the only kind of cleaning it ever got. While the dodgers were baking, the bear meat was frying, and what he called coffee was also making, which was composed of an article that grew some hundred or one thousand miles north of where the coffee tree ever did grow. You now have the bill of fare that we sat down to, and the manner in which it was prepared; but you must guess how much of it we ate, and how long we were at it. As soon as we were done we called for our bill, and here follows the items: breakfast fifty cents each, horses twenty-five each, half pint of whisky fifty cents. Mr. Harness, who had prevailed on us to stop, often heard of the wilderness hotel, and whenever mentioned, he always had some term of reproach ready to apply to the host and the dirty breakfast, though we often afterwards met with fare somewhat similar in all respects.

We camped two nights in the woods, the next day got to Marietta where the land office was then kept by general Putnam, and from his office we obtained maps of the different sections of country we wished to explore.

8. Extracts from Diary of Isaac Van Meter (1801). Isaac Van Meter, of Hampshire county, Virginia, now Hardy county, West Virginia, was one of the leading men of western Virginia during and after the Revolutionary war. He was a member of the Virginia convention which ratified the United States constitution. In 1801 he made a tour through the western country. He kept a record of that journey in the diary that follows, which was discovered and copied in 1897 by Hu Maxwell while collecting material for a history of Hampshire county.

Thursday, April 16, 1801: Started from home in company with George Harness, L. Branson and John Miller. Lodged at Mr. Harvey's.

Saturday, April 18:—Crossed Cheat river which is about the size of the South Branch, or perhaps larger; hills remarkably high on both sides.

Sunday, April 19:—Breakfasted at Daniel Davison's in Clarksburg and waited until after dinner. Clarksburg has a tolerable appearance on Main street, with an academy on an elevated piece of ground near the town. We were informed that nearly fifty children are generally taught there. The court house is on one side of the street and the jail on the other, near the center. Left Clarksburg and lay at Mr. Clayton's fifteen miles distant. The face of the country is very rough, but some small strips of bottom well adopted for meadow.

Monday, April 20:—Down middle Island creek fourteen miles in which distance we crossed it seventeen times. A rough hilly country and poor.

Tuesday, April 21:—We passed through a very rough, hilly country; following a dividing ridge ten miles until we came within twelve miles of the mouth of the Muskingum. Turned to the right and fell on the Ohio (which I had for many years

wished to see) at the mouth of Bull run. Above the mouth is a fine bottom belonging to Cresap's heirs. Back of the tract is an extraordinary body of rich upland for two miles, and completely timbered. We went down the Ohio to Isaac Villers', opposite the mount of the Muskingum.

Wednesday April 22:—We went down the Ohio twelve miles to the mouth of the Little Kanawha. Below Williams" improvement lies a very handsome bottom, and for eight miles small improvements going on. Then came to a very well improved body of land laid off by Dr. Spencer into fifty acre lots and a small town called Vienna.

Tuesday, April 28:—This day we passed an Indian camp where I was introduced to John VanMeter, who was taken prisoner when a child and is so accustomed to the Indian habits that his friends cannot prevail on him to leave them.

Tuesday, May 26:—Fed at Carmichael's Town on Muddy creek and viewed a mill on Whiteley creek, where the race has been blown through solid rock underground nine poles, and opens three poles above the pierhead. The land from here to the Monongahela at Greenburg is fertile. We crossed to Geneva near the glass works and lodged at Mr. Crawford's.

Wednesday, May 27:—We crossed Laurel hill, and at the foot of this side took a right hand road and struck for the Crab Orchard, and lodged at Mr. Child's.

9. Extracts from Thomas Ashe's "Travels in America" (1806). The following extracts, representing an Englishman's impression of Wheeling in 1806, appeared in a book entitled "Travels in America," written by Thomas Ashe, Esq.

Wheeling, Virginia, April, 1806

The town of Wheeling is well known as one of the most considerable places of embarkation to traders and emigrants, on the western waters. It is a port-town, healthfully and pleasantly situated on a very high bank of the river, and is increasing rapidly. Here quantities of merchandise designed for the Ohio country, and the Upper Louisiana, are brought in wagons during the dry seasons; as boats can frequently go from hence, when they cannot from places higher up the river. Besides, as the navigation above Wheeling is more dangerous than all the remainder of the river, persons should undoubtedly give it the preference to Pittsburg. The distance by water to Pittsburg is eighty-two miles; by land only forty-five by a good road. A coach runs from Philadelphia also, to this town, for thirty dollars each passenger; and the wagons which daily arrive charge little more per cent. than the Pittsburg price. On the whole, I give this place a decided preference, and prognosticate that it will ultimately injure and rival all the towns above its waters.

The town is formed of about two hundred and fifty houses; ten of which are built of brick, eighteen of stone, and the remainder of logs. * * *

This plain, although one hundred feet above low water, was originally formed by the river subsiding; and there is a narrower place, or what is here called bottom, immediately flowing from the hills which also was under water; but, by the growth of its timber, and superior height, its submergement must have been at a much more remote period than that of the plain on which the town is built. A part of the latter is now a very small but excellent race ground.

The original settlers were not calculated to give importance to an infant establishment. Had they done so, had they attended to worthy commercial pursuits, and industrious and moral dealings, in place of rapine on Indian property, drunkenness, horse-racing and cock-fighting, their town would have rivalled Pittsburg long since, and have now enjoyed a respectable name.

This part of Virginia was, at no very remote period, deemed the frontier, not only of Virginia, but of America. To this frontier all persons outlawed, or escaping from Justice, fled, and resided without the apprehension of punishment or the dread of contempt and reproach. They formed a species of nefarious republic, where equality of crime constituted a social band, which might to this day have remained unbroken, but for the effects of the conclusion of the Indian war, which extended the frontier across the river nearly to the Canadian line, leaving the ancient boundary within the jurisdiction of government and under the immediate grasp of the law.

Those who fled from the restraints of moral and political obligations, were exasperated at this unforseen event, and felt hurt that a better sort of people came among them. The consequence previously assumed by thieves and swindlers, fled the presence of morals and justice. Such as were determined not to submit to an improvement of life, and a daily comparison of character, left the country; while others, who "repented of their ways," remained, and are now blended with the better order of citizens. Of these materials, the society of this town is now formed. But I have it from the good authority of a quaker of high respectability that the old settlers will all be brought out in time, and the place become new and regenerated. He founds his hopes on the belief that his friends when backed by others of their profession, to settle in the town, will gain an ascendancy in the municipel affairs; abolish cock-fighting, horse-racing, fighting, drinking, gambling, etc., and above all, enforce the observance of the Sabbath and other solemn days. * * *

My acquaintance with the place convinces me that much time and unremitted assiduity must be employed to make it a tolerable residence for any class of men, much less a society of quakers. The majority of the present inhabitants have no means whatever of distinguishing Sunday, but by a greater degree of violence and

debauchery than the affairs of ordinary days will allow them to manifest. Even on occasion of business, the smallest occurrence will draw them from it, and expose it to total negligence.

Yesterday two fellows drinking in a public house, the conversation turned on the merit of their horses—two wretched animals they had ridden into town that morning, and which had remained fasting at a post. A wager, the consequence of every argument on this side of the mountains, was made, and the poor brutes were galloped off to the race-course. Two-thirds of the population followed;—blacksmiths, shipwrights, all left work; the town appeared a desert. The stores were shut. I asked a proprietor why the warehouses did not remain open. He told me all good was done for that day; that the people might remain on the ground till night, and many stay till the following morning. I was determined to see this Virginia recreation, which caused such an abandonment of care and business. On my arrival on the ground, the original race had been won, and the price of a saddle was collecting to excite another course, and raise new opponents. This was soon effected; the course was cleared, and six poor devils were started for the saddle, and numerous bets laid by the owners and spectators. The number of persons interested in this affair, and some disputed points which occurred in the adjustment of it, gave rise to a variety of opinion, umpires were called in; their judgment was rejected, and a kind of general battle ensued. This affray over, the quarrel took a smaller circle, confined to two individuals, a Virginian by birth, and a Kentuckian by adoption. A ring was formed and the mob demanded whether they proposed to fight fair or to rough and tumble. The latter mode was preferred. * * * Bulk and bone were in favor of the Kentuckian; science and craft in that of the Virginian. The former promised himself victory from his power, the latter from his science. * * * The shock received by the Kentuckian and the want of breath brought him instantly to the ground. * * * The Kentuckian at length gave out, on which the people carried off the victor, and he preferring a triumph to a doctor, who come to cicatrize his face, suffered himself to be chaired round the ground as the champion of the times, and the first rough and tumbler. * * *

This spectacle ended, and the citizens, refreshed with whiskey and biscuit, sold on the ground, the races were renewed, and possibly other editions of the monstrous history I have just recited; but I had had sufficient of the sports of the day, and returned to my quaker friend, with whom I had engaged to take my dinner. He was afflicted, but by no means surprised at the news I brought him, and informed me farther that such doings were common, frequently two or three times a week; and that twice a year, or at the spring and fall races, they continued for fourteen days without interruption, aided by the licentious and profligate of the neighboring states. * * * It seems the storekeepers and the principal citizens, seeing the people had no intention of returning to their avocations, had resolved to amuse themselves, and associated for the purpose of having a ball and supper at the principal inn. On my arrival, the landlord, with much politeness, told me that my quality of stranger and a gentleman gave me title to enter the public room. * * * I entered the ball room, which was filled with persons at cards, drinking, dancing, etc. The music consisted of two bangies, played by negroes, nearly in a state of nudity, and a lute, through which a Chickesaw breathed with much occasional exertion and violent gesticulation. The dancing accorded with the harmoney of these instruments. The clamor of the card tables was so great that it almost drowned every other, and the music of Ethiopia was with difficulty heard. * * *

There is a very beautiful island directly opposite Wheeling, to which there is a ferry, and another ferry from the island to the Ohio shore, where commences a road leading to Chilicothe, and the interior of the State of which that town is the capital. The road for the most part is mountainous and swampy, notwithstanding which a mail coach is established on it, from Philadelphia to Lexington in Kentucky, through Pittsburgh, Wheeling and Chilicothe, a distance of upwards of seven hundred miles, to be performed by contract in fifteen days. Small inns are to be found every ten, or twelve miles of the route. They are generally log huts of one apartment, and the entertainment consists of bacon, whiskey, and Indian bread. Let those who despise this bill of fare remember that seven years since this road was called the Wilderness, and travellers had to encamp, find their own provisions, and with great difficulty secure their horses from panthers and wolves.

At Marietta, while describing the more orderly habits of that town, he again took occasion to refer to the lawlessness of Wheeling:

Marietta is also a port town, issues a weekly paper, and possesses an academy, court-house, prison, and church. The latter edifice is the only one of the kind between this and Pittsburg: a distance of one hundred and eighty-one miles. If justice be impotent on the opposite Virginia shore, and morals and laws be trampled upon and despised, here they are strengthened by authority; and upheld, respected, and supported by all ranks. The New-England regulations of church and magistracy are all introduced and acted on to the full extent—to a point bordering on an arbitrary exaction. Every family, having children or not, must pay a certain annual sum for the support of a public school; every person, whether religious or otherwise, must pay a fixed sum towards the maintenance of a minister of divine worship and all persons must pay a rigid respect, and a decided observance to the moral and religious ordinance of the sabbath. In consequence never was a town more orderly

or quiet. No mobs, no fighting, no racing, no rough and tumbling, or anything to be observed but industry, and persevering application to individual views. The Virginians who at times visit the town, remain for a short period, and return to their own shores astonished at the municipal phenomena they witnessed, and wondering how man could think of imposing on himself such restraints.

Mr. Ashe gives the following description of Wellsburg (then called Charlestown), which he visited before he reached Wheeling:

Charlestown is finely situated on the Virginia side, at the junction of Buffaloe creek and the Ohio. It is a flourishing place, commanding the trade of the surrounding rich settlement; and have many excellent mills, is much resorted to by purchasers of flour. The boats can be purchased at the Pittsburg price, and articles of provision on very reasonble terms.

The town, which contains about one hundred and fifty houses was originally well laid out with the best row facing the river, and the intermediate space answered the purpose of a street explanade and water terrace, giving an air of health and cheerfulness gratifying to the inhabitants, and highly pleasing to those descending the stream. However, owing to the avarice of the proprietor of the terrace, and a disgraceful absence of judgment and taste, he has sold his title to the water side, and the purchasers are now building on it; turning the back of their houses immediately close to the edge of the bank, and excluding all manner of view and communication from the best of the town. This violation of taste, it seems, is not to go unpunished. The bank is undermining fast, and in a very few years, these obtruding edifices must fall unless removed. This vice of building to the high water mark is not peculiar to Charlestown; Philadelphia set the example.

10. Journal (or Diary) of Lewis Summers (1808). Settlements in the Kanawha valley advanced steadily after 1790—and especially after 1800. From 1790 to 1810 a tide of Virginia emigration flowed westward into Kentucky. Many traversed the route via the Kanawha to Scary creek and thence through Teay's valley and via the Kentucky ford across Mud river. Others found homes along the Kanawha. A glimpse of conditions in the wilderness along this route in 1808 [1] may be obtained from the following extracts from a journal or diary written by Lewis Summers on a tour from Alexandria to Gallipolis, Ohio, and up the valley of the Ohio in that year in search of a desirable location for his father, Col. George Summers:

29th Tuesday—June 1808

Got to Callahan's tavern where I staid all night; 10 miles, making 24 miles this day. Callahan's is situated at the forks of the road leading to Tennessee by the way of Fincastle, Knoxville etc., the left [right] to Kentucky by the way of Kanawa.

Here I struck the road opened by the state from the upper navigation of James River to the upper navigation of Kanawa.

Wednesday 29—June 1808

Left Callahan's and crossed the Allegany mountains to the Sulphur Springs, leaving the Sweet Springs 20 miles to the left. The Allegany is by no means as difficult to pass at this place as the Blue Ridge. The springs are 11 miles from Callahan's in Greenbrier County and west of the Allegany. The water is cold, but very strongly impregnated with sulphur. The wooden trough conveying the water from the spring is covered with sulphur deposited from the water. The taste is to me very disagreeable and the scent as strong as the washings from a gun. From these springs I went on 6 miles to Greenbrier river a branch of the Kanawa, about 200 yards wide where I forded, but not deep. Three miles to Lewis Burgh where I fed and rested myself. This is a small little village about as big as Centreville; It is the County Town of Greenbrier. Tavern kept by Tyree; pretty good house. The state road this far pretty good. Stock almost the only trade of this Country. Salt 15s and 18s pr. bushel. After dining and feeding at Lewis Burgh rode 8 miles to Piercy's having travelled 32 miles this day. Great contention as to the route this road shall go. Major Rinnox and Greenbrier Court have ordered the route adopted by the state, to be changed, carrying it 2 miles further, to accommodate the Boyer brothers, and an appeal taken by the opposing party.

[1] Possibly a diary of an earlier trip to the Kanawha may be in existence. In a small pocket diary kept by John D. Sutton, dated at Alexandria, Virginia, in 1796, he speaks of teaching a school in South Carolina, and of coming to Alexandria where his father and brother, James, lived. At his father's request, he made a trip to what is now Braxton county to look at some lands which his father had bought out of the John Allison survey, lying on Granny's creek and the Elk river. He relates that he came by Winchester and Lewisburg, thence to Charleston. At Charleston, he hired a canoe and procured the assistance of a riverman to bring him up the Elk river to the mouth of Big Birch. He then crossed the country to the home of a Mr. Carpenter on Laurel creek.

Thursday 30

Left Piercy's and traveled 34 miles to New River. This is the main branch of Kanawa, about 50 yards wide at the ferry, and 30 feet deep at low water, but is not navigable owing to the many rapids and falls. About 10 miles from Lewis Burgh the route that the upper Kanawa people so long contended for turns off. It goes by the way of Peter's Creek is said to be further, passing over worse ground, and no accommodation to be had, being thirty-five miles of the way without houses, crossing Sewall and Gauley mountains and Gauly river. The road I came is exceedingly mountainous. Sewall mountain 6 miles over, very steep and rocky, but the worst part of the road I have seen are the cliffs at New river. The east cliff a mile descending, and the west 1½ miles ascending. They are too steep and rough to be passed on horseback. I walked nearly all the way over them. This evening saw several turkeys and a large bear.

Friday 1 July

Left New river and travelled over a rough road to Jinkin's mountain which I suppose is a continuation of Gauly. It is rough stony and steep. Hands are at work here and at the cliffs repairing the road under the appropriation of last year. Struck the Kenawa at Hooff's Ferry ½ mile below the falls. Falls 22 feet. This ferry is 17 miles from New river. Travelled 8 miles down the river; but little bottom, and this eight miles as well as the country to near L. B. (Lewisburg) is apparently poor. Nothing but cabins and small patches of corn, the people depending chiefly on hunting. From Morriss' to Jones' 4 miles and 12 from the falls, the bottoms widen,—farms larger and houses out houses orchards and., comfortable. Greenbrier iron 9d, and Ohio iron—; good cotton raised here. Drovers and travellers take nearly all the surplus grain. Wolves and bears destroy the sheep and hogs. On crossing New river. I entered Giles, which is divided from Kanawa by Jenkin's mountain. Travelled 29 miles this day. Corn generally between 6 and seven feet high.

Saturday 2nd July—

Discovered my horse to be foundered. Left Jones' crossing the river and traveling down on the north side to Ruffner's salt works. They are 26 miles below the falls,—six miles above Charlestown (Kanawa C. H.) and 66 from the Point. They are just commencing the manufacture of salt,—have but 64 kettles. The water is obtained from a well, which was sunk near the margin of the river, and the water received into the well through a hole bored in through a rock of near 20 feet thick at the bottom of the well. The covering for the kettles and furnaces are quite temporary, as indeed are all parts of the establishment. The water produces a bushel of salt for every 200 Gal's. The works at Sandy take 240 to the Bushell.

The farms from the works to K. C. H. increase in size as you descend the river, the bottoms growing wider and the hills less steep and high. Mr. Rufner informs me that Dr. Craik's bottom opposite Pokatalico is the finest land he ever saw, the back line including no hills but just running at their foot, the bottom in parts a mile wide, and as level, even and fertile as he ever saw. He thinks this land worth 4$ through, but I find he wishes to purchase. He says no 1,000 acres co'ld be got together worth 7$50, but thinks some of the lots singly worth it. Mr. Donelson the clerk estimates the best of Craik's bottom at 12$

Washington's heirs begin five miles below Elk;—2400 acres 5 or—river—principally bottom—from Coal up four miles—Washington's heirs—Pokatalico down 12 miles, same—6700 acres—bottom narrow for 7 miles—widens at Red house shoals; below this place excellent bottom.

Got to Kenawa C. H. this ev'g. Trav'd 20 miles—horse lame and unable to proceed—drenched him with a pint of salt dissolved in a halfpint whiskey.

Sunday 3rd.

Horse still unable to travel—bathed him with a decoction of smart weed, soft soap and vinegar, and applied the weed to his back.

Monday, 4th July.

Horse still lame and unable to travel; took off a shoe; appears to be gravelled; cleared the wound and filled it with hot tar and nailed leather over it.

This day was celebrated here by the Gentlemen and ladies of the neighbourhood, about 20 of each. The dancing commenced at 12 o'cl'k; dined about 3, and continued dancing etc., until after 12. The ladies were generally hansome; danced with great ease if not with elegance. The Gentl'n friendly in the extreme. The time was spent in the greatest harmony and sociability, no ceremonial rules impending a full enjoym't of the ocasion; each, both male and female vying in producing the greatest quantity of satisfaction. The Gentl'n and their families of most note who attended were Mr. Reynolds and family, Mr. David and Jos. Ruffner and family, Mr. Buster and family, Col. Donalson the Clerk and family, Mr. Sparks and his family; some fine girls from Teaze's Valley. Note: Promised to write to D. Ruffner the acc't of my journey home.

Tuesday, 5th—

Hard rain this morning; ladies detained in town and dancing cont'd until 12 o'cl'k, when rain abated. My horse still very lame, with a bad cough. * * * Mr. Reynolds proposed a swap. Buster and McKee determined the swap should be even. I disagreed, but after trying Reynolds' horse, made the exchange. Got a bay horse fifteen hands 4 inches high, well made before, but bad behind. Extremely well gaited; raised by Chancellor Stewart of Staunton; in high repute in this neighborhood, and assured not to exceed eight years old this spring. The old grey

was so stiffened with riding that I feared from his age, cough and lameness, he would never be well again.

Left Charlestown and got to Blake's in the Military Bottom owned by Fry, Hogg and Savage etc. This land's beginning is 4 miles above the mouth of Coal, and runs down to Pocatoalico. There is a great deal of good bottom, but all the inhabitants are squatters; it contains 21000 acres, and has about 200 cleared.

Wednesday, 6th—

Left Blake's and rode to Carruther's crossing the Kanawa at the mouth of Poky, which is twenty miles from Elk. Carruthers lives in a two story cabin, part of the first story daubed, the upper open. Breakfasted here on onions, milk and butter.

This tract of Doctor Craik's begins at about two miles above the mouth of Poky, and extends down to 25 miles creek binding on the river 16 miles.

The lower bottom on this tract I did not see having crossed the river below the Red House shoals in a canoe, swimming the horses; I am informed it is rather inferior to the upper part, having more breaks in it. There is but one tenant on it, named Honeycut; he has about 8 acres opened. Proceeded to Johnston's in Bronaugh's bottom, accompanied by Caruthers.

Thursday 7th July—

Examined G. W. Craik's land this day in company with Mr. W. Bronaugh and Mr. Caruthers. This land is part of a large tract owned by Mr. Jno. Bronaugh 1200 acres W. B. 1200 Col. Powell 1200 Mrs. Aldrich 1200 and G. W. C. 1200. It begins at Little Buffaloe and runs down to 18 mile creek. Mr. Craig's part from Buffaloe down about 1½ miles is extremely narrow on the bottom, being about 40 poles at the head line, and gradually opening for the above distance at which it is about 100 poles wide.

The ague and fever prevalent here in the fall. I am informed by Mr. Reynolds and others that there is a leading valley from Clarksburgh near the head of Little Kannaway and down Poky, and into the Kentucky road in Teaze's valley. This route I am told is level for this country and has been traveled and is by far the nearest route from that part of the country to Kentucky etc. Charles Town is entirely built of log houses. except one not yet finished; they are in a string along the river bank, a street passing between.

Friday, 8th July.

This morning I was induced to postpone my journey until another day. Mr. Hale and his family having returned from the Point where they had attended a barbecue and dance on the 4th July, who insisted on my spending a day with them and enjoying a Deer drive. Mr. Hale is brother to Mrs. Minor, his first wife sister to John Bronaugh, and his present to William, the Doctor, etc.; she is a fine agreeable woman. I meet here as good society as I co'ld find in Fairfax, tho' the circle is small.

Saturday 9th July

Left Johnston's and proceeded down the river. From 28 Mile creek, on which Mr. A's land binds, I saw scarcely any bottom worth having, until I got near the Point, the river running generally near the hills, and for a considerable part of the way not affording room for a road which now passes over the hills and on the ridges. The lands adjoining the Point are level and fine, but this little town seems to possess neither energy nor exertion.

After feeding my horse I crossed into the Ohio State, and proceeded to Gallipolis, having heard that Mercer was about leaving this place for London; on my arrival found he had started to Chilocothe an hour before, to prosecute some thieves who had lately stolen the horses, and not expected back until Wednesday.

In passing down the Kanawha I missed seeing the celebrated Burning Spring. It was the custom of the early stage drivers to make a stop here that all travelers might have an opportunity to view the then great curiosity. It is 2½ miles above Rufner's salt works, and I did not know I had passed it until I got there; my horse was then too lame to return, and I was disappointed by rains and the ball from visiting it from Charles Town. Mr. Reynolds, Mr. McKee, Mssr Rufners, Dr. Bronaugh etc. That the water is collected from the rains and is contained in a sunken spot, through the bottom of which there are several apertures through which pass continual currents of inflamable gass, which gives the water the appearance of a boiling spring. I am informed by Mr. McKee that about 20 miles up Great Sandy there is a current of this air discharged from the bottom of the river and which he has frequently set on fire.

Salt from the Scioto works all brought by land to this place for $2 per barrell, which is the usual manner of getting it here. The works are 33 miles from this town, being on the road and half way between here and Chilocothe. The licks are owned by Congress and rented out. Turper and Fletcher's salt-works are 4 miles from this place. They have but one furnace in operation, containing about 75 kettles, and make between 60 and 70 bushells of salt per week. The water is about the strength of the Scioto water, taking between 7 and 800 gallons to the bushell. The salt is of the quality of the inferior Scioto salt-water is owned by the Government; any person is permitted to sink a well and erect a furnace, on paying to Government 6 cents per gallon for the aggregate am't of their kettles per annum. There are 16 or 17 furnaces now in operation, generally averaging 65 bushells per week.

Tuesday, 12th July.

Spent this day in writing home, copying plats, etc., and in visiting some French

families: Mr. Le Clere and Mr. Beauro, from whom I learned that in the fall of 1790 (19th Oct.) about 500 French arrived in this place having previously purchased of Col. Duer's agents in France.

Thursday, 14th

In comp'y with Col. Clendenin and Mr. Gray, a Gent. also wishing to purchase lands, devoted the day to the examination of Mercer's bottom.

The Ohio side is pretty well filled with small settlements; bottoms narrow and not yet sold by the Government. At Gallipolis iron 10$ per Hund. 10° nails 16 cts., 8° 10 cts,— goods generally 100 per ct higher than in Baltimore. Castings, iron, stills, millstones, grindstones etc with almost everything useful or ornamental brought down in boats. Yesterday 4 large covered boats passed here. I went on board one loaded with store goods not open for Cincinnati. Two boats were moving families; one with millstones etc. Mr. Herriford came out in 22 days, having b't 52 souls and 3 wagon-loads of furniture, etc. in a boat 24 by 12. He has a good blacksmith, which is a great convenience to the country. He sends to the mills at the falls of Mud, 16 miles; generally sends a canoe and 20 bushells; a good mill on Racoon, and Herriford is about commencing one. Good school at Gallipolis; board of scholars 1$ per week.

Saturday, 16th July

Took leave of Col. C. and other acquaintances at Gallipolis and proceeded to the Point to breakfast with Col. Lewis, who politely rode several miles up the river to put Mr. Gray and myself on the road. Gray is well pleased with Mercer's bottom, and wishes to get a situation at the Point for ship-building, but the whole property of that place has disputes of a serious nature attending the title.

Got to Grayham's Station to dinner, 18 miles from the Point.

Sunday 17th July

After dinner took leave of Mr. Lewis and his family, and rode to Wood Court House, where we staid all night. Saw at this place an old man named Neal, who is from Loudon, who with his son keeps a tavern and store.

Monday, 18—July

Rode to Dr. Joseph Spencer's; he lives on, and owns the farm called Vienna. This tract is equal to any I have seen on this river. It contains 1800 acres. Dr. Spencer offers 1000 acres of this land, which would have about 400 poles front, two good dwelling houses, kitchen, barns, cabins for tenants, etc. orchards, meadows, etc., in high order; price $10 per acre, half down, half 12 months. On this land are not more hills than are necessary to support the farm in timber. The reason it is now offered for sale is to enable the present owner to relieve a deed of trust on it. The Turners and Gills from Fairfax are tenants on this land to Doctor Spencer. The old Mr. Turner shed tears at parting, and walked with me a mile on the road to talk over the situation of all his old acquaintances. After viewing Dr. Spencer's farm and taking breakfast with him proceeded on. His farm is 4 miles from Wood Court House, and 8 from Marietta. Dined at William's tavern. Crossed over and took a view of Marietta and proceeded to Henderson's Quarter, 10 miles from Marietta. This farm contains 2,000 acres, about 200 in corn; expect to make 2000 barrells. They work 30 hands. Stock of hogs, cattle and horses fine.

19th, Tuesday (July)

Rode to Middle Island Creek, 10 miles to breakfast; a rough road and hilly country. Six miles beyond this, passed Chimney bottom, in which I viewed an ancient encampment. The trenches are square and contain ten acres. Got to Mr. Chs. Wells to dinner. He is a very reputable old man, and has often represented this County (Ohio) in former times. Left Wells' and got to Friend Payton's six miles. He is a talkative old substantial farmer, his house, etc., was the dirtiest I had seen in my journey, which surprised me, as he and his family are all quakers.

Wednesday, 20th (July)

Rode to Mr. Dickinson's, 16 miles, to breakfast, crossing Fish Creek; from thence to Baker's to dinner, 10 miles. A fine shower of rain to-day, which impeded our journey. Two miles below Baker's passed the remains of an old block-house, near which a number of graves, affording a romantic appearance, being in the middle of the woods, and the graves neatly paled in I am told they are the graves of the malitia who were posted here, and fell fighting the Indians. Within half a mile of this place lives Michael Cressap. From Baker's rode 6 miles after the rain to Grave Creek, on the upper side of which is a town laid off on Tomlinson's lands called Mount Elizabeth. The houses are few and in a decaying state, except Tomlinson's which is of brick, not yet finished.

Thursday, 21 (July)

Rode 12 miles to Wheeling to breakfast. This town is respectable for its size and business—a small vessel on the stocks, and a number of all kinds of boats ready for purchasers wishing to descend the river. Tavernkeeper's name Knox; a very good house. At Grave Creek, Purdy's the best house. From Wheeling proceeded on to West Liberty, 12 miles passing Major McCulloch's, who was not at home, and the Short Creek meeting-house, which is in an unfurnished state. Detained here two hours by the rain. This is a pleasant little village, formerly the county town of Ohio before Brooke was taken off, since which it is rather on the decline. Here met with Capt. Birch from the city of Washington, on his way through Ohio, Tennisee, etc., looking out a situation to move to. From him I learned of the arrival of the Osage, and the fracas at Geo' Town on the 4th of July. After the rain rode to Mr. Robert Laurason's (a brother-in-law). 3 miles.

22nd, Friday (July)

At Mr. L.'s. His situation is comfortable; his dwelling-house of hewed logs, divided into two rooms. He has a thriving young orchard of both apples and peaches. This neighbourhood is as thickly settled as Fairfax; the inhabitants more on an equality and I think, more general wealth among them, though perhaps not held by individuals in as great a quantity. The Commission to arrange the State road through this County have lately been engaged in examining it. They are considered as unjustifiably partial to the Wheeling route. The ground is said to be worse and the distance further than by Charlestown (Wellsburg) at the mouth of Short Creek. On the Wheeling route they are said to have spent nearly all their time meandering hills and exerting themselves to find a plausible pretext for reporting in its favor and when on either of the other routes, have manifested such total indifference as to discover their prejudice ag't them; and great interest is making by McKinley and others with the President to counteract the effect of the report they make. Most of the Commissioners are s'd to have friends and relations on the Wheeling route.

Saturday, Sunday and Monday—

Weather rainy, and chiefly employed in tending to my horse.

Sunday 31st, July—

Rode Mr. Laurason's mare to Short Creek where Bishop Asbury preached and consecrated the new meeting-house; he roundly charged the members with too great a love of their worldly goods, and a want of zeal in not finishing the meeting-house; all of them, he observed could buy lands, horses, fine clothes etc. but truly they were too poor to finish the meeting-house; that the difficulty of a rich man's getting to Heaven he feared would be exemplified with many of them. * * *

Wednesday, Aug. 10, rode my horse for the first time, to Liberty; his back very tender but did not suffer by the ride. I was politely treated by Mr. Ridgeley and his family, with whom I dined. I accidentally met here with Alex. McConnell, who owed me about $70.00; he assured me he had paid it to the Sheriff of Frederick County, who has execution against him for it, and was to bring me the receipt to Liberty on Saturday. This he neglected to do, stating that they were mislaid, and I took his affidavit of the payment, to call on the Sheriff on my return.

In this place there is a wool-carding machine owned and operated by two men by name of Gamble. They are Scotchmen. The machine is more complete than I supposed; it cost $500, and is worked by one horse. It cards between 40 and 50 weight pound day and for which the owners receive 10 cts. per pound; he has as much as he can well do, and is about setting up a machine for spinning hemp and making of bagging. Goods sell very high through this country, but their price is not felt, the merchants taking produce, which he sends down the river and converts into remittances. Salt $3.00 per bushell, coffee 40 cts. The merchants give 2s for good towelling in other goods, and it is the usual way of procuring all the dresses the girls wear.

While at Liberty I attended the debating society of which Capt. Jno. Morgan is a member; the Capt. appears to be a very friendly good man, but no Orator. The question debated was whether or not a man was in justice entitled to vote in proportion to his property. Atended at Liberty the Presbyterian meeting; this society is the most respectable of any in the neighborhood. They are nearly all republicans. McKinley is an Elder of the Church; rather reserved and austere man in his manners. He was much pressed to oppose Dodridge, and would probably have kept him out of the senate.

22d. Left Robert's, passing through Taylor (Penn.), where I saw Jno. McClellan, who has a small stock of dry goods at this place (11) miles on to Washington 20 miles, 9 from Taylor Town. This is the County town of Washington County; a small town with considerable appearance of business. Got to Hawkins' tavern 1st night, 33 miles; and day got to Brownsville to breakfast, 12 miles. This place with Bridteport form a pretty little town; it is 33 miles by land and 50 by water to Pittsburgh, and 19 by land from Geneva.

CHAPTER XI

EXPANSION AND DISPERSION OF SETTLEMENTS

The hardy and rugged pioneer settlers, after conquering the Indians, turned to the conquest of primeval wilds which the Indians had sought to retain unconquered. With no appreciation of the wealth of the depths of the primeval forests they gradually extended the area of cleared bottom lands by the steady and laborious work accomplished by axe and fire. The finest timber was burned or used for fence rails. Gradually, with the introduction of a few rude saw mills, a small portion of it found a more appropriate use in the few plank houses which began to replace the more primitive log cabins.

In the eastern panhandle, by 1800, many homes of thrift and industry bore evidence of their establishment in an older community.

Shepherdstown, which, during the Revolution, became a busy center of traffic and travel and of domestic manufacture, and after the Revolution had large aspirations expressed in the steamboat experiments of Rumsey [1] and a bid to secure the location of the national capital retained its local importance in the county for many years.[2] Its later decline was attributed to the construction of the Baltimore and Ohio Railway. In 1860 it lost its best factory and the population was 400 less than in 1850. At Harpers Ferry, by an act of Congress of 1794, a national arsenal and gun factory was erected in 1799.

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[1] It appears that James Rumsey was employed in September, 1781, by the Potomac Company (of which Washington was a member) to improve the navigation of the Potomac. In the summer of the year 1783, he directed his attention to the subject of steamboats; and in the autumn of 1784 succeeded in a private, but very imperfect, experiment on the Potomac at Shepherdstown in order to test some of the principles of his invention. In October, 1784, he obtained from the Virginia Assembly an act guaranteeing to him the exclusive use of his invention in navigating the waters of that state for ten years. In January, 1785, he obtained a similar patent from the general assembly of Maryland. Finally, in 1786, at Shepherdstown he gave a public trial of his boat succeeding in propelling it by steam against the current at the rate of about four miles per hour.

[2] By 1800 Shepherdstown had become quite an active business center. By its doors passed "commodities such as flour, cattle, grain, horses, sheep and turkeys" enroute from the great southwest to the eastern cities and especially to Baltimore. Almost the whole population of the town were interested in keeping boarders or in managing wagon yards and warehouses to accommodate the traffic. The ferry was kept busy with the wagon traffic. Rafts or flatboats propelled by man power carried much produce from Shepherdstown down the Potomac river to Washington or Alexandria. In the early part of the nineteenth century one could purchase there anything from a silver spoon to a church steeple. There were blacksmiths and whitesmiths, hatters, clothiers, harness and wagon makers, fullers, dyers, and weavers. Almost every other guild and trade was represented in the village, which was now approaching the period of its greatest prosperity. A constant stream of coaches, Conestoga wagons, herds of sheep, cattle, horses and hogs, besides horsemen and foot passengers, passed daily through the town. No wonder there are so many old tavern stands in the village, for it was on the main route between south and west. Old residents of Shepherdstown have stated that their fathers remembered the time when long line of vehicles extended from the river as far out as what is now Elmwood cemetery, waiting to be ferried across the Potomac.

A long ordinance made by the Trustees to regulate the market of Shepherds Town is printed in the issue Berkeley and Jefferson Intelligencer of June 25, 1802: "Be it enacted and ordained by the President and Trustees of said town" * * * "No person shall sell or cause to be sold victuals or provisions at any other place but at the market-house there-in, will be under the penalty of five dollars for every such offence, and if any servant or slave shall sell or offer for sale, any victuals or provisions contrary to the meaning of this act, he or she shall receive ten lashes on his or her bare back for every such offence" Wednesdays and Saturdays were market days. The hours for the market shall be established "from 4 o'clock until 8 o'clock, A. M. from the first part of April to the first of October, and from 4 o'clock to 9 o'clock A. M., from the first of October, to the first of April."

Better communications for the South Branch region were not long delayed. As early as 1790 there were eight ferries in Hampshire county. In 1801 plans were begun for the construction of a road from Romney through Berkeley county to Washington, D. C. In 1802 commissioners were designated to meet at the mouth of New creek to begin the marking of a new road from the Maryland road near Gwynn's Tavern through Hampshire and Berkeley counties to Key's Ferry on the Shenandoah.

From Moorefield and lower points of the fertile valley of the South Branch, flatboats floated down to tidewater on the Potomac with flour and with iron from Hampshire, beginning at an early period and continuing until about 1830. The principal markets for the flour were Washington and Alexandria.

Among the early iron industries in Hampshire was the Hampshire Furnace Company, whose plant was built and operated by Edward McCarty, on Middle ridge, twelve miles south of Romney. The forge for the furnace was near Keyser. An extensive business was carried on by this company, as shown by the many ponderous account books of 1816-18 now in possession of the clerk of the courts at Romney. The Bloomery Furnaces, ruins of which are still to be seen, were built and operated by a Mr. Priestly, and were being run in 1833. Large quantities of iron were made and shipped over the Capon river on rafts and flatboats, S. A. Pancoast purchased these furnaces in 1846, and after his death they continued in other hands until 1875.

In 1800, Robert Sherrard built at Bloomery a large stone mill and also a woolen mill. William Fox built a merchant mill in Fox's Hollow in 1818, and shipped flour by boat to Georgetown. Hammock's Mills, flour and woolen, was another very early plant. Also the Painter Mill was a pioneer establishment on North river about a century ago. Colonel Fox established a tannery in 1816 in Fox's Hollow, which was operated until the civil war. Another tanyard was on Dillon's run, and Samuel Gard had another extensive tannery at Capon Bridge prior to 1820. New methods came in and the leather trade in this state had to succumb to the advance of this industry and improved machinery. Distilleries were located at many points in the county.

Farther up the South Branch, Franklin (earlier Frankford), the first county seat of Pendleton (formed 1788), incorporated in 1794, grew slowly but steadily. By 1834 it had two stores, two tanyards, three saddlers, two blacksmith shops, a furniture shop, three shoemakers, one tailor, two lawyers and one physician. It also had a school and a temperance society.

The first stage line in Hampshire was established between Winchester and Cumberland in 1830. The pike from Green Spring to Moorefield was built by a stock company about 1850, the state taking two-fifths of the stock. Stages from Romney to the Ohio reached Clarksburg in one day and Parkersburg in two.

Martinsburg (the county seat of Morgan, which was formed from Hampshire and Berkeley in 1820), received new life and fresh impetus in 1835 from the large camp of the surveying corps which was locating the route of the Baltimore and Ohio railway, and later (1841) from the stores of railway contractors and the trade of the Irish and Germans who graded and bridged the road. In 1842 the track layers passed through the town, followed by a pioneer steam engine whose first piercing whistle completely disorganized the local militia. In 1849 the town became a first class railway station with engine house and machine shops under construction. In 1854 it became the terminus of a turnpike from Winchester. In 1856 it was incorporated and had hope of becoming the terminus of the Cumberland Valley railroad connecting with Chambersburg. In 1859 it had a population of 3,000.

Throughout the region along the Potomac the Chesapeake and Ohio canal exerted a great influence. In 1838 the rioting laborers on the canal quit work and marched from Hancock toward Old Town terrorizing the inhabitants of West Virginia who took measures for defense by a request upon the governor for arms which were promptly furnished. By June 13, 1850, the canal was completed, the head of navigation at Cumberland. Although navigation on the canal was suspended during the winter, causing much produce to accumulate at Williamsport, business was brisk at other seasons. Within the week

before April 22, 1854, sixty-three boats (6,660 tons) left Cumberland for Alexandria.

Piedmont was laid out by the New Creek company and incorporated in 1856. Its earliest basis and stimulus was the Baltimore and Ohio railway which reached the site of the future town in 1851. Its earlier growth was largely due to Henry G. Davis who, on assuming the duties of station agent of the railway at that point in 1854 and by his keen foresight in grasping its industrial and commercial advantages, established his brothers in the coal and lumber business and four years later (1858), on resigning his position with the railroad, became the head of the firm and organized the Piedmont Savings Bank of which he became president.

The site of Keyser at New creek was merely developed as a farm before the war in which it became a strategic position. The town, es-

THE ANCIENT HOME OF THE BURRS (IN JEFFERSON COUNTY)

Located one-half mile west of Shenandoah Junction and about seventy yards south of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad stands the ancient home of the Burrs. In 1751 Peter Burr, migrating from Fairfield, Connecticut, bought four hundred acres of land from Lord Fairfax and built this home along the old Warm Spring Road. The house is a frame structure weather boarded with boards rived out of oak logs. The great chimney in the center is built of bricks said to have been imported from England. The house has been almost continuously occupied up until the present time, and the only repairs that have been necessary has been a new roof from time to time. At present it is owned by the heirs of the late J. D. McGarry. The stone building to the right was built about 1800.

tablished after the war, largely through the energy of Henry G. Davis, received its larger stimulus to growth through its selection as the county seat of Mineral county which was formed from Hampshire county in 1866.

MIDDLE NEW RIVER AND GREENBRIER

In the Middle New river region, beginning with the formation of Monroe county in 1799 and the establishment of a post office at Union in 1800, there was a slow but steady development of industry and the evidence of civilization. Beginning about 1832 an impetus to trade and travel was given by the incorporation and construction of turnpikes such as (1) the Price Mountain and Cumberland Gap, (2) the Wayne, Raleigh and Grayson, and (3) the Giles, Fayette and Kanawha.

In 1837, Mercer county was formed in response to a petition of the

people living along the Flat Top mountain, the Bluestone, and the upper waters of Brush creek, who complained of the inconvenience of the long journey to their old county seat. The first court house was built in 1839. In 1843 there were in the county only two voting places—Princeton and Pipestem.

Along the lower Greenbrier development was more rapid. This development was influenced by location as well as by the character of the people and the character of the soil. Agricultural advance gave early prosperity. Lewisburg, at which the oldest church organization (Presbyterian) on western waters was formed in 1783 and the first church was erected in 1795, became prominent as an early center of culture and refinement.

Preparation of greater development farther west was made about 1790 by widening the old trail westward from Fort Union and later by construction of the "old state road" which left the old trail several miles west of Lewisburg, crossed through Little Meadows, passed over Sewell mountain, crossed the New river at Bowyer's ferry and thence, after passing through "Vandalia" (now Fayetteville) to Montgomery's ferry (Kanawha Falls), continued to follow the south side of the river.

On the upper Greenbrier, settlement developed more slowly. Huntersville, the first county seat of Pocahontas (formed 1821) was laid out in 1821 at the terminus of an early road leading from Warm Springs and on the site of John Bradshaw's pioneer cabin which once served as headquarters for the pioneer hunters.

A location near George Baxter's present residence, in the vicinity of what is now Edray, had been selected by a committee and favorably reported as the place for the permanent location of the County Seat. Inducements by John Bradshaw were so enticing and favorable, and the people at the head of Greenbrier so anxious on the subject, that Huntersville prevailed, and the report of the committee on location was overruled.

For a number of years previous to the organization of the county, in 1821, Huntersville had been a public place for trade. The merchants and tradesmen from the east arranged to meet the hunters here and to barter goods for the proceeds of the chase. Smithville was suggested to be an appropriate name for the county seat, but the present name Huntersville, however, was strenuously insisted upon by John Bradshaw and his friends, as a special compliment to the hunters that swarmed there during the trading season.

It was no uncommon thing for Huntersville merchants to realize three or four hundred per cent on dry goods, and not much less on groceries, during the period from 1822 to 1845. After the Huntersville and Warm Springs turnpike was made, and the Parkersburg road penetrated upper Pocahontas, stores of importance were opened at Greenbank and Millpoint and in rapid succession at other points. Most of the business part of Huntersville was destroyed by fire in 1852.

About 1836 there was an awakening in favor of better roads to and from Pendleton county. The Warm Springs and Huntersville Turnpike was projected, and completed about 1838, with Henry Harper and Wm. Gibson, a Huntersville merchant, contractors. It was a grand highway for that period, and awakened the pride of the community. Every stream was bridged from Huntersville to the Warm Springs.

The Staunton and Parkersburg Pike was made two or three years later. It was located by the celebrated Crozet, one of the great Napoleon's loyal engineers. About 1854 the Huttonsville and Marlinton Turnpike was located by Engineer Haymond. In the same year he engineered the Lewisburg and Marlinton Turnpike, and the Greenbrier Bridge at Marlinton. Colonel William Hamilton, of Randolph County, contracted for the road work from Huttonsville to Marlin's Bottom. Lemuel Chenoweth from Beverly, built the bridge in 1854-56. Captain William Cochran superintended the Lewisburg Road, and all of these enterprises were completed by 1856.

From the Greenbrier the development of settlements advanced westward both down the Kanawha and into the region which was formed into the new county of Nicholas in 1818 (from Kanawha, Greenbrier and Randolph). On upper Elk at a few isolated interior clearings, new centers established a basis for the organization of Braxton county which was formed from Lewis, Kanawha and Nicholas in 1836. At Bulltown, the residence of a small tribe of Indians about 1780, salt was made as early as 1795. The earliest village by act of 1836 was established as the town of Suttonsville which in 1837 was changed to Sutton. Before 1836 it had scarcely a dozen inhabitants but was known by its post office name, Newville.

Old Suspension Bridge, Morgantown, Erected 1852

The Monongahela Valley

In the earlier development of the large region of Virginia territory embraced in the drainage system of the Monongahela, the chief centers were Morgantown and Clarksburg. In 1776 this extent of territory was practically all included in Monongalia county which was divided in 1784 by the creation of Harrison and later by the formation of Preston (1818) and of Marion (1842) and which later furnished part of the territory for the creation of Taylor (1844). From the original territory of the Harrison of 1784 has been created Randolph (1787), Lewis (1816), Barbour (1843 from Harrison, Lewis and Randolph), Taylor (1844 from Harrison, Barbour and Marion), Upshur (1851 from Randolph, Barbour and Lewis) and Tucker (1856 from Randolph)—and small portions of its territory contributed to the creation of several other counties which do not belong to the topographical region drained by the Monongahela.

The industrial development [3] of Morgantown may be presented as a fitting introduction to that of the surrounding region.

Starting with perhaps no more than four log houses, a frame court house and jail, and a store and a grist mill on Decker's creek beyond the borough boundary, it grew little before 1791. In 1793 it became the terminus of a post route from Pittsburgh established under the Pittsburgh Gazette management, which distributed its papers by private post riders both before and after the United States mails reached Pittsburgh in 1788. A post office was established in 1794 and a post route was designated from Hagerstown via Hancock and Cumberland to Morgantown, thence to Uniontown and Brownsville. Later the route was opened from Morgantown via Mt. Morris and Waynesburg to Wheeling. Ordinaries were licensed in 1796. Henry Dering, who came from Lancaster, Pennsylvania via Hagerstown, opened a hotel before 1800; and John Shisler, who came from Winchester, Virginia, in 1796, began to manufacture wagons by 1802. The first newspaper was established in 1803. Buggy, carriage and furniture manufacturing works were established in the decade after 1840. Tanbark was used in the local tanneries.

The town improved more rapidly from 1815 to 1830, largely influenced by growing trade with the region now included in Preston, Marion, Barbour and Taylor counties from which the people came to buy salt, iron and groceries. The first steam boat arrived from Pittsburgh in 1826. In the decade after 1840 the town felt a decline of trade resulting especially from the construction of the Northwestern Turnpike in 1838, and the formation of Marion county in 1842—and, after the opening of the Baltimore and Ohio mail line in 1853, it lost the great interior wagon trade and could thereafter depend only on the local county trade until it could secure slack water navigation or railway connection. Although the streets seemed deserted in comparison with their busy aspect of the thirties, closer touch was felt with the larger world by the establishment of a daily mail by 1854. Trade with the western end of the county was encouraged by the construction of a suspension bridge in 1854 by a company which had been organized four years earlier. Before 1853 Pittsburgh was the main point for exchange of state bank paper, and in the absence of safe mails, payments were conveyed to eastern cities by private messengers. After 1853 money was sent by express from Fairmont until 1875 when a nearer express office was established at Fairchance. The population in 1865 was only

[3] The civic development is also interesting. In 1810 the first necessary step toward self-government was taken by making the trustees elective by the freeholders, and in 1816 they were given power to levy taxes. By the new charter of 1838 a government under seven trustees of more extended powers was inaugurated resulting in an increasing number of ordinances—some of which, necessitating a serious break with long-established customs, met with fierce opposition. The latter are illustrated by the "hog ordinance" which after a varied career as one of the chief municipal problems was finally settled by the referendum in the election of 1852, by which the hogs lost by 25 votes. An amended charter by legislative act of March 20, 1860, provided for election of a mayor, a sergeant, five councilmen and a recorder. The borough records are complete from 1838 to 1860.

648. No one in the county carried either fire insurance or life insurance before 1860. Telegraph connection was not opened until 1866, when the Atlantic and Pacific Company built a line from Pittsburgh to Fairmont, aided by local men who subscribed for stock in the corporation.

Probably the first road in Monongalia followed Decker's creek from Morgantown to Rock Forge, thence over the general route of the later Kingwood pike and across Cheat at Dunkard Bottom to the site of Westernport, Maryland, and to Winchester. It was probably cleared, as a pack-horse road between 1772 and 1776, and was later known as the State road or old Winchester road. Over it the early settlers brought salt and iron from Winchester (before the local iron works and Conemaugh salt), and after the Revolution it became an emigrant road to the West. Even as early as 1772 Michael Kern kept a boat yard at the mouth of Decker's creek for the accommodation of westward emigrants who followed this road to Morgantown—from which they continued their journey to Kentucky by the Monongahela and the Ohio. In 1784 the importance of trade with the Ohio, and of political connections between East and West, induced Washington to urge connection from the Potomac by a canal via Cheat to the nearest navigable point on the Monongahela. In 1791 the state road from Winchester was extended to the mouth of Fishing creek (now New Martinsville) and soon became a wagon road from the mouth of Savage river (Westernport) to Morgantown. In 1812 the Monongalia Glades road was opened to Clarksburg via Smithton.

The first ferry established by law was located across Cheat at Andrew Ice's in 1785, others were established across the Monongahela in 1791 and 1792, and others across Cheat in 1792 and 1805. After January, 1807, ferries were authorized by the county courts instead of by the general assembly.

In the earlier decades after the Revolution, population and development in Monongalia county increased rapidly in spite of the tide of immigration to Kentucky and Ohio. The population of 4,000 in 1790 was more than doubled in a decade. In 1794 the people resisted the attempts to involve them in the Whiskey Insurrection. After the military advance into western Pennsylvania, it appears that part of the Virginia division commanded by Governor Henry Lee returned via Morgantown, Winchester and Frankfort.

By 1810 the population had increased to 12,783 and the iron works on Cheat and on Decker's creek furnished a basis for prospective increase of material development restricted only by problems of transportation.

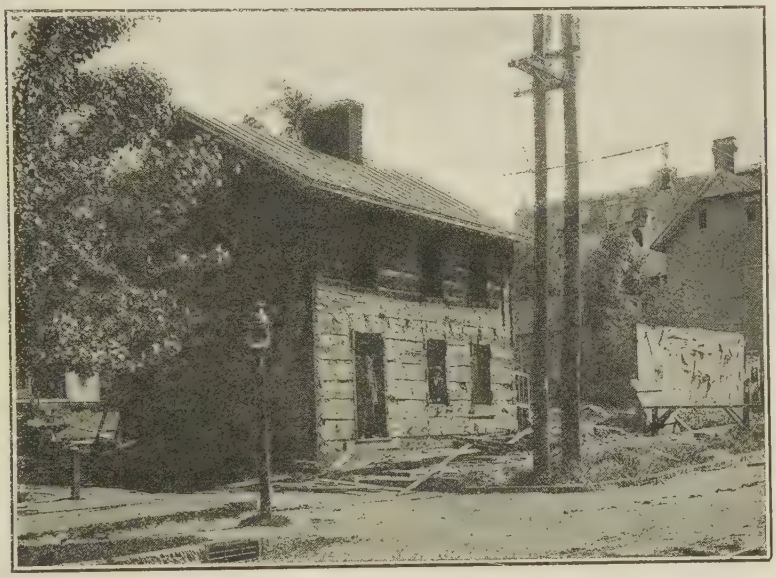
To encourage settlements, to meet the demand for connecting the interests of East and West, and for securing more direct commercial intercourse with the Ohio from which such commodities as salt could be obtained far more conveniently than by the overland route from Winchester or the water route from Pittsburgh, in 1812, the legislature authorized the opening of a road from the Monongalia Glades (now in Preston county) via the mouth of Buffalo to the present site of New Martinsville which was to connect on the opposite bank of the Ohio with a road from Zanesville. The road, however, did not meet the expectations of its projectors, and in January, 1817, new efforts for better communications resulted in the incorporation of the Monongahela Navigation Company to secure better facilities in river transportation, but all efforts of the next few years to secure slack water navigation failed.

The census of 1820 showed a decrease of 2,000 in the population—a decrease only partially explained by the creation of Preston county with a population of 3,000 in 1818. In 1823, all efforts to secure slack-water navigation having failed, attention was directed toward the question of canal communication between eastern and western waters. Three years later (on April 29), the first steamboat reached Morgantown, and by 1830 their continued arrival from Pittsburg, causing a shifting of the old head-of-navigation dispute between Wheeling and Pittsburgh,

stimulated public demand for improvement of the Monongahela which was presented to Congress by Mr. Doddridge.

In 1830 the census showed an increase of 3,000 white population since 1820. Morgantown became an educational center by the incorporation of Monongalia Academy in 1829 and the establishment of a female academy in 1832. Development in the western end of the county resulted in the establishment of Blacksville as a town; and growth of settlements further up the river, together with the demand for easier access to the county seat, resulted in petitions for the creation of Marion county, which was accomplished in 1842.

In the decade from 1830 to 1840 the question of roads was still prominent. Earlier efforts were directed toward securing the survey of a road over the nearest and best route from a point on the Ohio between the mouth of Fishing creek and Marietta via Morgantown to the national road at or near the Youghiogheny bridge, and the establish-



Old Watts House, Morgantown (Built About 1800)

ment of a mail route with semi-weekly stages from Uniontown via Morgantown and Clarksburg to Parkersburg. The first enterprise was opposed in 1830 by Kingwood which seemed disposed to enlist Winchester, Romney, Westernport and Pruntytown against the establishment of the proposed new route.

The efforts of Monongalia to secure better means of communication were stimulated by neighboring improvements. In 1831 stages began to carry great western mail from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh in three days. Pennsylvania by her canal, and Maryland by her railroad, were struggling for the western trade. It was evident that the completion of the canal would soon reduce freights and no one yet knew at what point on the Ohio between Pittsburgh and the Kanawha the Baltimore and Ohio would terminate, but it seemed certain that either the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad or the Chesapeake and Ohio canal would reach Cumberland which would thus become a deposit for western products. Therefore it was urged that Morgantown should push the opening of the road from the mouth of Fishing creek to Smithfield in the direction of Cumberland (via Monongalia county), and urge the opening of the navigation of the Monongahela, and secure the establishment of a bank. In 1836 the Brandonville and Fishing Creek Turnpike was begun. Early in 1833 a line of four-horse stages was started between Morgantown and Uniontown by Colonel Johnson and a year later a tri-weekly mail in two

horse stages was established between Uniontown and Clarksburg via Morgantown. The Morgantown and Clarksburg (and Ice's Ferry) Turnpike was completed in 1840 via Smithton, and the Brandonville and Fishing Creek Turnpike to Ice's Ferry and thence to the Pennsylvania line.

In 1840 the location and construction of turnpikes and bridges were the chief subjects of local interest. The establishment of Ellicott's rolling mill at Ice's Ferry on Cheat (1840) furnished a new impetus to secure better roads and also to obtain slack-water navigation, first on the Monongahela and later on Cheat (1847). The Dunkard Creek Turnpike projected in 1839 was revived in 1847 and located to Blacksville from whence it was later extended to Burton on the Baltimore and Ohio. The Morgantown and Bridgeport Turnpike was authorized by act of 1849. The Kingwood, Morgantown and West Union (Aurora) Turnpike, incorporated in 1848, was completed in 1851 partly on the location of the Morgantown and Clarksburg Turnpike. The Pennsylvania, Beverly and Morgantown Turnpike, incorporated in 1837 was revived in 1853 and constructed via Evansville. From Morgantown to Evansville, it was usually called the Evansville pike. The Masontown and Independence Turnpike, incorporated in 1856, was built from a point on the road one mile west of Ice's Ferry.

Among the various industries of the county besides agriculture, for a half century after 1800, were the manufacture of iron (one of the earliest), the preparation of country millstones, the operation of carding and fulling mills, the manufacture of paper (begun 1839), the manufacture of pottery (which became important by 1830), carriage making (which became prominent after 1851), the operation of foundries, and the manufacture of furniture. As early as 1839 a rag paper mill was in operation in Morgantown.

By 1845 Morgantown contained about 150 dwellings, several stores and mills, two printing offices, two churches and an academy.

The iron works on Cheat near Ice's Ferry were industrially important, furnishing employment for over 1,200 persons. The manufactured products beyond the needs of the neighboring territory centering in the Morgantown market were sent on flatboats to Pittsburgh. A gradual decline in the industry, beginning after 1846 and causing the failure of the Ellicotts in 1848 or in 1849, resulted in its termination in 1868.

The first iron manufactured west of the Alleghanies was turned out in 1789 at old Alliance Forge, in Pennsylvania, not fifty miles from Morgantown. The following year the fires of Springfield Furnace were lighted just beyond the county line. The burnt records of 1796 carried in their ashes all records of the first iron furnaces in Monongalia county. The Decker Creek Iron Works, sometimes known as the "Rock Forge", were standing in 1798, and were probably in operation as late as 1815. The earliest official record of a furnace in the county was 1798, mentioned in a deed connected with the old Jackson Iron Works. At the location of the latter, Samuel Jackson, of Fayette county, Pennsylvania, about 1800, built a log dam and a mill and before 1809 also erected an iron furnace and made nails by hand process. Other early neighboring furnaces were the Henry Clay, and Pleasant Furnace. The Henry Clay was run by steam power on Quarry run, four miles from Ice's ferry, and was built by Leonard Lamb in 1834. Here four tons were produced in twenty-four hours. The Anna Furnace, at Ice's ferry was built by the Ellicotts about 1847. It first used charcoal and later coke. The Cheat Iron Works had a series of furnaces about six miles above the mouth of Cheat. They were built in 1846, by William Salyards. The Hawthorne Nail Works, owned by Robert and Alexander Hawthorne, were erected soon after the arrival of the owners in 1790. They were located four miles south of Morgantown, on Aaron's creek. They were in operation for many years.

A powder mill was built on Quarry run before 1800. It is related that one Smith drove a nail into the building one day, and that the spark that came as a result blew up the mill and killed Smith. In a very early day, the cutting of mill-stones was a large business. About 1840, Joshua Swindler had a boat load shipped to Cincinnati, and from there they found their way to many far western mill sites, even going beyond the Mississippi river.

In 1839 the Live Oak Paper Mills were established by John Rogers,

on Decker's creek. This plant was a four-story stone structure, costing $6,000. Pottery was made in large amounts very early. Among the early successful operators was a man named Foulk. Carriage-making early engaged the attention of a number of firms. John Shisler commenced in 1802 to build a good grade of carriage, and others were added. John Stealey made stoves prior to 1825 at Rock Forge, but the first stove foundry proper was erected in 1838 at Morgantown by Joel Nuzum and the Doughertys.

East of Morgantown, at the union of the Morgantown and Clarksburg branches of the state road leading to Winchester in 1800 was a wooded site well known as a camping place on the route so much used by early settlers of Kentucky who reached the Ohio at the fort opposite Marietta. The cluster of houses built there in 1807 was named Kingwood which was established as a town in 1811. The perceptible progress of settlement around the town after 1813, and other changes of conditions resulted in the formation of Preston county in 1818 without objection of Monongahela. Kingwood, the oldest town, became the county seat.

The panther was retreating before the advance of the settler, although the wolf and the bear were still numerous beyond the margin of the settlements. Cattle raising which had begun as a business to meet the demands of the eastern market, and was encouraged by the completion of the National road between Cumberland and Wheeling in 1818, brought money into the community and stimulated new efforts toward new improvements—such as the water mills, the introduction of frame and stone buildings, and the beginning of mercantile business in the small village store. The frequent passage of immigrant teams on their way to Ohio indicated further improvement in the roads, and increasing travel stimulated new enterprises.

By 1845 Kingwood had about thirty dwellings and several stores and the chief staple of the county was Indian corn. Considerable sugar and tobacco was also raised. In 1850 one of the first prominent woolen factories in Preston was established at Bruceton (originally called Morton's Mills). In 1840 the legislature incorporated the Preston Railroad, Lumber and Mining Company, organized to operate in the lumber and mining business on Cheat. In 1850 it incorporated the Greenville Furnace company which transported its product by water from Cheat to Pittsburgh and Cincinnati.

For the earliest settlers of the region centering around the mouth of Tygart's Valley river Morgantown and Clarksburg were marketing centers, but with the increase of improvements and the erection of mills along the streams nearer stores were established, and later monthly communication with the outside world was secured by a regular mail route.

In 1819, Middletown (now Fairmont) was legally established and regularly plotted in a laurel thicket on the farm of Boaz Fleming—the roughest and poorest land in the vicinity. Its earliest development was partly determined by the need of a midway stopping-place for travelers between Morgantown and Clarksburg.[4] Its later growth was due to the establishment of various industries in the vicinity—such as the fulling and carding mills of Barnes and Haymond which began operations in 1831.

In 1837 Rivesville was laid out upon the land of Elisha Snodgrass. In 1838, across the river from Middletown, was established Palatine at which the Marion machine works manufactured McCormick reapers a decade before the civil war.[5] In 1839 a town was plotted adjacent to the Boothsville postoffice which had been established in 1833 at Robert Reed's tavern near the forks of Booth's creek. The first news-

[4] The first hotel built in Fairmont was owned by Frederick Ice, and was located near the site of the Watson Hotel. It accommodated travelers between Clarksburg and Morgantown after Middletown became a regular stopping place.

[5] The Marion Machine Works were built on what is now Water Street, on the east side of the river, by E. N. Hazen, who manufactured hardware. James Miller opened a cooper shop in 1837, the first of its kind to be established in this section.

paper of the county was established at Fairmont about 1840. Some of the smaller towns of the county are older than the county, but the larger number were established after the arrival of the railroad.

The attempt to secure the formation of a separate county in 1842, twenty-three years after the plan had first been proposed to the legislature, was successful in spite of considerable opposition in the legislature both from the delegates of Monongalia and those of Harrison. By 1845 Fairmont, the county seat, had seventy dwellings and five stores; and Palatine across the river had twenty-five dwellings and two stores. In the vicinity were located several flouring mills and other mills.

In 1851 the largest and best hotel at Fairmont was owned by John Kearsley, who had remodeled the building known as the Marion House, formerly occupied by George Erwin. Thomas Poulton kept the Virginia Hotel and stagecoach office, at the corner of Adams, or Main, and Jefferson Streets. From this hotel a line of two-horse coaches left daily for Morgantown at 1 P. M., connecting there with a daily coach for Uniontown, thence eastward to Cumberland, or westward to Brownsville and Wheeling by coaches on the National Road. Returning, the coach left Morgantown at 6 A. M., arriving in Fairmont at noon.

The building of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad gave the first impetus to the coal industry in Marion County, although at first wood was chiefly used for firing the engines. In 1852 the O'Donnel mine was opened for commercial purposes. The ruins of this mine, which was located on Palatine Knob facing the Monongahela River, may still be seen. Its first output was shipped to Baltimore over the new railroad in 1853. Other early mines were those of the Pierponts and the Watsons, located in what is now Washington Street, Fairmont, the construction of which followed closely the opening of the O'Donnel mine. These were the small beginnings of the great industry that has made Marion County fourth in the production of coal in West Virginia.

Early improvements developed more rapidly around the center at Clarksburg on the West Fork. In December, 1784, the Harrison county court ordered a bridle road opened from Clarksburg to Wickwire's Ford (below Fetterman) on Tygart's river. By 1790 commissioners were ordered to mark a road from the state road by Neal's station on the Little Kanawha to the Harrison and Kanawha county line—partly to meet the needs of travelers from Kentucky who left their canoes at "Belveal" and crossed by land from Neal's station, near the mouth of the Little Kanawha, to Clarksburg (often under direction of a pilot to keep them from losing their way). This connection with the Ohio, and another at Isaac Williams' opposite Marietta were made by William Haymond, Sr., and others between 1788 and 1790. In 1790 or 1791 cattle were collected at Clarksburg to drive through to the new Marietta settlement. In 1791 or 1792 beaver skins, buffalo skins and bear skins and meat were carried by canoe down the Little Kanawha and up the Ohio from Neal's station to Marietta.

In 1793 Clarksburg was the seat of an academy and by 1797 it contained about forty dwellings. By 1798 it had a post office. In the early days it was on a mail route between Gandy's (of Preston county) and Chillicothe via Salem, Webster, Marietta, Athens and Hewitts. By 1804 it had a wagon shop. At a very early date, too, it had a boat yard for the manufacture of large flat boats which before the era of railroads were built at several points along West Fork and floated to Pittsburgh loaded with old iron, whiskey, grain, flour, lumber and country produce. In 1815 its first newspaper appeared. By 1818 its connections with a larger surrounding region were improved by the opening of new roads such as the road to Point Pleasant via the Elk river, and Booth's Ferry and Ohio turnpike from Philippi via Clarksburg and Middlebourne to Sistersville. Its larger trade was always with the East, but by 1819 is received supplies of Bulltown salt and perhaps also supplies of Kanawha salt which by this time found a market at Salem and other points northward. Although its citizens were of old Virginia descendants, its eastern trading and commercial relations were always with Baltimore which was more conveniently accessible than Richmond. By 1820 its most natural markets were either eastward across the mountains to Atlantic cities (250 or 350 miles distant) or down the Monongahela to the towns of the

Ohio and the Mississippi. The transportation of breadstuffs in either direction was too expensive to yield a profit. Therefore the surplus grain was fed to the horses, cattle or hogs which could transport themselves "on the hoof" to the eastern markets. By some labor the products of the forest—logs, boats, plank and staves—were a fruitful source of wealth if the uncertainties and irregularities of navigation had not prevented them from reaching the market in time to meet the demand. The central position of the town making it a suitable place to collect articles for transportation to Brownsville and thence to Baltimore over the turnpike was one of the factors which induced the state to make a survey of the West Fork and the Monongahela to the Pennsylvania state line in 1820. In 1830 during the dispute between the Baltimore and Ohio Railway and the Chesapeake and Ohio canal, both of which planned to reach the Ohio, Philip Doddridge urged Congress to improve the Monongahela to Clarksburg.

By 1820 other early settlements were growing into towns of some importance Among these were Salem, located on an early strategic site as a station for troops sent to watch the Indian trail leading from the Ohio up Middle Island creek and Long run to the settlements on the West Fork, and named by its first colony of forty families who arrived from Salem, New Jersey, before peace had been established with the Indians. On the site of Bridgeport which probably received its first settlers (Joseph Cavisson and others) between 1771 and 1774 the legislature in 1816 established a town which by 1845 contained twenty-five dwellings and two churches. Shinnston at which the first settlement was made in 1773 by Levy Shinn and others, sturdy and independent Quakers from New Jersey, was first legally established as a town by legislative act of 1818. West Milford, the site of which had been included in tracts of land granted a decade or more earlier, gradually grew as a village clustering around the Clements Mill which was erected in 1817, and received legal recognition as a town by legislative act of 1821.

Municipal improvement at Clarksburg did not keep pace with economic development. Jack Levegood in 1819 after a journey over the mountains wrote from the safe distance of the Youghiogheny Glades in Maryland giving some of his impressions of Clarksburg in which he especially urged the need of a better cemetery, a hearse and better facilities for protection from fires. "I wondered," said he, "why the citizens of Clarksburg who are esteemed as a liberal and intelligent people have not a place to bury their dead secured by a fence from the intrusion of hogs and cattle. * * * Neither engine, bucket, hose, or even a public ladder is to be seen in the town." Perhaps his criticism caused the town ordinance which went into effect three months later prohibiting hogs from running at large.

According to J. H. DisDebar, a French agent for claimants of the Swan lands who visited Clarksburg in 1846, the citizens were "a somewhat exclusive, conservative set with all the traditions and social prejudices pertaining to an ancient moss-grown aristocratic town" with pretensions "by common consent founded upon antiquity of pedigree and superior culture and manners."

In 1845 the town had a population of 1,100, seven stores, two newspaper offices, two churches and two academies, and the county had an estimated mineral wealth which was already regarded as an element of prosperity.

Connection with the National road by a line of coaches or stages was established about 1830 enabling merchants to reach Baltimore by horseback in six days, although their laden wagons required fifteen days or more. The town especially felt the influence of the wide Northwestern turnpike which was completed about 1836 (macademized from Tygart's Valley river to Parkersburg in 1848), increasing facilities for travel and news. By 1845 tri-weekly stages connected on the east with Romney and thence with Green Springs on the Baltimore and Ohio railroad and on the west with Parkersburg.

With the increase in the number of settlers and the development of settlements around the head waters of West Fork, the inconveniences of communication with the county seat at Clarksburg found expression in the demand for the formation of a new county. This demand was satisfied in 1816 by an act of the assembly which created Lewis and provided for the location of a permanent county seat by five commissioners who chose Fleshersville, which in 1818 was incorporated as a town under the name of Preston, which in 1819 was changed to Fleshersville and then to Weston, which has since borne the honor with no serious opposition. In the following spring the first survey of the West Fork and the Monongahela, with a view to the improvement of navigation, was begun just below the Weston court house.

Gradually the earlier log houses were succeeded by better structures expressing refinement, social tastes and prosperity. The early settlements of the northern and eastern parts of the county were supplied with lumber from choice yellow poplars and black walnuts prepared by water power saw mills located along the neighboring streams. Trees which were too large to be easily sawed were split into fence rails or burned in the clearings. Although in 1843 portions of Lewis were detached to contribute to the formation of Barbour and Ritchie counties. The population of the county steadily increased—about 2,000 each decade—until 1850, after which it was decreased by loss of territory occasioned by the formation of Upshur county in 1851. By 1845 Weston contained about sixty dwellings.

The large development and aspirations of the people of Lewis at the middle of the century found expression in many ways—the most prominent of which probably were the Weston and Fairmont turnpike, the Weston and Gauley Bridge turnpike, and the Weston and West Union turnpike. A branch of the Exchange Bank of Virginia was established in 1853.

On the eve of the civil war, Weston secured the location of the hospital for the insane—the first and only state institution which was located in the transmontane territory later included in West Virginia.

On the upper Tygart's Valley, around the site of Philippi the early scattered settlements were connected by "blazed" trails many of which were distinguished by the kind of tree blazed in order to avoid bewilderment or danger of becoming lost at trail crossings. As early as 1788 the trail from Clarksburg to Winchester, the east and west highway through the territory included in Barbour and Tucker, crossing the Valley river a mile below Philippi and Cheat at St. George, was mentioned in the records as the "state road"—although it was still only the "Pringle Packroad." The Beverly trail branched off a mile above the mouth of Hacker's creek, and passed via Sugar creek and the site of Belington. With the establishment of Booth's ferry, the road from Clarksburg to the Valley river was widened for wagons, and steps were taken to open the road toward Beverly via Sugar creek. By 1803 there was a wagon road constructed on the east side of the river which was later extended to Beverly. The first wagon which appeared in the county was brought (by pieces) over the mountain to Cheat in 1783 via North Branch, Lead Mine run and Horse Shoe run before trails had been widened for wagons.

The early economic life was largely confined to the problem of mere subsistence. Ginseng, however, was exported as early as 1789. A tan yard was located above Philippi in 1800 and the first mill at Philippi was erected in 1818.

In 1843 Barbour county was formed from Randolph (and parts of Harrison and Lewis) and the site for the court house promptly selected at Philippi (the old Booth's ferry of Randolph) which was then only a farm. Among the first acts of the court was one fixing the charges for taverns which was re-enacted every subsequent year for over a decade. By 1845 the county was regarded as rather thickly settled at the heads of Simpson and Elk creeks and on the Buckhannon and Tygart's Valley rivers. Philippi contained only about a dozen houses but a basis for

later development was believed to exist in neighboring deposits of excellent coal and iron.

Coincident with improved transportation facilities resulting from the completion of neighboring turnpikes—the earlier Northwestern and the Staunton and Parkersburg turnpike completed via Buckhannon in 1847—various signs of improvement appeared. Instances of the introduction of improved machinery occurring by 1840 became more common a decade later. Although the horse-power thresher began to appear perhaps as early as 1846 the first horse-power thresher and separator was not introduced until 1852. In 1848 in Cove district there was an attempt to develop the iron resources and in 1849 the product, after a haul of fifty miles on wagons, was transported to market from Fairmont by boats on the Monongahela.[6] At the same time construction of local pikes was begun. In 1850 Luther Haymond of Clarksburg completed the survey for the Beverly and Fairmont pike, making changes of route above Belington and elsewhere which caused bitter controversies. In Barbour one of the first steam saw and grist mills was built at Peeltree about 1856 and continued to saw lumber for local use for thirty or forty years.

After the opening of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad the people from the northeastern part of Barbour found their most convenient shipping point at Thornton. From various points on the Tygart's Valley river considerable timber was floated to Grafton. The bank of Philippi, the first bank in Barbour, was established in 1855, and closed at the opening of the war. Its notes were bought by speculators even after the close of the war.

The first newspaper of the county was founded in 1857 and suspended publication in June, 1861.

At the outbreak of the war nearly all the county officers of Barbour sympathized with the secession movement of the South.

Along the Buckhannon river, in the earlier years of settlement, hunting (both animals and medicinal plants) was a necessary occupation which ceased as such only when the profits arising from it became less than the profits from other labor.

The settlers of 1770 who braved the perils of the unbroken forest found many inconveniences for years thereafter. For thirty years the region of Upshur county was without a store.

The earlier trails were gradually widened into roads to meet the increasing demands of the settlements—especially after the introduction of wagons. In 1800 Jacob Lorentz, Abraham Post and Abraham Carper emigrated from the South Branch, cut an uneven wagon road along the Indian trail via Beverly and brought the first road wagon to the region. In the same year goods were transported from Beverly to Buckhannon in a wagon. The second road wagon was brought to the county in 1810 by the New Englanders on their overland journey.

A mill built 1783 above the mouth of Fink's run near Buckhannon was the only mill in the Buckhannon valley for many years. A second mill in that region was built in 1821. Saw mills for domestic use were established on Spruce run in 1806, at Buckhannon and Sago in 1810 and at French creek (Meadville) in 1813. In 1814 the court of Randolph ordered a horseback or pack horse road from Beverly to Buckhannon which was later widened and graded and converted into a section of the Parkersburg and Staunton turnpike.

Cattle, brought by the earliest settlers of 1770 and by almost all later settlers, were improved by a better breed brought by settlers from

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6 Iron ore is found over an area of 10,000 acres, chiefly on Brushy Fork. It is in veins and ledges from one foot to fourteen feet thick, p. 318. The furnace on Brushy Fork was built in 1848 and was used six years. The blast was operated first by water power and afterwards by an engine (believed to have been the first in Barbour County, about 1850). It was thirty-nine feet high when built, but is little more than half of that now, much of the stone of which it was built having been removed for various purposes. The fuel was charcoal, and about 9,000 pounds of iron were produced a day. This was hauled by mule teams to Fairmont.

New England about 1810. Sheep were introduced from Hardy county and from New England at the same time. Sheep husbandry became an important industry—especially after the close of the hunters period along the frontier. Obstacles arising from the migratory habits of the sheep and the depredations of wolves and dogs were largely overcome with the development of the settlements. In the earlier days there were many and menacing disputes over ownership of hogs—a product which found a ready sale at Richmond, Winchester or Cumberland.

Spinning, knitting and weaving were common home industries. Every family contained its own tailor, usually a woman. At first the tanning of leather was a home process, and almost every family contained a cobbler. The conditions encouraged native mechanical genius. Salt, which in the earlier days was brought over the mountains on packhorses and sold at prices which made it too dear for extensive use, was obtained in the county by evaporation after 1839.

Soon after his arrival, Jacob Lorentz went into the mercantile business near where the Lorentz post office now is. For many years this was the only store in all of that section of the country. The roads were too steep and uneven to permit the general use of the road wagon, and the goods sold from behind the counter of Lorentz's store were carried on packhorses from Richmond or Parkersburg or Cumberland. Only a few of the most necessary articles were kept. There was no money, and no money was brought into the region except on the occasion of the arrival of a drove of hogs or a herd of cattle being driven to the eastern markets, or upon the arrival of a train of packhorses loaded with furs and roots.

The articles sold were necessarily high in price. One of the relatives of this ancient merchant said that calico was sold at 50 cents per yard; nails at 25 cents per pound; cotton at 25 cents per yard, and other merchandise correspondingly high.

The second store in the county was opened in 1820 by Ezra Morgan and Amos Brooks in a small store room on the farm now known as the Andrew Buckhannon place, near French Creek. It was opened for general trade, selling goods and buying country produce. In the year 1830, Levi Leonard kept a store at French Creek in which ginseng, deer hides, furs and linen were exchanged for calico, which was sold for from twenty-five to seventy-five cents per yard.

In 1832 Nathan and Waldo Goz put up the first store in Buckhannon. John Wesley Wilson started the first store at Rock Cave in 1851.

Towns emerged slowly. Buckhannon was established in 1816 on lands then in Harrison county.

Under the loose system of Virginia land warrants which often applied to no particular spot resulting in many conflicting claims and endless controversies, many New England settlers, who settled in the territory from the first of the century, becoming tired of dilatory courts and adverse decisions, emigrated westward (largely to Illinois) about 1830. Many people who remained were compelled to repurchase their lands from rival claimants.

Industrial development and other improvements in the county were especially stimulated after 1848 by the construction of the Staunton and Parkersburg turnpike and the Clarksburg and Buckhannon turnpike, and especially in 1852 by the completion of the railroad to Grafton opening a market for logs rafted down the river.

The first attempt to establish Upshur county made in 1848, met considerable opposition especially at Weston which disliked the proposal to add to the new county a part of the territory of Lewis. The law creating the new county from parts of Randolph, Barbour and Lewis was finally enacted in 1851. The town of Buckhannon was incorporated in 1852 and the first court house was completed in 1854.

By the census of 1860, Upshur had a population of 7,299 which was about 700 less than that of Lewis and almost 50 per cent greater than that of the neighboring mother county Randolph.

Early development in Randolph county was much retarded by lack of communication. The earliest roads were mere "bridle paths" between the several settlements. In 1787 the first court of the newly formed

county provided for marking a way for a wagon road from Leading creek to Horse Shoe Bottom on Cheat (now in Tucker), but not until 1826 were wagons able to cross the mountains from the direction of the South Branch. By 1800 a score of roads had been surveyed in Randolph county. By 1801 the court ordered a survey from the mouth of Black Fork of Cheat to the head of North Branch—which, although it resulted in no road, was later followed by the West Virginia Central and Pittsburgh railroad from Fairfax to Parsons. In 1814 a pack horse road was ordered from Beverly to Buckhannon. In 1822 aid was voted to open a road from Beverly via Clarksburg to Sistersville. In 1824 the legislature authorized a "state road" from Staunton to the mouth of the Little Kanawha which was built via Beverly over the same general route followed by the Staunton and Parkersburg turnpike twenty years later. In 1826 Randolph co-operated with Monongalia in constructing a bridge across Sandy creek which was their boundary until the creation of Marion county in 1842, after which it became successively the boundary between Randolph and Marion, then between Marion and Barbour (1843) and finally between Barbour and Taylor (1844). In 1832 steps were taken to raise money by lottery to build a road from Beverly to Morgantown.

Development, with few exceptions, was slow. The first saw mill at Mingo (upper end of the county) was built near Valley Head in 1822 and the wagon which hauled the irons for the mill was the first that crossed the mountains to Mingo. The first grist mill in the upper fifteen miles of the river was built about 1820 or 1822.

Outside the valleys of Tygart's river and Leading creek the territory of Randolph was occupied but slowly—and a century later much of the forest land remained undisturbed. Even after half a century few houses were built of sawed lumber. A saw mill introduced near Valley Head in 1822 was probably the only one in the county in 1835 and perhaps for several years later. Even in 1840 there were few settlements except along the Cheat and in the narrow bottoms of the larger creeks toward the northern end of the county. In 1853 there were large tracts entirely uninhabited and almost inaccessible.

Changes in markets and transportation are illustrated in the case of David Blackman who, being engaged in the mercantile business at Beverly from 1824 until the civil war, hauled his goods first from Baltimore, then from Winchester, then from Cumberland and later from Fetterman.[7] The chief source of wealth in the county in the ante-bellum period was live stock—a product which exported itself to the eastern market.

The population of Beverly in 1845—three years before it was incorporated as the "Borough of Beverly"—was about 200. The population of the originally larger county which reached its highest point in 1840 (6,208) suffered a reduction from 5,243 in 1850 to 4,990 in 1860—due to the loss of territory to form Tucker county in 1856.

"No event in the history of Randolph county will leave more permanent traces than the settlement on Roaring Creek by the Irish in 1840-50. This is true from a business, educational, political and religious point of view. These settlers, strong of body and intellectually alert, inured to toil and hardship, soon converted the wilderness into a prosperous community of comfortable homes, churches, and schools amid which sprang up the village of Kingsville, with the conveniences of a store, post-office and blacksmith shop. These settlers were not only eminently successful themselves in their undertakings, but bequeathed sons and daughters, who took front rank in the business and professional life of the county."

The first to locate in what is known as the Irish settlement was Patrick

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[7] David Blackman of Connecticut emigrated to Randolph county in 1822. In 1824 following his marriage he located in Beverly and engaged in the mercantile business until 1861. He first hauled goods from Baltimore, later from Winchester, later from Cumberland and finally from Fetterman. His store was the principal one in the county; at first he had as a partner John Sherman who in 1827 moved to Ohio where he raised and educated his cousin's son, John, who later became United States senator. In 1829 his former partner wrote him "I have just bought 125 barrels of whiskey at 25c a gallon. If it were in Beverly it would not last long."

Flanigan. He was a contractor and was engaged in the building of the Staunton and Parkersburg pike.

John O'Connell was the next to locate in that vicinity, in about 1850. In the Civil War he was a strong southern sympathizer and in attempting to communicate with the Confederate army at Philippi, in the first year of the war, was shot and killed near Laurel, from ambush.

Patrick O'Connor, who had been engaged in the construction on the Staunton and Parkersburg Pike, bought land of Patrick Flanigan and with his family added to the nucleus of a settlement in its earliest days. He lived to the ripe old age of 108 years.

About seventy families located in that section. Among them were Michael O'Connor, Peter King, Patrick Riley, Patsy King, Miles King, Edward King, Owen Riley, Andrew Durkin, John Madden, Owen Gillooly, Andrew Durkin, Patrick Gillooly, Patrick O'Connor, Richard Ford, John Ford, Patrick Rafferty, Morris Hanifan, John Nallen, Sr., Thomas Burke, Alexander Burke, John Conley, Mathew Davis, John Cain, Patrick Moyles, John A. King, Thomas O'Connor and John Staunton.

Morris Hanifan, born in County Cavan, Ireland, 1820, came to America in 1840. He worked on the C. & O. Canal in its construction to Cumberland, then on the Winchester and Strawsburg Pike to New Market, Va., then on the Staunton and Parkersburg Pike to Huttonsville. He settled on Roaring Creek in 1847. He died in 1868.

Daniel Tahaney, who came in 1846, was born in the County Sligo, Ireland, in 1815. He came to America in 1835. He married Bridget McCan in New York City in 1837. For a time he worked on the construction of the Staunton and Parkersburg Pike. He died 1872.

The first priest to celebrate mass in the Kingsville parish was Father Stack, of Staunton, Va., at Patrick Flanigan's house in 1865. In 1863 Father O'Connor with the aid of his people commenced the erection of a log church, the first Catholic church in Randolph. In 1872 Father Dacey came as resident priest, but died soon thereafter. In 1873 Father Fitzpatrick came to take charge of the Mission. Soon the growing congregation became too large for the little church and under the leadership of Father Fitzpatrick, they built a commodious church and rectory in the growing village of Kingsville. Father Fitzpatrick also commenced the erection of a church at Coalton, but it was completed by his successor, Father Sauer.

Father Fitzpatrick was in Kingsville twenty-eight years. He was for many years one of the leading figures of the county and had many friends throughout Randolph and adjoining counties among the Protestants as well as the adherents of his own religious faith. He died in Wheeling.

John Madden, son of William and Mary (Brennan) Madden, was born in the Parish of Kiltormer, County Galway, Ireland, in 1815. In 1834 he sailed for America, landed in New York City, and after a short stay in the State of New York he went to Baltimore, Md., and was employed on the construction of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal from that point to Cumberland. In 1839 he was married to Cecelia Dwire. He then went to work on the State road from Winchester to Staunton, Va., and later was employed on the Staunton and Parkersburg pike to Huttonsville, W. Va. He then located in Tygarts Valley near Huttonsville, where he worked as a tenant on the farms of Moses and John Hutton, and also on the Nagler farm.

John Stanton was born in Ireland, County Galway, Parish of Kiltormer, in 1826. He came to Grafton, W. Va., and worked along the B. & O. railroad from that point to Kingwood, W. Va. In 1857 he migrated to Randolph County, W. Va., and settled in Roaring Creek district.

Luke White, born in the Parish of Kiltevin, County Roscommon, Ireland, came to America in 1854, landing in New York City. He came to West Virginia and married Margaret Burke, a widow. He worked on the B. & O. for a time and later settled in Roaring Creek district, and in 1858 purchased a farm of 100 acres where he made his home for the rest of his life.

The opportunities of a new country with cheap lands, together with the oppression of English landlordism at home were, perhaps, among the principal reasons for Irish immigration to America. The average price paid by Irish settlers for Roaring Creek lands was about $1.25 per acre. These lands at the present time command fabulous prices, in many instances, as a result of the discovery of very rich veins of coal in that vicinity.

At the close of the Indian troubles the few people of the northern end of Randolph in scattered settlements along upper Cheat in the vicinity of Leading creek turned to the hard work of clearing small spaces on which they cultivated small crops of corn from which to make corn bread. During a part of the autumn they hunted deer and bear —and in the earliest years sometimes found buffaloes, which, however, were never as plentiful as in the region of Buckhannon, Clarksburg and farther west along the Ohio.

At an early date a sash mill was operated in the county by N. M. Parsons and George M. Parsons. Among other later ones was that

built on Cheat as early as 1830 by Arnold Bonnifield who operated it continually for thirty-five years. The first commercial demand for lumber outside the county was created by the construction of a bridge over Cheat at the crossing of the Northwestern pike, five or six miles above Rowlesburg. Much of the lumber used in the bridge was sawed by Bonnifield, hauled to the river and built into rude rafts which were driven by the current to their destination.

Beginning about 1852 and continuing long after the civil war, the main Cheat river for about twenty or twenty-five miles above the railroad was somewhat developed by an enterprising company which sought ship-timber for the English market and had mill-works located at Rowlesburg. After 1860 portable and stationary steam saw mills rapidly increased, replacing the old water-power mills by which seven-eighths of the timber both for home and foreign use had been manufactured.

As late as 1840 there were very few settlers except along the river and in the narrow bottoms of the larger creeks. The region called "Canada" and the land of Canaan—a high basin surrounded by mountains, the Backbone on the west and the Allegheny on the east—was an uninhabited wilderness. From the head of Black Fork to Fairfax stone was an unbroken forest of trees which stood so thick that their branches interlocked for miles completely shutting out the sunlight from the soil below. Bears and panthers traveled through tunnels which they had broken through the thickets in all directions. Although the wilderness of the mountains was largely unbroken, occasionally among the hills appeared the cabin of a settler who was opening a farm. In 1836 settlement was begun about the headwaters of Clover run. The first cabin was without door, floor or chimney but it attracted other settlers who obtained lands and by 1840 the neighborhood consisted of five families (including about thirty children) who had begun the earnest work of breaking up the thick forests and its dens of panthers and bears, and had also built a round-poled, floorless school house in which their children might be able to obtain some rudiments of an education. Canaan valley and the surrounding plateau country remained practically undisturbed until the forest fire of 1865 which was soon followed by other "burnings" started by hunters.

The people of the northern end of Randolph, long dissatisfied with the inconveniences of the journey to the county seat at Beverly over bad roads between settlements separated by large tracts of woods, repeatedly agitated the subject of a new county even before the revival of the activity resulting from the new industrial opportunities opened to them by the construction of the railroad through the neighboring-woods on the north at the middle of the century. The decisive step was finally taken in the winter of 1854 by a meeting at the residence of Enoch Minear in the old stone house at St. George—which was then called Westernford. Through the influence of strong petitions and strong lobbying, supplemented by the enthusiastic assistance of Judge John Brannon of Lewis county in the legislature, early in 1856, the new county of Tucker was created with the seat of justice at St. George—which remained the county seat until long after the war. The size of the county was later increased by the addition of a strip of territory taken from Barbour. The total population in 1860 was only 1,428.

When Tucker was created, a few of its citizens foresaw a future of greater industrial prosperity. Abe Bonnifield, viewing the principal ridge of Backbone mountain along the side of which the sugar maples belonging to W. R. Parsons were falling beneath the axes of his slaves, saw the promise of rich grazing plantations. Considering the unoccupied regions of the land of Canaan which had recently come into the market, he expected to see a new tide of emigration. Knowing that coal had been discovered about 1835 on the sugar lands, and about 1855 on the other side of the mountain, he had confidence that the railroad projected in 1856 up the North Branch from Piedmont on the

Baltimore and Ohio would soon be built, and that its terminus would be in the coal lands of Tucker. The realization of his dreams, which came in surplus measure thirty years later, was doubtless postponed in part by the war of secession in which he was a participant in the Confederate service.

Along the Ohio

At Wheeling, which early became an important outfitting point for flat boat traffic and which was laid out in town lots by Colonel Zane in 1793 (when it had only twelve families), the first post office was established in 1794. By 1795 mail boats carried mail between Wheeling and Cincinnati (by four relays) in six days downstream and twelve days upstream. After the Indian treaty of 1795, additional facilities were secured by establishing land routes.

A factor of influence in the early development of Wheeling was the opening of Zane's Trace in 1796 from Wheeling through southeastern Ohio via Zanesville, Lancaster, Chillicothe to Aberdeen opposite Limestone (Maysville, Kentucky), where it connected with the old "Smith's wagon road" which closely followed the old buffalo trail from Limestone to Lexington, Kentucky. This new route authorized by Congress as a result of the large increase of emigration and travel to the West after the treaty of Greenville, was opened by Ebenezer Zane the patriot-pioneer of Wheeling who for his service was granted three tracts of land: one on the Muskingum; one on the Hockhocking and one on the Scioto at points crossed by the new road. By this path, at first only made fit for horsemen, the Washington administration promptly established a regular mail route between Wheeling and Lexington, Kentucky, and travel and traffic steadily increased.

Wheeling was incorporated as a town in 1795 and became the county seat of Ohio county in 1797. In 1801[8] its connection with Pennsylvania and Morgantown was improved by repairs on the roads. In 1802 it was reached by two routes from Pittsburgh—the more direct but rougher route passing through West Liberty. At this date, according to F. A. Michaux who visited it on his western travels, it had seventy houses built of wood.

"This little town," wrote Michaux, "is bounded by a high hill, nearly 200 fathoms high, the base of which not more than two fathoms from the river. In this space the houses are built, forming but one street, in the middle of which is the main road which follows the windings of the river for a distance of more than 200 miles. From fifteen to twenty shops, well stocked, supply the inhabitants twenty miles around with provisions. This little town also shares the export trade that is carried on at Pittsburgh with the Western country. Numbers of merchants at Philadelphia prefer sending their goods here although the journey is a day longer; but the trifling inconvenience is well compensated by the advantage gained in avoiding the long winding which the Ohio makes on leaving Pittsburgh where the numerous shallows and the slow movement of the stream, in summer time, retard the navigation."

A year later Harris, who visited the place, wrote the following:

"Most of the houses are handsome, several being built of brick and some faced with stone.[9] Next to Pittsburg, it is the most considerable place of embarkation to traders and emigrants, anywhere on the western waters. Boat-building is carried on here to great extent.

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[8] Mrs. Harris, of Morristown, Belmont county, Ohio, a daughter of John McCulloch, in narrating some early recollections of Wheeling, said that at the age of ten she was taken by her father to a show in Wheeling in 1801, and that they stopped at Ebenezer Zane's, who was related to them. Mrs. Harris thinks it was the first show that was exhibited in Wheeling, and it only consisted of an elephant and a camel.

[9] The rude log structures and more modern scantling shanties of "ye pioneer" days, were first superseded by a substantial brick structure in 1803-4, when one Jacob Goodling erected for himself a house where the St. James' Hotel formerly stood, on Water street. According to tradition, the second brick house was erected by William McConell, about 1805-6, on the corner of Main and Eighth street.

"Opposite the town is a most beautiful island containing about 400 acres, interspersed with buildings, highly cultivated fields, some fine orchards and copses of woods; it appears to a great advantage from the town. Just below the town stands an old fort at the junction of Big Wheeling Creek and the Ohio."

Thomas Ashe, an English traveler, who made a short stop at Wheeling in 1806, reported that the town had 250 houses (including ten of brick and eighteen of stone), predicted that it would "ultimately rival all the towns above its waters," but he was shocked at the sporting propensities and lawlessness of the inhabitants and stated that "much time and unremitted assiduity must be employed to make it a tolerable residence for any class of men." [10]

In 1807, Cummings, another traveler, wrote the following description of the place:

"The town appeared very lively, the inhabitants being about their doors in the street. It contained 120 houses of all descriptions from middling downward, on a street about one-half mile long. The avenues of the landing are very steep and inconvenient. The court house is of stone with a small belfry which has nothing in beauty to boast of.[11] The gaol joins it in the rear.

"It is probable that Mr. Zane, the original proprietor, now regrets that he did not place the town on the flats below, at the conflux of the Wheeling and the Ohio, where Sprigg's inn and the ship yards now are, instead of cultivating it as a farm until lately, when a resolve of Congress to open a new public state road from the metropolis through the western country, which will come to the Ohio near the mouth of Wheeling creek, induced him to lay it out in town lots, but I fear he is too late to see it become a considerable town to the prejudice of the old, notwithstanding its advantageous situation.

"The present town does not seem to thrive if one may judge by the state of new buildings, two only being built. Stores appear thinly stocked with goods; retail prices high.

"When new road is finished, it will doubtless be of great use to Wheeling.

"Wheeling island in front of the town, one mile long, one-half mile wide, is very fertile and all cultivated as a farm by Mr. Zane. The post and stage road to Chillicothe, Ohio, goes across it, which occasions two

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[10] Ashe's assertion in regard to the border lawlessness at Wheeling is partially substantiated by an event which occurred in September of the following year, and was reported in the *Wheeling Repository* as follows:

"On the evening of Thursday, the 24th of September, a man who was strongly suspected to be grossly inattentive to this place, tarred and feathered, mounted on a rail, and carried up and down the street for about two hours. 'The gentleman' as his carriers and followers very complaisantly styled him, was occasionally saluted with keen reproaches, which together with cries of 'Here goes the man that beats his wife,' etc., rendered the procession a very noisy one. The crowd of spectators was great, and the proceeding, outrageous as it was, met with very general approbation."

[11] The first court house erected in Wheeling was a small stone structure with a diminutive cupola on the top, much resembling a full sized chimney. It was located on Main street, at its juncture with Tenth street. A Kentuckian once riding through the town looked upon it amazed, exclaiming—"Well, the people of Wheeling must be mighty fond of bacon—I never saw such a large smoke house before in my life."

In 1808, an effort was made to remove the seat of justice of Ohio county from Wheeling to Grave creek (now Moundsville). Mr. Tomlinson of the latter place visited Richmond with a petition liberally signed by citizens of the lower part of the county, and by diligently working personally with the members of the house of delegates succeeded in getting his project passed by a majority of fifteen, notwithstanding the opposition of the two members (Mr. Irwin and Mr. Morgan) from Ohio county. In Wheeling the measure was called Mr. Tomlinson's "wheel-barrow project." It was ably opposed in the senate by Philip Doddridge who represented the district and was defeated. It appears that Mr. Doddridge was late in reaching Richmond, and Mr. Tomlinson afterwards remarked that if the senator had stayed away six days longer the bill would have obtained the majority of the senate.

ferries, an inconvenience which will be remedied by the new road crossing by one ferry below the island."

The Navigator, published at Pittsburg, contains the following description of Wheeling in its edition of 1810:

"The town fronts the Ohio on a high gravelly bank, opposite the middle of the island, and having immediately back of the town, Wheeling Creek hill, which is steep and lofty, and so narrow at the top that at some places there is scarcely room for a wagon to pass along, and nearly a precipice to the bottom of the creek. This singular formed backbone, as it were, between the Ohio and Wheeling creek, slopes off gradually into a fine bottom just below the town and above the mouth of the creek, but is considerably lower than the ground on which Wheeling stands, and in some seasons has been known to be inundated by the floods. There are on this bottom an excellent public inn, a warehouse, a boat yard, and a rope walk, and some other buildings. Immediately above the mouth of the creek there used to stand a fort, serving as a pioneer post during the wars with the Indians.

"In the consequence of the hill just mentioned, and which crowds the town to the bank of the river, Wheeling has but one street, which is thickly built on for a quarter of a mile in length. The town has about 115 dwellings, eleven stores, two potteries of stone ware, a market house, and it had in 1808-09 a printing office, a book store and a library; the two first quit the town for want of public patronage, the last is still upheld by the citizens. The mail stage from Philadelphia, Baltimore, etc., arrives here twice a week, by way of Pittsburgh, Washington and Wellsburg; thence westward the mail is dispatched once a week on horses. The town has a court house and jail. The hills about Wheeling contain a good mineral coal, which is used as fuel. The thoroughfare through Wheeling, of emigrants and travelers into the state of Ohio and down the river, is very great during the fall and spring seasons."

The printing office to which the *Navigator* refers was evidently the office of the *Repository,* Wheeling's first newspaper, which appeared in 1807.

At that date the town probably supported only two physicians. Its first resident physician arrived in 1803,[12] probably from Chester county, Pennsylvania. He was alone in the practice until 1806, when he took into his office Dr. H. Potter, who had studied medicine under his instruction, and who in 1808 opened an office for himself. Dr. Forsythe continued to practice at Wheeling until after the close of the war of 1812, when he emigrated to the "English Turn," below New Orleans and embarked in the manufacture of rum from molasses. Another of his students in medicine, Dr. Thomas Toner, practiced four or five years, but abandoned practice and became associated with his brother-in-law in editing and publishing the *Northwestern Virginia Gazette.* Wheeling's first medical society was not organized until 1835, and its first hospital was not established until 1850.

From 1818 Wheeling became the principal town of the panhandle. With the approaching completion of the National road to the Ohio, business men from other places arrived and began to promote new enterprises which received little attention from the older inhabitants whose money was invested in lands. The first manufacture of window glass began by 1820.

The Northwestern Bank of Wheeling was organized under an act of February, 1817, and was probably ready for business in 1818. It con-

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[12] During the period from the fall of 1769, the time of the first occupancy of the site of Wheeling by the Zane brothers, until they laid it out in 1793, there is no record, or tradition, that any physician practiced there. "The early settlers being in a wild, uncultivated country, far removed from any other, upon a frontier exposed to daily attacks from their savage neighbors, surrounded by dangers and privations, created a community of interest and benevolence, exhibited by mutual nursing and attendance in sickness or injury."

tinued until the civil war when it was succeeded by the National Bank of Wheeling.[13]

Wheeling's first iron mill was erected in 1834, by Peter Shoenberger and David Agnew. It was located on a portion of the site later occupied by the Top Mill, and was designed for the general manufacture of bar, sheet iron and nails. For several years the mill was operated successfully. Mr. Agnew, succeeding to the business of the earlier firm, prospered and in a short time became one of the wealthiest men in the town.

The success of the iron mill suddenly awakened the people of Wheeling from a Rip Van Winkle slumber, and resulted in the beginning of wild schemes of aggrandizement. Its total failure in 1840 was a result of one of the crises incident to that day of variable tariff policy and uncertain currency, which was the bane of our manufacturing interests. After the failure, the mill was operated by Greisemer and Tallant, both of whom had held positions with Mr. Agnew and who continued the business during the adverse times between 1840 and 1845 without financial profit. When the general business interests of the country began to revive, E. W. Stevens, having just withdrawn from a Pittsburgh iron firm, came to Wheeling with a cash capital of $75,000, enlarged the nail department of the mill, and brought to Wheeling the two Norton brothers (E. M. and George W.) who were practical nailers. From this date began Wheeling's reputation for nails—a reputation which has known no retrograde. Mr. Stevens was on the high road to immense wealth, and had he profited by the experience of his predecessor would undoubtedly have attained it. In an evil hour, however, he listened to the wonderful talk of an eastern speculator, concerning the fabulous riches to be found in the mineral veins of New Jersey, and he lost heavily by investing largely in one of those copper mines. Under the financial crisis of 1857, the firm "went to the wall." During the war the iron works were rented to Norton, Acheson and Company, for manufacturing gun boat plates.

Long after the visit of Ashe, who notes the sporting proclivities of the place, Wheeling was interested in horse racing. The first improved track was opened prior to 1827—probably 1825—at Beech Bottom, some twelve miles up the river from Wheeling. The second track was opened about 1834, on the farm at present owned by Mr. Samuel Spriggs, and was owned by Henry Eccles and John Wires. On it occurred one of the greatest races ever placed on record in the earlier days of racing. The third track was opened on the farm of General Moses Chapman, north of Bogg's run, the exclusive right and care of that track being retained by John Harvey. Up to this time, gambling had become so intolerable at the meetings that the state had to adopt the strongest measures to suppress it, and in 1836 there was a great raid made on the race course by the state officers, one of whom was seriously wounded in the general shooting which resulted from the raid. One gambler ran into the river, five or six were apprehended and their entire set of gambling tables and unique paraphernalia was confiscated. Although this track was closed after the raid, another sprang into existence about 1838-9, on property owned by Major Good, on the pike. The usual rowdyism appeared, but following a brutal assault on Captain H. Mason, all races were suspended.

The development of Wheeling, as a municipality, began in January, 1806, when it was incorporated as a village. In 1810 it had 914 inhabitants. By the building of the Cumberland road to the Ohio river in 1818, and its subsequent extension through the state of Ohio about this time, it received additional prominence as an avenue and distribut-

[13] The Merchants and Mechanics Bank was founded in 1834 and was succeeded by the Merchants and Mechanics National Bank in 1865. The Commercial Bank of Wheeling was established by 1853. The Peoples Bank of Wheeling was founded in 1860. The Bank of Wheeling was originally started by C. D. Hubbard and D. C. List about 1853.

ing point for passengers and freight east and west, until the national turnpike was superseded by railroads. The population increased rapidly. In 1836 it was incorporated as a city and the present city water works were built. In 1847 telegraphic communication was obtained by a tap wire from the main line of the Pittsburgh, Cincinnati and St. Louis Telegraph Co. under construction along the opposite bank of the river.[14] In the same year the project of building a bridge over the Ohio river at Wheeling, which had been previously advocated unsuccessfully by several western states as a national measure before Congress, was revived by the people of Wheeling as a private enterprise, and under a charter from the state of Virginia a suspension bridge with a clear span of 1,010 feet was in 1849 built over the main channel, and connected with the Ohio shore by a pier bridge previously built—the two structures being subsequently protected by an act of Congress declaring them postroads. The suspension span was blown down in 1853, and was rebuilt during the same year.

The corner stone of Wheeling's prosperity to 1860 was the Ohio. In 1830 the city was made a port [15] of delivery, and boatbuilding which had been carried on to some extent previously became one of its important industries. Its position as the largest town in western Virginia was also influenced by the vast number of emigrants, who, passing through it en route to the middle and farther west, increased its trade and gave it an atmosphere of business. Its population increased steadily from 914 in 1810 to 1,567 in 1820, 5,221 in 1830 and 7,885 in 1840. Its connection with the East was facilitated by the completion of the Baltimore and Ohio to Cumberland enabling it to secure goods from Baltimore in seven days. From 1849 to 1879, ninety-nine steamboats, varying from 651 to 14 tons burden were launched from Wheeling boatyards. The quality, abundance, and location of the coal strata adjacent to Wheeling induced the establishment of other manufactures, notably of glass and iron, at an early date, and wagons, furniture and other similar products were turned out in considerable quantities for western and southern markets. With the establishment of such manufacturers came a further proportionate increase of the population of the city, besides a very considerable increase in its suburban towns and villages. The growth was assisted largely by the opening of the Baltimore and Ohio railway to Wheeling in 1853, and the completion of its branch connection with the West, Northwest and South; and the completion of the Cleveland and Pittsburgh railroad and other branches of the Pennsylvania system, and of minor roads, opening up communication with adjacent territory. In 1848 the gas works, now owned by the city, were begun by a private corporation. In 1851-52 the building known as Washington Hall, which was subsequently burnt and replaced by the present structure, was erected, and in 1859 the custom-house, post-office, and the United States court building were built.

Development in Brooke county was also rapid. At an early day Wellsburg was the rival of Wheeling for travel between East and West. Until 1818 she was one of the most noted shipping points on the upper Ohio—even exceeding Wheeling in exports. Her first bank began operations in 1813, but was closed in 1815. Though she lost by the decision which made Wheeling the terminus of the National road, she renewed her rivalry with desperate zeal in 1825 when the question of repairs on the road revived her hope of securing a more northern route. To divert travel from the route via Wheeling she projected the Wellsburg and Washington turnpike which was soon abandoned in despair and allowed to languish for many years. In 1832 she obtained the establishment of a branch of the Northwestern Bank of Virginia. In 1834 she was

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[14] This company was merged with the Western Union in 1853-54. The Western Telegraph Co. opened an office in Wheeling in 1848-49 and the "United States" in 1864. Both were ultimately absorbed by the Western Union.

[15] The port of Wheeling was established by law March 2, 1831. Due to heavy importation era of 1854, Custom House was erected at Wheeling Aug. 4, 1854.

disappointed in her expectation to become a prominent point on a railway between Washington, Pennsylvania and the Ohio canal at Stillwater. The Bethany turnpike, connecting with a turnpike to Washington was engineered and graded in 1850 and macadamized gradually thereafter.

The early settlers depended largely upon the New Orleans market, but trading by packhorse over the mountains continued until the opening of the Mississippi was assured.

The distilling and milling business was begun in 1807 and flourished for many years. Distilleries almost succumbed by 1836 and ceased to operate by 1845. The flouring business also declined with the deterioration of the land and the opening of new areas elsewhere. Glass works were erected in 1813 and cotton manufacture became prominent in 1829. Boat building also thrived for a while.

Bethany college was founded in 1841. The town of Bethany was laid out in 1847 by Alexander Campbell who in 1827 had secured the establishment of a post-office at his residence there, by agreeing to carry the mail free twice a week between his house and West Liberty.

In the territory included in Hancock county one of the earliest industries was the manufacture of iron at a furnace which was erected on King's creek between 1790 and 1800 and continued in operation for several years.

The formation of Hancock county in 1848 was the sequence of an earlier plan to move the county seat of Brooke from Wellsburg to the more central point at Holliday's Cove. Fearful of losing the court house the people near Wellsburg voted with the people farther north for a division of the older county.

New Cumberland was laid out in 1839 and enlarged in 1848 and 1850. It obtained a post office in 1844. At the formation of Hancock it was selected as the county seat by popular election, but the county court which sat at New Manchester (now Fairview) refused to remove the records until after a second election (1850). On a third vote to settle the question, New Cumberland lost by one vote (1852), resulting in the return of the records to New Manchester and the settlement of the county seat question for a quarter of a century.

Along the Ohio below Wheeling, development was less rapid. On the site of Mr. Tomlinson's earlier town which had decayed after its failure in the competition with Wheeling for the county seat, Moundsville was laid off in 1831 and established as a town by act of 1832. New Martinsville at which a hotel was erected in 1807 was established as a town in 1838 and became the county seat of the new county of Wetzel at its creation in 1848. Its earliest church building was erected by the Methodists in 1854 under the pastorate of J. J. Dolliver. Sistersville, through its advantages as a convenient boat landing, assumed some importance as a promising town by the middle of the century. The Sistersville and Salem turnpike, begun in 1840, was completed in 1848.

At the mouth of Middle Island creek St. Marys was founded in 1849 by Alexander H. Creel who came from eastern Virginia in 1834. Near its site the earliest settlement was probably made before 1797. Several settlements were made along the Middle Island creek early in the nineteenth century. Mr. Creel in 1834 purchased land on the site of the future St. Marys, but in 1837 he located at the mouth of Green's run (a mile below) and established a village which he named Vancluse and from which he obtained interior communication by a road called the Ellenboro Pike, which intersected the Northwestern turnpike at the site of the present post office of Pike. By its terminal facilities, Vancluse became a central point for the distribution of goods on both sides of the river, and for a while seriously affected the monopoly of trade previously enjoyed by Parkersburg—even causing several Parkersburg merchants to establish "wholesale houses" there. Finding the site too contracted for a town, Mr. Creel in 1847 returned to the site of St. Mary's and in 1849 made a lot survey of the proposed town at the same time giving one acre to the future county of Pleasants on which to erect a court house. To secure connections with the interior a road was con-

structed to join the Vancluse pike at the top of the hill. The population increased rapidly and business became active—stimulated especially by a wagon trade with interior points including Clarksburg from which goods were shipped by flat boat or steamer to pioneer settlements farther west. This trade declined after the construction of the railway to Parkersburg which offered special inducements for the abandonment of the Middle Island route.

At the mouth of the Little Kanawha industrial and social development was retarded for a generation. The first licensed tavern or ordinary was kept by Hugh Phelps on the south side in 1789. For some time settlers at the mouth and along the river above received their mail at Marietta. After the formation of Wood county (in 1799) the first county court was held at the house of Colonel Phelps who was one of the first justices of the county, and was later (by 1806) captain of the militia. William Lowther was the first sheriff and John Stokeley was clerk. In 1800 the fourteen justices constituting the county court settled upon the "Point" on lands owned by John Stokeley as the location of the court house. Soon thereafter a two story building of hewn logs was constructed. The upper story, entered from the outside, was the court room, and the lower was the jail. (The building was still standing a century later.) A whipping post and stocks were also provided, in accord with the laws of Virginia. Among the prominent citizens in 1800 was Harman Blennerhassett whose costly mansion on the neighboring island was completed in that year. At that time the site of Parkersburg was known as Newport or Stokeyville, but usually called "The Point." It then contained about a half dozen log cabins, a tavern ("The Rest"), and possibly a small store. It was merely a small pioneer village, whose chief commercial life was based on trade in peltries from animals usually killed to provide meat for the settlers. Its early supplies came in flat boats from Pittsburgh or from Redstone, to which they were brought over the mountains from the East. Its early mails were by boat from Wheeling.

By act of the legislature of 1810, Parkersburg was established, adjoining and including the town of Newport, and provision was made for removal of the seat of justice to a brick court house which was erected there in the Public Square about 1812 or 1813. While the new court house was under construction, a substantial hotel, the historic "Bell Tavern" was built on the northwest corner of the square. It became a popular stopping place and a center of many gayeties. It was later known as the United States Hotel and finally as the Commercial.

By 1818 the steam boat began to create a new era for towns on the Ohio. At Parkersburg new stores began to appear and dealers in leathers and shoes. Before that date the first school had been opened. In 1820 Parkersburg obtained a charter allowing freeholders to vote for trustees, recorder, and other officers and authorizing the town government to collect taxes for expenses and improvements. In 1822-24 the town suffered from an epidemic of fever which attacked both old and young and resulted in many deaths.

The population of Parkersburg was scarcely 200 (some say about 400) by 1832. In 1833 the first newspaper was established. As late as 1830 to 1835 there were few carriages in the region. Although the first religious organization (Methodists) held meetings near Neals station in 1799, the first church building in Parkersburg was not built until 1835, following the great revival of 1832. In 1845 its members (Methodists) became divided on the question of slavery, resulting in suits for the church property in which the anti-slavery members won. The first Baptist church building was completed in 1838 and the Presbyterian in 1839. The Southern Methodists erected a building in 1858.

The larger development of the town dates from the completion of the Northwestern turnpike (in 1837) and the Staunton turnpike (in 1843) both bringing business and traffic which increased the value of steam boat connection. In 1839 the Northwestern Bank of Virginia was

established. By 1844 the population was about 1400. In 1847-48 a toll bridge was built across the Little Kanawha for the convenience of the people south of the river. Later, the St. Marys pike was built.

The new stimulus received from the completion of railway connection with the East in 1857 was re-inforced by the oil development after 1859. The first National bank was established in 1862 with J. N. Camden as president and W. N. Chancellor as cashier.

In the interior, east of Parkersburg, Harrisville was located and laid out in 1822 in a sparsely settled region. It became a post office in 1830 and the county seat of the new county of Ritchie in 1843. Pennsboro, the oldest postoffice in Ritchie came into existence about 1820. Smithfield was established as a town in 1842.

The way to the region now known as Ritchie county was opened near the close of the eighteenth century by the construction of a state road from Clarksburg to Marietta, which became a leading thoroughfare to the Ohio. Along this road the pioneers erected cabins used as "inns" or "taverns" for the convenience of travellers. The first cabin within the limits of Ritchie was built by John Bunnell about 1800 on the site of Pennsboro at which a postoffice was erected by 1820.

In 1803 another cabin was built by Lawrence Maley, a Scotch Irish Presbyterian, one mile east of the site of Harrisville. Around this the "Maley settlement" was formed. On the date of Maley's death in 1808, the Harrises and many other settlers were arriving in the vicinity and thereafter many others arrived. In the near neighborhood on the bank of Hughes river the first mill was built about 1812. The nearest store for many years was at Marietta, to which the settlers went once each year to exchange their furs, venison, ham (and perhaps snakeroot and ginseng) for salt and iron.

Harrisville was laid off in lots in 1822, but only on one lot was a building erected before 1837. In this first house a store was opened, perhaps as early as 1825 and a post office was established in 1830. On the same lot was erected (about 1843) the old "Lincoln House" which served as a public hostelry until 1888 when it was destroyed by fire. In 1840 an additional store and two residences were built, thus increasing the size of the village to four houses. The first hotel was erected in 1842. Another, the "Watson House," was built in 1843. The White Hall Hotel was built by Robert Porter on his arrival from New York about 1846, and in it was opened another store. In the meantime a tannery had been established in 1827. The Sugar Grove flouring mill had been erected near by in 1842 and other residences had been built. The pioneer church building, the Methodist Episcopal, erected on a neighboring farm in 1843 was relocated in 1855, and on the same lot was built a parsonage. A Methodist Protestant church was built in 1858. The court house constructed in 1844, one year after the formation of the county, served until 1874.

About 1830 a post office was established at Smithville under the name of "Hughes River." The first mail carrier, a boy of twelve years of age, arrived from Weston one day of each week, spending the night at Smithville.

The pioneer bridges in the county were constructed in the forties at Smithville and at the forks of Hughes river by a constructing company of the Staunton and Parkersburg turnpike. The Smithville bridge was swept away by a flood in 1852, but was soon replaced by another old structure.

In Calhoun county, which was formed from territory taken from Gilmer in 1855, the earliest settlement was made on the West Fork of the Little Kanawha in 1810 and several families had established homes by 1815. In Sherman district, however, no settlement was made until 1830 when John Haverty and John B. Goff located on the Little Kanawha. At Arnoldsburg, on the north side of Henry's Fork, where Philip Starcher built his cabin in 1810, and which was named for Charles Arnold who taught school there in 1832, a post office was established in 1832 and a store was opened by Peregrine Hays in 1833.

The location of the county seat at Grantsville on the north bank of the Little Kanawha was the final settlement of a long contest.

In no other part of the state has there been so much difficulty regarding the permanent location of the seat of justice. The act creating the county provided for its location at Pine Bottom, at the mouth of Yellow Creek, or at the Big Bend on the Little Kanawha river, a vote of the people to decide between the two places. Further it required that first court to be held at the home of Joseph W. Burson. This last requirement appears to have been about the only one which was regarded, for when the first court adjourned it was to meet not at Pine Bottom or Big Bend, but at the residence of Peregrine Hays, on the West Fork. According, the second court convened at that place September 9, 1856, and here it was held until 1857. But in August of that year, two courts were in session at the same time, one at Arnoldsburg, and another at the home of Collins Betz, on the Little Kanawha. For the purpose of effecting a reconciliation between the warring factions, it was decided to hold court at the mouth of Yellow Creek, now Brookville. A contract for a court house was let for that place for $675. But legal proceedings were now instituted, and on June 15, 1858, the court again convened at Arnoldsburg, and here it continued to be held until 1869. It now seemed that the matter was settled. The erection of a substantial brick building was begun at Arnoldsburg. But

after the basement story had been completed, all of cut stone, at a cost of $1,500, the question was once more agitated and another move made, this time to Grantsville (on the bank of the Little Kanawha)—where Eli Riddle had made the first improvement before 1839. Here a frame court house was erected, but burned to the ground before it was occupied. Another arose upon its ruins and was occupied until 1880, when a brick building was erected at a cost of $8,400.

Below Parkersburg at Belleville, which Mr. Avery had established on his tract fronting five miles on the river, the expectations of the founder were never realized. In 1806 Mr. Avery had lost heavily from a fire (started by incendiaries) which destroyed his grain-filled barn, and his grist and saw mill. In 1807, after failing in the ship-building business in which he had largely invested, he was confined (for debt) in the Wood county jail. At the same time development on the Ohio below Belleville was prevented by the high price demanded for the land by the heirs of Washington whose will had admonished the executors not to dispose of it too cheaply and had suggested a price of $10.00 per acre.

In the northern part of Mason county within the large bend of the Ohio, Mason City was laid out opposite Pomeroy in 1852 by coal operators who found a market for their product principally at Cincinnati and Baton Rouge and who were later succeeded by a company which long after the war used all its own coal for the manufacture of salt which was sold to the Ohio Salt company of Pomeroy. The town was incorporated in 1856, coincident with the opening of its first salt well and salt furnace by the Mason City Salt company, which later also opened new coal mines which were operated until 1882. At the same time its industrial activity was increased by the establishment of its first saw mill resulting soon thereafter in the opening of the boat yard.

Although even early in 1774, the mouth of the Great Kanawha was a resting place for surveyors and their attendants and a rendezvous for explorers and restless pioneers, the real pioneers of Mason county were the occupants of Fort Randolph and the settlers who, after the danger from the Indians had subsided, established log-cabin homes in the unbroken wilderness along the two rivers. At Point Pleasant although Boone lived there in 1786 and ferries were established over both rivers by Thomas Lewis in 1791 and a few other cabins began to appear around the old fort by 1794, and an inn opened in 1797, growth of community life was long retarded by the size and price of the tracts held by absentee landlords and the difficulty of establishing titles to lands while, at the same time on the Ohio side of the river lands could be bought at a reasonable price and in small tracts suitable for farms for real settlers. In 1806 Thomas Ashe in his description said that the town contained about forty houses frame and log with an aspect indicating no prospective increase. "The few disconsolate inhabitants who go up and down, or lie under the trees," said he, "have a dejected appearance and exhibit the ravage of disease in every feature and the tremor of ague in every step. Their motive for settling the town must have been to catch what they can from persons descending the river and from people emigrating from the southwestern part of Virginia, with a view to settling lower down the river, and who must make Point Pleasant a place of deposit and embarkation. Were it not for the unhealthiness of the town, it would not be unreasonable to presume that this circumstance would render it in time a place of considerable note."

In 1807 Cumings saw only "Twenty-one indifferent houses including a court house of square logs." In 1820 The Navigator described it as a village of "fifteen or twenty families, a log court house, log jail and (as usual in the Virginia towns) a pillory and a whipping post." Henry Clay who later was on a steamer which stopped at the town compared it to a "beautiful woman clothed in rags."

The first practising physician in this region was Dr. Jesse Bennett (one of the jurors in the trial of Burr) whose practice extended from Point Pleasant to Marietta and from Lewisburg to Chillicothe. Among the earliest industrial establishments were distilleries and tanneries. A new court house and jail were completed in 1826. The town was incor-

porated in 1833 and again in 1840 and soon thereafter, coincident with the extermination of wolves in the neighboring region, its business was increased by the opening of a ship yard. The first bank, a branch of the Merchants and Mechanics bank of Wheeling, was opened in 1854. The Charleston and Point Pleasant Turnpike Company, organized in 1837, constructed a road which after the destruction of its principal bridges by the unusual flood of 1847 became impassable for wheeled vehicles and useless except for neighborhood travel.

Below the mouth of the Great Kanawha, in Cabell county, development was early influenced by the opening of the state road through Teay's valley and later by the construction of the Kanawha turnpike which connected with Ohio steamer lines at Guyandotte. Guyandotte after a steady growth was incorporated and extended in 1849 and its prospects were brightened by the incorporation of the Guyandotte Navigation company which built locks and dams to secure navigation for the transportation of timber at all seasons of the year. The Cabell and Logan Coal Company was incorporated in 1852, the Bank of Guyandotte in 1854, and the Guyandotte River Railroad in 1858.

Along the Great Kanawha

Up the Kanawha from Mason, in the territory which was included in Putnam at its formation in 1848 the oldest town was Buffalo, laid out in 1834 (incorporated in 1837) and named from the earliest post office which was removed to it from the mouth of Big Buffalo creek four miles above. At Winfield, on the site of a ferry which had been established in 1818, the first hotel was opened in 1850 and the first church built in 1856.

Farther up the Kanawha above the head of Teay's valley earlier development was favored both by location on an earlier route of travel and by various local influences—especially the salt industry which became prominent after 1808. At Coalsmouth, however, there was little industrial development for a generation. In 1816 Colonel Philip Thompson of Culpeper, Virginia, arrived at Coalsmouth with his family and purchased a part of the George Washington survey on the Kanawha at that point. Here he built his home and was later followed by others from eastern Virginia. In 1834, three years after the place had become a "stage stand," he laid off part of his farm into town lots and named the place Philippi which after his death in 1837 continued to be known as Coalsmouth, the name of the postoffice. In 1856 Samuel Benedict of Pennsylvania laid out adjoining lots and called the town Kanawha City —a name by which it was known until the construction of the Chesapeake and Ohio railway furnished the impetus for an additional lot sale. A general store and merchant mill, established about 1820 a mile below the mouth of Coal, was later moved to Coalsmouth and proved a profitable enterprise. After the improvements were made up Coal at Peytonia, the work of the mill greatly increased. Another early industry was the manufacture of lumber for whip saw and the construction of flatboats for the transportation of salt from the Kanawha salines to lower river markets. About 1858 the first saw mill was built at the mouth of Coal.

Charleston had a steady growth, although slow in the earlier years. Its first awakening was marked by the authorization of the first ferry across the Kanawha and the Elk in 1794 and the establishment of the first post office in 1801.[16] Its houses were still chiefly of logs in 1803, and its population was probably less than 150.[17] Its first tub-mill was built below the mouth of Elk in 1805.

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[16] Charleston was on the mail route extending from Lewisburg to Scioto Salt Works in 1804 and from Lewisburg to Chillicothe for several years after 1808. About 1811 a mail route was established between Kanawha Court House and Gallipolis and in 1814 there was a route from Boyers to Catlettsburg.

[17] A glimpse of Charleston in 1803 may be obtained from the following reminiscent record, written by Samuel Williams fifty years later:

"The houses were mostly constructed of hewn logs with a few frame buildings,

After 1803, the region had an increased attraction for good families of tidewater Virginia, or of the Shenandoah valley, who desired to better their conditions, and saw the larger opportunities for the west resulting from the acquisition of Louisiana and the consequent removal of the earlier restrictions on navigation and trade at the mouth of the Mississippi. By 1808 the social life at Charleston had an attraction which influenced prominent land hunters from the east to extend their visits to the place and to return to establish homes. This attraction is illustrated by the migration of the Summers family.

Among the prominent families on the Kanawha in the early part of the nineteenth century was that of Col. Geo. Summers, who before he settled in the valley lived near Alexandria, Virginia, in Fairfax county. Planning for a home in the far west, desiring information in regard to lands in 1808, he sent his son Lewis [18] on a long trip by horseback down the Kanawha and up the Ohio. He was evidently well pleased with the report which his son brought and especially the report of his visit to Charleston and the Kanawha lands. Two years later, in 1810 he took the same journey on horseback, accompanied by his oldest daughter Jane, and following the route previously marked out by his son Lewis. He went down to the mouth of the river and as far down the Ohio river as the town of Guyandotte, and, returning from thence, continued the journey up the Ohio to a point beyond Wheeling (probably to Wellsburg). From the upper Ohio, he and his daughter returned to their home near Alexandria. Think of one of the young ladies of the present day taking this long and wearisome journey on horseback! Yet this faithful daughter often spoke of it as one of the most delightful experiences of her life. Her admiration of the wild and beautiful scenery through which they passed with the companionship of a father whom she loved with more than ordinary devotion, made it always a most pleasing recollection to her. This tour of inspection resulted in the purchase of the Walnut Grove estate, a tract of land on the Kanawha river nearly three miles in length and it is somewhat phenomenal that most of it was still owned by Col. Summers' grandchildren, a hundred years from the time it came into his family. In the spring of 1813 he came to take

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and, in the background, some all round log cabins. The principal, or front street, some sixty feet in width, was laid out on the beautiful bluff bank of Kanawha river, which has an elevation of thirty or forty feet above low water. On the sloping bank between this street and the river, there were no houses or structures of any kind, and it was considered the common property of the town. On this street, for half a mile in length, stood about two-thirds of the houses composing the village. On another street running parallel to this, at a distance of some 400 feet from it, and only opened in part, there were a few houses. The remainder lay on cross streets, flanking the public square. The houses were constructed in plain backwood style and to the best of my recollection the painting brush had not passed upon them. The streets remained in the primitive state of nature, excepting that the timber had been cut off by the proprietor who had originally cultivated the ground as a corn field. But the sloping bank of the river in front of the village was covered with large sycamore trees and pawpaw bushes. Immediately in rear of the village lay an unbroken and dense forest of large and lofty beech, sugar, ash and poplar lumber, with thickets of pawpaw."

[18] Lewis Summers, the eldest son of Col. George Summers, and Ann Smith Radcliffe, his wife, was a native of Fairfax County, Virginia. His earlier years were spent on his father's farm and his education, a liberal one for that time, was acquired in Alexandria at a private school kept "for the sons of gentlemen."

Although successfully pursuing his profession in the city of Alexandria his thoughts turned to the western country, as offering a wider field of usefulness and activity, and actuated by his father's wishes, as well, to find a home for his family in the same region, he left his home June 22, 1808, on horseback, to seek a location west of the Alleghenies. * * * On his journey he kept a minute journal from which much information was obtained by his father as to routes, distances, prices of land, titles, etc. Inspecting Charleston and the Kanawha Valley to the mouth of the river he spent a few days at Gallipolis. Thence he travelled northward to Wellsburg, where he visited his sister, Mrs. Robert Lowriton, and Aug. 22d, started homeward across the northern part of the state. In due time he reached home and made his report having travelled almost continually on horseback for over two months. (See Chapter X.)

In the fall of the same year he made his final removal to the west and settled in Gallipolis. Although his residence there only extended over a few years, his vigorous and well informed mind at once impressed itself upon the community.

possession of the new home and to prepare it for the reception of wife and children. Knowing that he must depend upon himself for everything, he brought with him a number of his negro men and two or three white men of experience. The trees were felled, crops planted, a comfortable house erected and stores of every kind provided. This included the purchase of a flock of sheep and the growing of flax and cotton, the product of which was to be made into clothing. Even the burial place was selected and a quantity of Walnut lumber prepared, and placed to season, so as to be in readiness when death should visit the little colony. In the autumn of the same year he went back to Virginia to bring his family and knowing that in early spring the master's eye must be over farm operations, he determined upon a winter journey and early in December, with those dear to him, made the slow and tedious passage through the almost trailless forests of the Blue Ridge, the valley of Virginia, surmounting the Alleghenies and through the canyons of the New River. The cavalcade consisted of Col. Summers and three of his daughters on horseback, a strongly built "carry-all" in which were bestowed Mrs. Summers and the younger children, a two-wheeled vehicle called a Gig, in which his daughter, Mrs. Ann Matilda Millan, was taking her bridal journey with her newly made husband Mr. Lyle Millan, followed by covered wagons filled with negro women and children, furniture, etc. In one of these, fitted for the purpose, the ladies sometimes slept when "camping out." These with Mr. Thomas Summers, Col. Summers' brother, and a few negro men composed the party, and in January, 1814, after great perils and hardships, they arrived at "haven where they would be." * * * Col. Summers lived to see the new home fairly established and his family somewhat accustomed to its new surroundings, and January 10, 1818, was gathered to his Fathers in the confidence of "a certain, religious and holy hope." He was the first to be laid in the cemetery of his own selection.

In 1815 Lewis Summers returned to Virginia (from Gallipolis, Ohio) and took up his residence in Charleston. He commenced the practice of law but combined it with other pursuits. The large business firm of "Bureau Seales and Co.," afterwards "Summers, Seales and Co.," which was the leading establishment of the valley from 1816 to 1822, was of his inception and he was one of the largest partners. He also started one of the largest salt furnaces, then the leading industry of the valley, and it was in successful operation until 1833. This furnace he called by the name of his old parish in Fairfax, the Truro.

Soon after the death of his father in 1818 he prevailed upon his mother to join him in Charleston where his two younger brothers, Albert Smith and George William would have somewhat better educational advantages.

In 1821, the boys having exhausted the schools of Charleston and being away at college, Mrs. Summers returned to the farm and thither her son Lewis accompanied her. It was ever afterwards his home and under his watchful and energetic care the "Grove" became the fair and beautiful estate which it was at the time of his death.

In connection with this he built the largest lumber and flouring mill then in the valley, which was considered a wonderful undertaking for those days. The machinery was of the best obtainable and all the latest improvements were adopted. In connections with it was a dry goods store, a large warehouse and a packing house for meats. It was soon surrounded by small, but comfortable, houses for the occupancy of the employees and was quite a little village. The timber sawed in the mill, the fuel it consumed and that used in all the houses about it, was taken from his own forests, coal being then unknown outside of the salt works.

Being of literary tastes he early began the accumulation of a library, both of law and miscellany, and long before his death it was said to be the best in the state west of the Alleghenies.

In February, 1819, he was chosen by the Legislature of Virginia to be one of the Judges of the general Court and the Judge of the Kanawha Judicial Circuit, then but recently created. He was also ex-officio a member of the Board of Public Works, and these offices he held until the time of his death nearly twenty-five years afterwards.

By 1820, Charleston had a promising future as a business center for a large area. The first clock and watch maker came in 1808, the first regular merchants began business in 1813. The first resident physician arrived in 1811, but the first drug store waited until 1825. There were several tailors by 1822. Saw mills were erected on Two Mile creek of

CHARLESTON IN 1854. (From an old painting)
Courtesy of West Virginia Geological Survey

Elk between 1815 and 1820. Its first steam flour mill was erected by Daniel Ruffner in 1832. The first local newspapers were the Spectator established in 1818 or 1819, the Kanawha Patriot in 1819, the "Western Courier" in 1820 and the Western Register in 1829. The erratic lawyer who founded the Spectator soon became principal of Mercer Academy which was founded in 1818, and sustained a "Law Department" by 1823. A library was opened by 1823. A Sunday school, although strongly opposed, was opened in 1823. A whipping post, set up by 1817, was used for the last time in 1842.

A new era of growth was stimulated by the opening of steam navigation in 1820—resulting in steamboat connection with Cincinnati about 1823—and especially by the opening of the Kanawha turnpike and the increasing traffic which followed. The first bank, a branch of the Bank of Virginia, was established in 1832. The first church buildings were those of the Presbyterians erected in 1828 and the Methodists erected in 1833, and of the Episcopalians erected in 1834. The Kanawha telegraph company (organized 1849) constructed a telegraph from Kanawha Salines via Charleston and Point Pleasant to Gallipolis in 1852. A wire suspension bridge over the Elk was erected in 1852.

In the earlier growth of Charleston, after 1808, the development of the neighboring salt works at Kanawha Salines was the most stimulating factor or influence.

Owing to the value of the licks, Joseph Ruffner in 1795 had bought of John Dickinson 502 acres extending up the Kanawha river from the mouth of the Elk. But preferring to farm on the rich bottoms where Charleston now stands he rented the licks to Mr. Elisha Brooks.

Elisha Brooks put salt making on a commercial basis. In 1797 he made a small furnace, set up a double row of kettles and turned off a hundred and fifty pounds of salt a day. He got his brine from the springs and used wood for fuel. Owing to the presence of iron and there being no clarifying process the salt was red in color. Notwithstanding, it had an excellent flavor and consumers would ask for "that strong, red salt from the Kanawha Licks" This salt was sold at the furnace for eight and ten cents per pound.

David and Joseph Ruffner, the sons of Joseph Ruffner, familiarly styled "The Ruffner Brothers," were pioneers in well-boring and in the use of coal for fuel. After much patient labor with the crudest of tools, they succeeded in boring, tubing and rigging a well several hundred feet deep. This is said to be the first deep well west of the Alleghenies and very probably the first in America. Now they were able to secure an abundance of strong brine. Wood was becoming scarce: the slopes had been stripped. Coal was plentiful, however, so these ingenious brothers experimented with coal and found it much superior to wood. The price of salt was reduced to four cents.

The whole story of their many months of preparation for the great experiment in searching for a larger and richer supply of brine—their difficulties and marvellous labor, their development of inventive genius, and their unfailing faith, unconquerable energy—is full of interest. Finally, in January, 1808, at the depth of forty feet they struck a third and better stream of salt water and a month later succeeded in obtaining a satisfactory tube by which to exclude upper and weaker veins of water.

On the 11th day of February, 1808, David and Joseph Ruffner made their first lifting of salt; and immediately reduced the price from $5.00 a bushel to $2.00. On this achievement of the brothers Ruffner, Dr. Hale pertinently remarks: "Thus was bored and tubed, rigged and worked, the first rock bored salt well west of the Alleghenies, if not in the United States."

In 1813 Joseph Ruffner, Jr., sold his interest in the salt property, including the land, to Capt. James Wilson, but the next year David traded land near Charleston to Capt. Wilson, and thus became the sole owner of all that had belonged to him and his brother Joseph jointly, and originally to all five brothers, the strip cut off to Tobias only excepted.

The successful operations of the Ruffners were soon imitated by their neighbors on the river both above and below. The rapid growth of salt manufacture is shown in a letter written by David Ruffner in 1815, and published in Niles Register. In this he states that there were then, only seven years after the first lifting of salt, no less than fifty-two furnaces in operation, and many others in course of erection; all within six and a half miles along the river beginning two and one-half miles below the first well and extending four miles above.

These furnaces severally contained 40 to 60 kettles of 36 gallons each, and altogether produced from 2,500 to 3,000 bushels of salt per day; which would amount to about 1,000,000 bushels in a year. From 70 to 100 gallons of water were required for one bushel of salt. Furnaces continued to multiply and grow in size, wells deepened, and processes improved, until the annual production reached 3,000,000 bushels of superior salt.

The next scheme which David initiated was the formation of a joint stock company in 1831 which laid off a town on the upper end of his Alderson tract; where might be accumulated stores, mechanic shops, residences, churches, etc., all of which would be needed for the convenience and comfort of the salt manufacturers and business men generally.

This place still lives under the name of Malden. At first considerable difficulty was found in settling upon a name for the town, and in fact it was called sometimes Saltboro, sometimes Terra Salis, and more generally Kanawha Salines, which last name prevailed and became the official designation. The common people, however, for what reason I know not, rejected all these names and called the town Malden, which ultimately was settled upon as its permanent title. During the flush times of salt making this town grew rapidly and a large amount of business was done here. It was the headquarters of the salt companies, and large commercial and mechanical operations were carried on for some years; but, with the decline of the salt making interests, the town also declined until it became a mere skeleton of its former self.

The character of the population which infested the saltworks during the earlier period of its history is thus described by Dr. Henry Ruffner in a manuscript written in 1860: "Adventurers flocked in from all parts of the country eager to share in the spoils. Most of the newcomers were men of bad morals. Some were young men of good character. Many boatmen of the old school frequented these salt-making shores, before steamboats in a great measure had superseded the old sorts of river craft. The old people of Kanawha remember, no doubt, what horrible profanity, what rioting and drunkenness, what quarreling and fighting, what low gambling and cheating prevailed through this community in those days."

Dr. Ruffner adds that the locality now included in Malden was in those days "the wickedest and most hopeless part of Kanawha." Of course, when he made those remarks he had no reference to the population then existing (1860), which was a great improvement on that of the period he was alluding to.

In 1835 Mr. Patrick put into use the steam furnace. This gave an impetus to the industry. Deep boring was common in an effort to find stronger brine. M. William Tompkins struck a flow of gas. He utilized this in boiling his furnace. In 1843 Dickinson and Shrewsberry were boring for stronger brine when they tapped a great reservoir of gas. The gas blew out the tubing and escaped with such force that the roaring could be heard for miles. This gas well became an object of interest and the stage driver would stop to let his passengers view the spectacle.

The transportation of salt was difficult. In early times it was carried overland by packhorses. From this we get the word "pack" which is frequently used instead of "carry." It was sent down the river in tubs on rafts. Frequently a load would be lost. They say Mr. Donnally, on hearing of a load of his having sunk, would ask if any men went down with the salt. On being told that they did not he would say that "It was not a fair sink." The flat boats carried quantities of it to the western markets.

For over 60 years Kanawha Valley on both sides of the river presented a busy and most interesting scene, and directly and incidentally gave employment to a great number of men, and kept the river lively with its great transportation boats. The height of production was reached in 1850 when it exceeded 3,000,000 bushels per annum. Much the largest single producer in the valley, possibly the largest in the world at that time, was Dr. J. P. Hale, whose great Snow Hill furnace reached the aggregate of 420,000 bushels in one year. But, alas! the irresistible force of circumstances gradually extinguished the furnace fires, until but one was left to wave its black plume of coal smoke. This belonged to John Quincey Dickinson, the grandson of one of the largest and most noted of the early salt makers.

In 1853-57 the salt industry on the Kanawha was impoverished to satisfy the demands of the salt men of Meigs county, Ohio, and Mason county, Virginia, who formed the Ohio River Salt Company which was not dissolved until 1872. As the manufacture of salt became a "vanish-

ing industry," the mining of cannel coal arose into prominence largely through the investment of foreign capital which was attracted by the reports of the exploration of Kanawha coal deposits by Professor W. B. Rogers of the University of Virginia in 1839 and to 1841. Several coal companies organized between 1849 and 1856 to operate on the Kanawha, Elk and Coal rivers were the *avant couriers* of business expansion and increasing prosperity. In 1857 the Kanawha Cannel Coal Mining and Manufacturing Company erected at Charleston buildings for use in the manufacture of cannel coal oil. In 1858 the Corwin Coal Company erected buildings at Mill creek, seven miles up Elk. All the various companies advertised for all classes of laborers in 1859 and were in a prosperous condition in 1860.

Along the upper Kanawha and lower New, Fayette county was created in 1831, from Kanawha, Greenbrier, Nicholas and Logan. The county seat which at first was located at New Haven (in Mountain Cove district) was removed in 1837 to the site of Fayetteville (then called Vandalia) where court was held in the house (or tavern) of Abraham Vandall until public buildings could be completed. The vote by which Vandalia won against New Haven in the election contest was obtained by strategy. According to Colonel G. W. Imboden on the authority of his father-in-law (Colonel William Tyree) enough votes (of qualified free holders) to carry the election were secured by Hiram Hall, the first county clerk, by a liberal distribution of one-acre tracts of land with no specified boundaries. Shortly before the war the history of Montgomery began with the arrival of boats from Cincinnati and other points on the Ohio to unload goods at Montgomery landing which was then the distributing point for merchants in Wyoming, Mercer, Raleigh, McDowell, Nicholas and Fayette counties. From it they also shipped tobacco, hides, wool and other products. Oak Hill, near which Peter Bowyer operated a water-power mill as early as 1820, received its name later from the earliest post office established at Hill Top on the mail route from Fayetteville to Raleigh Court House (now Beckley). On the site of Glen Jean a water-power mill was operated as early as 1850 and a post office was established soon after 1854.

South of the Great Kanawha

In the interior south of the Kanawha development was usually long retarded. On the Madison map of Virginia of 1807, corrected to 1818, no towns are indicated in any part of the interior region and only one public road is represented—a road from the Kanawha via Loup's creek and upper Piney to Pack's Ford at the mouth of the Bluestone and beyond through Monroe.

In the original county of Logan formed in 1824 from Giles, Kanawha, Cabell and Tazewell the county seat was located at Lawnsville or Logan Court House which was laid off in 1827. It received its earliest mails by horse over a postroad from Charleston. About 1850 it obtained better communication with Charleston by a state road through Boone which for many years was traveled by long trains of wagons from the interior.

Boone was formed in 1847 from Kanawha, Cabell and Logan. The county seat was at first located at the mouth of Spruce Fork which was unsatisfactory to the people. By an election authorized by legislative act of 1848 to settle the question, the location was changed to a point near the mouth of Turkey creek. The earliest road in the territory included in the county was a pack horse road via Marmet to Malden and Charleston at which the early settlers found a market for ginseng, venison, and bear hams. The first post offices in the county were established at Ballardsville and Madison. The largest industrial stimulus after the opening of the state road from Logan to Charleston was the work of the Peytonia Cannel Coal Company which in 1854 placed locks and dams in the Coal river and erected an extensive mining plant at Peytonia.

Raleigh county was formed from Fayette in 1850. Beckleyville (now Beckley) incorporated in 1850 coincident with its selection as the county seat received its early growth largely through the activities of General Alfred Beckley who in 1836 married Miss Amelia Neville Craig of Pittsburgh, resigned his commission as first lieutenant in the army and removed to Fayette county to improve a body of unsettled lands (now in Raleigh) for his widowed mother and himself. Largely through Beckley's influence, the Giles, Fayette and Kanawha turnpike, authorized by acts of 1837 and 1839 was constructed from Giles Court House, via Red Sulphur, Indian creek, the Bluestone to its mouth, Flat Top mountain, Beaver creek, Beckley's, Loup creek and Fayette Court House to the Kanawha.

Wyoming county was formed in 1850 from Logan and McDowell in 1858 from Tazewell by a legislative act which declared that the county seat should be called Peerysville and appointed a committee to locate it. Both counties long remained largely isolated by lack of roads. In 1805 although it had become the abode of many of the "old Families," the region along the Big Sandy and the Guyandotte was one of the wildest of western Virginia—a famous hunting ground for bears which fattened on the chestnuts and acorns and furnished many valuable glossy hides to decorate the soldiers of the two contending armies in Europe.

The pioneers along the Big Sandy and neighboring country often belonged to the best families of the older East, and some of them brought slaves with them as well as the household goods which they carried on the backs of horses. They found the earliest markets for their products down the Ohio for up-river conveyance; for their larger purchases they used flat boats above the Sandy. They received their earliest mails from Catlettsburg, Kentucky. To make their earliest exchanges they went to the mouth of the river and continued to Burlington, Ohio, (three miles below), or to Limestone. In 1815 or 1816 Joseph Ewing began store keeping one-fourth mile above the mouth of Sandy in Virginia. Frederick Moore established a store farther up the river which from 1815 to 1834 secured the larger part of the Sandy trade. Coming west from Philadelphia with goods he reached the forks of Sandy six years before Louisa became a town. He purchased tracts of land on both sides of the river. In 1818 he sent for his wife and children and established himself below the "forks" on the Virginia side.

Among the earlier industries in the Sandy valley was salt manufacture. As early as 1795 salt was made on lands belonging to Henry Clay on Middle Island creek in Floyd county, Kentucky, ten miles from Prestonsburg (founded 1799). Near the mouth of Blain on the Virginia side of Sandy considerable salt was made as early as 1813. Warfield on Tug received its earliest stimulus from salt works established before the war by Governor John B. Floyd and brothers of Tazewell county.

The new county of Wayne was formed from the southwestern part of Cabell in 1842 and the county seat was located at Trout's Hill (at Wayne). Ceredo was founded on the Ohio in 1857 by Eli Thayer who had dreams of founding a great manufacturing city there coincident with his activities to aid the emigrants of anti-slavery men to Kansas. Fairview was incorporated in 1860.

CHAPTER XII

HISTORIC HIGHWAYS

Four prominent roads which crossed the territory of West Virginia at different points exerted a great influence on the development of the region through which they passed.

1. The National (Cumberland) Road. The earliest and most famous highway across the mountains was the Cumberland or National road whose Ohio terminus was largely determined by the preference for Wheeling as a place of embarkation in dry seasons because of obstacles in the river between Wheeling and Steubenville. The road was projected largely through the influence of Gallatin and completed through the influence of Clay.

In 1803, at the admission of Ohio as a state, provision was made to connect it with seaboard by a road to be constructed by the United States from a fund arising from proceeds of sale of United States lands located within the boundaries of the new state. In 1805, commissioners appointed to examine routes, finally selected one extending from Cumberland to Washington by the shortest portage from Atlantic navigation to Ohio river waters. After considerable delay, caused in part by insufficient funds from the land sales, Congress began to build the road in 1811, and in response to the popular demand for its completion, first authorized advance treasury loans based upon expectations of future sales of land and finally made additional appropriations openly with no pretense of a loan.

The road was well-built. In the middle of a cleared space of sixty feet in width, there was a leveled strip thirty feet wide in the middle of which was the strip of roadbed twenty feet wide and covered with small crushed stone eighteen inches deep in the center and sloping to a depth of twelve inches at the sides.

In 1815, before its completion to the Ohio, it was used for the Great Western Mail upon which prepayment of postage was required for the special service. The road was opened to Wheeling in 1818, although a section between Uniontown and Brownsville was not yet completed. Its immediate influence was felt not only along its route across the northern panhandle but also across the entire northern part of the state which was in neighboring proximity to the route of the road through western Maryland and southwestern Pennsylvania and to some extent in other parts of the state—especially along the Ohio which was regarded as its western complement. Besides its immediate influence upon points directly accessible to it, it exerted on the West and on the nation a general influence which was felt by the entire transmontane region.

The West, which (by the proof of a century) could not be held by waterways, was finally secured to the Union by the construction of this road and the vast stream of colonists which poured over it into the Ohio valley. "Along the route the ringing of woodsmen's axes, the clinking of surveyors' chains, the rattle of tavern signs and the rumble of stage coaches prepared the way for the 'star of empire.' The squalid cabins in which hunters had lived beside the more primitive thoroughfare were pressed into service as Taverns," and at convenient distances apart many new inns sprang up to supply the demand of increasing travel and traffic. "Indian fords, where the water had oft run red in border frays, were spanned with solid bridges. Ancient towns which

had been comparatively unknown to the world, but which were of sufficient commercial magnetism to attract the great road to them, became on the morrow, cities of consequence in the world. As the century ran into its second and third decades, the Cumberland road received an increasing heterogeneous population. Wagons of all descriptions, from the small to the great 'mountain ships,' which creaked down the mountain sides and groaned off in the setting sun, formed a marvelous frieze upon it. Fast expresses, too realistically, perhaps, called 'Shakeguts,' tore along through valley and hill with important messages of state. Here, the broad highway was blocked with herds of cattle trudging eastward to the markets, or westward to the meadow lands beyond the mountains. Gay coaches of four to six horses, whose worthy drivers were known by name even to statesmen, who were often their passengers, rolled on to the hospitable taverns where the company reveled. All night, along the roadway, gypsy fires flickered in the darkness, where wandering minstrels and jugglers crept to show their art, while in the background crowded traders, hucksters, peddlers, soldiery, showmen, and beggers—all picturesque pilgrims on the nation's great highway."

For many years the mails and passengers from the East were carried over the road by stages largely owned and managed by James Reeside,[1] popularly designated as the "Land Admiral," who was perhaps the largest mail contractor in the United States. Personally he possessed a commanding physique, being six feet four and a half inches in height, without any surplus flesh, measuring fifty-three inches about the chest, and weighing 220 pounds. He was a man of great enterprise, remarkable executive ability, strict integrity, plain and direct in speech, and free and open handed in his generosity. He was an esteemed friend of General Jackson, as well as the associate and friend of Clay, Crittenden, Benton, McLean and other distinguished men of the period.

The first through stage line between Baltimore and the Ohio river was organized in relays. These relays lodged the first night at Hagerstown, the second at Cumberland, the third at Uniontown, and the fourth at Wheeling. The stages were of the old fashioned kind, somewhat similar to the modern ambulance, open in front and having a rack behind to hold one or two trunks. Persons rarely traveled in those days with a trunk. The passengers all faced the team on a level with the driver. Saddle-bags, then the usual baggage of travelers, were slung around the standards which supported the roof. It was the custom at night, when they reached the lodging place, to give their saddle-bags into the custody of the landlord, whose wife put them under her bed, and delivered them to the travelers in the morning. Travelers often carried large sums in this way.

It was not until the year 1827 that any coaches running day and night crossed the Allegheny mountains. At about this time Mr. Reeside became the contractor for carrying the mails between Baltimore and Wheeling, via Hagerstown and the National road, and from Philadelphia via Harrisburg, Chambersburg and Bedford to Pittsburgh, upon which routes previous to this, no mails had been carried at night. The system of running day and night was introduced by him between Philadelphia and Baltimore and the west, reducing the time from four days to fifty-two hours, and thereby earned the sobriquet of "Land Admiral," bestowed upon him by a Philadelphia editor, who, in giving him that title said "that he could leave Philadelphia with a hot johnnie cake in his pocket and reach Pittsburgh before it would grow cold."

The mail coach always carried a horn, the mellifluous tones of which were always sounded in advance on its arriving at its stopping place, as well as in setting out from its starting point. This was the

[1] The first line of stages run by Reeside was from Hagerstown, Md., to McConnellstown, Penn., in 1814, and in a few years afterward became one of the largest mail contractors in the United States. Soon after 1814, when there was no turnpike between Hagerstown and Wheeling, he became interested in establishing a line of stages across the Alleghenies.

signal for the gathering of the villagers at the different relays to obtain such news as the passengers might be able or willing to communicate to the expectant crowd. A change of horses occurred every ten miles, allowing a brief time to passengers for refreshments.

In 1835 there were two competing lines between Frederick, Maryland, and Wheeling, viz.: the Good Intent Stage company and the Stoke & Stockton or National road line. The coaches and stock of the former, east of Cumberland, were owned by Messrs. Alpheus Beall and Thomas Shriver, of Cumberland; John A. Wirt and J. A. Hutchinson, of New Jersey; and William H. Steele, formerly of New Jersey, and afterward a resident of Wheeling; James Reeside owned the stock between Cumberland and Wheeling.

While the two were running opposition, three daily lines were started from Wheeling, and frequently they were supplemented by a large number of chartered and extra coaches.

In 1836, after the federal government arranged for local up-keep, the National road by the states through which it passed, a controversy arose with Virginia in regard to the tolls at the toll-gate east of Wheeling. Virginia placed a toll of twenty-eight cents on each mail coach. When the contractor refused to pay, mail from the east, when stopped, was returned to Triadelphia and remained there until the Wheeling postmaster supplied the necessary cash. There was much correspondence, but the records fail to disclose how the matter was adjusted.

In 1836 Colonel Reeside inaugurated lines of stages (with five-horse teams), which reduced the time of transit from Baltimore to Wheeling from eight to three days—or about forty-eight hours of actual travel on the road. Between these lines and those of Stockton there was strong opposition, resulting in frequent spirited races. Considerable obstruction to the stage-coaches resulted from the numerous droves of cattle, sheep and hogs, and from the old-fashioned Conestoga wagon in which most of the freight for the West was conveyed from Baltimore and Frederick to Wheeling. Three or four coaches were required to transport the continuing increasing mails. A special wagon, designed by Postmaster-General Amos Kendall to carry the mails independent of passenger travel, was laid aside after a short trial.

After the lapse of some years, Reeside dissolved with his partners in the Good Intent line and started a line of his own from Wheeling to Frederick. At this time then there were three competing lines, and the result was that the competition cut down fares from $8 and $10 to the nominal fare of 50 cents. This, however, could not long continue, and after losing a large amount of money the other two lines bought Reeside out, and thenceforward the two survivors, although continuing as separate organizations, divided waybills and kept up rates. Two more attempts were made to start opposition lines over the same route, the Henderson company of Pittsburgh, which put on a daily line, and two sons of Reeside, who started a fancy line called the "Junebug." The Henderson line, however, was soon bought off and the "Junebug" line broke up. The two original companies held the field until the completion of the Baltimore & Ohio railroad to Wheeling in 1852, depriving them of their occupation.

The spirit governing the proprietors of the stage company in regard to failures of the mail is illustrated by the following incident: In the year 1842 the mail was due at Uniontown, Pennsylvania, at 5:30 P. M., and at Wheeling at 8 A. M. Owing to a snow storm in the mountains east of Uniontown, the mail was behind time. Mr. Stockton of the N. R. S. Co. remained at the office until near midnight, determined to save the mail if possible At 12 o'clock he left for bed, giving me orders to save the mail if it reached Uniontown by 2 o'clock A. M. When the mail arrived, twenty minutes before 2 o'clock, the clerk had it transferred to the inside of a small six-passenger coach, and at ten minutes to 2 o'clock started it for Wheeling with no one on the coach but the driver and Mr. Buntering, the road agent. It reached the postoffice

in Wheeling just as the clock struck 8 A. M., making the trip from Uniontown to Wheeling (sixty-eight miles) in six hours and ten minutes, including changes of horses on the route. The expense of that fast trip could not have been less than $1,000 from injury to stock. Three horses were killed and at least a dozen more were placed "hors de combat."

When President Zachary Taylor and his party were on their way to Washington city, they were caught at Moundsville by the ice and their boat was frozen in. A driver of the Good Intent Stage company was called upon to help forward the presidential party, and drove for eighteen hours with only such delays as were necessary to change his teams.

The road was famous for the number and excellence of its inns or taverns, the best being the Frostburg house, Bass Rush's, the National house and McClelland's (at Uniontown). On the mountain division they averaged probably one for every mile of road. All were provided

The Old Tyree Stone Tavern Near Cliftop

with commodious wagon yards. The sign boards with their golden letters winking in the sun attracted the passer-by from the hot road-bed, and gave promise of good cheer, while the big horse-trough full of clear fresh water, and the ground below it sprinkled with droppings of fragrant peppermint, lent a charm to the surroundings that was at once irresistible. The uniform price charged for warm meals was twenty-five cents. A drink of whiskey was free with the meal. At mid-day a cold meal was furnished for twelve and one-half cents (then called a "levy"). It also included a drink.

Men who drove teams on the old pike were invariably called wagoners —not teamsters, as is the modern word. They carried their beds (rolled up) in the forepart of the conestoga wagon, and spread them out before the big bar-room fire when they retired for the night. Some of the bar-room grates would hold as much as seven bushels of coal. Teams were rarely ever stabled, but almost invariably stood upon the wagon yard, no matter how inclement the weather might be. There were two classes of wagoners, the "regular" and the "sharpshooter" or "militia." The former were engaged in the business from year's end to year's end, and did nothing else and carried no food for themselves nor for their horses. The latter were composed for the most part of farmers, or common teamsters, who put their teams on the road when freights were high, and took them off when they declined. The "regular" drove his team on an average about fifteen miles a day, while the "sharpshooters" would make twenty, or twenty-five miles. There was naturally much jealousy between the classes.

The "regulars," many of whom had hauled goods from Baltimore westward before the completion of the Baltimore and Ohio railroad to Cumberland, were very hostile to encroachments of railroads, and regarded them as the invention of the evil one. They had an old song among them that ran something after this fashion:

Comall ye jolly wagoners,
Turn out man for man,
Who's opposed to the railroad
Or any such a plan.
When we go down to Baltimore,
And ask for a load,
They'll very soon tell you,
It's gone by railroad.

The business of the National Road was largely increased by the completion of the B. & O. railroad to Cumberland in 1842, facilitating eastern connection. In the next eight years as many as twenty-five stages left Wheeling at one time for Cumberland and from twelve to fifteen coaches were frequently seen in procession crossing the bridge at Brownsville. Sometimes as many as thirty stages stopped at one hotel in a single day. There was a daily line in each direction. There was also a large increase of traffic by wagons—forty often entering Wheeling in one day.

The business of the road was also influenced by slack water improvement completed to Brownsville on the Monongahela in 1844 by the Monongahela Navigation Company which was organized under a Pennsylvania act of 1836. The navigation of both the Monongahela and the Yough was first planned by the Pennsylvania Legislature in 1782. At that time a great emigration took the country by keel-boats and flat-boats. Surveys were made by acts of 1814 and 1815, the first Monongahela Company was authorized in 1817 and the state assumed control of the movement in 1822. Although the completion of the movements to Brownsville increased the business of the road between Brownsville and Cumberland, it decreased business between Brownsville and Wheeling and was regarded as a severe blow to that part of the road. A large number of the stage passengers westward took the steamer from Brownsville down the river. Many upriver passengers continued on the steamer to Pittsburgh and to Brownsville instead of using the road eastward from Wheeling to Brownsville.

The business of the road suffered a sudden and rapid decline following the opening of the B. & O. to Wheeling at the close of 1852 and the opening of the Pennsylvania railroad to Pittsburgh in 1854. This was caused first by the diversion of passengers and later by withdrawal of mails and stages from the route. The last prosperous years were 1850 and 1851. Thereafter the rumble of the broadwheeled freight wagons was gradually silenced. The last mail from the East to Wheeling by coach was carried by the son of the man who started the first line of coaches across the Alleghenies with the daily mail. The wheels of the coaches stopped. The horses were sold, and the drivers scattered.

* * * Alas, the old-fashioned stage-coach with its experience and associations as well as the old Conestoga wagon, with its white cover and its belled horses and their driver have become relics of the past, pushed aside by the progressive spirit of the age. The toot of the horn is no longer heard in our midst, and the graceful flourish of the long whip is seen no longer as the lumbering coach rattles along at break-neck speed as it draws up at the place of its destination. But now instead is heard the weird shriek of the rushing train, as with swift wings it flies along the ringing rail. The gayly decorated coach, drawn by a spanking team of four matched horses, driven by a knight of the whip, swelling with pride, and handling the "ribbons" with the skill of a master, is but a fast fleeting memory.

"We mourn, bereft of the post-horn deft,
Blown by that famous driver,
For we only hear when the cars draw near,
A screech down by the river."

2. James River and Kanawha Turnpike.[1] South of Pennsylvania, after the Potomac-Wills creek route and the route through Cumberland Gap by the Wilderness road, the James River-Kanawha route was next in importance as an avenue of migration and travel across the great mountain barrier formed by the Blue Ridge and Allegheny mountains. An early writer who traveled over the route to the Ohio pronounced it "one of the principal chains destined by nature to bind together the eastern and western portions of this great republic." To connect and improve these waters and provide better facilities for travel and traffic between East and West along this route was one of the earliest intrastate public enterprises presented for the consideration of the government of Virginia after the close of the Revolution. The subject was a favorite one with Washington, who in 1784 first brought it to the attention of the legislature which promptly passed an act incorporating the James River company, and in 1785 authorized the construction of the "state road" (for wagons) which was completed to the navigable waters of the Kanawha by 1790 and opened to the Ohio by 1800.

In 1781 an effort of the Greenbrier people to obtain from the legislature power to extend a wagon road westward from Warm Springs to the court house at Lewisburg (The "Savanna") as a convenience for the importation of salt and the exportation of hemp, though it met with some opposition, finally secured for the county court authority to levy money by which the road was opened in 1782. (At the same time a similar road was opened from Warm Springs to Sweet Springs.) In October, 1785, a new act authorized the opening of bids for opening within two years a wagon road at least 30 feet wide from Lewisburg to the lower falls of the Kanawha. This road, probably with a width considerably less than the specifications, was constructed in 1786. It completed what was known in the statutes as early as 1790 as the "Old State Road," the first communication by wagon from the East to the navigable waters of the Kanawha. In 1791 the terminal point of overland travel westward to Kentucky and other points on the Ohio was on the Great Kanawha twenty miles above the mouth of Elk at Kelly's creek. Here the travelers secured bateaux or small flat-boats built to carry them by water for the remainder of their journey. In 1796, and again in 1803, appropriations were made for the repair of this road from Lewisburg to the Kanawha. In 1787 a new act authorized the construction of a wagon road from Kanawha Falls to Lexington, Kentucky. This road probably opened as early as 1800, was completed to the Ohio under authority of the county courts of Kanawha which as early as 1802 provided for surveys from which some kind of a road was constructed by 1804. In 1791, Thomas Lewis established a ferry at Point Pleasant across both the Kanawha and the Ohio. A ferry was established at Charleston in 1794, and another one in 1809. Stephen Teays, who settled at Coalsmouth in 1800, established a ferry and kept an inn for the travel between that point and the Ohio at Gallipolis and Point Pleasant. A post office was established at Kanawha C. H., in 1801. There was a fortnightly mail brought from Lewisburg on horseback. Mails were carried from Lewisburg to Scioto Salt works as early as 1804, and from Lewisburg to Chillicothe by 1807. By 1808 many drovers from Ohio and Kentucky passed over the Kanawha route to find a market for hogs and other live stock. Lewis Summers recorded that the drovers and travelers used nearly all the surplus grain along the route and that many sheep and hogs were destroyed by wolves and bears.

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[1] In the collection of data for the study of this turnpike, the author acknowledges valuable assistance rendered by F. B. Lambert of Barboursville, W. Va.

By act of February 1, 1809, tolls were authorized. Greenbrier county was authorized to erect on the state road two toll gates one of which to be near the ferry on New river; and Kanawha county was authorized to erect another on the road within her limits. Net proceeds of all tolls were applied to the maintenance of the road. An attempt was made to fix tolls on an equitable basis according to damage done to the road. The following rates were established:

Wagon, team and driver	25 cents
Four-wheeled riding carriage	20 cents
Cart or two-wheeled riding carriage	12½ cents
Man and horse	6¼ cents
Cattle per head	¼ cent
Sheep or hogs, per score	3 cents

In 1814 the chief route of those going westward from southern and middle counties of Virginia was via Lewisburg and across New river at Bowyer's ferry, through "Vandalia" (now Fayetteville), thence over Cotton Hill to the Great Falls of the Kanawha, thence continuing along the south side of the Kanawha. The road from the salt works east was in a "terrible condition." Cabell county which was formed in 1809 promptly supplied the pioneer demand for roads. By 1814, roads were opened to the falls of Guyandotte, to Big Sandy, to the Little Guyandotte, up Seven Mile, up Twelve Pole, up Four Pole and to other points of the county. In January, 1817, the legislature authorized the construction of a road from Montgomery's Ferry (now Montgomery) via Gauley river near its mouth to intersect the state road between Fleshman's Plantation and the top of Sewells mountain. At a very early date (by 1818 perhaps by 1807), long before the appearance of any towns in the interior south of the Kanawha, there was a public road from the Kanawha via Loup's creek and Upper Piney to Pack's Ford at the mouth of the Bluestone.

Among the prime factors which urged upon the legislature the needs of road improvement was the salt industry in the Kanawha valley which was restricted in its operations and suffered considerable loss through lack of proper facilities for transportation. In December, 1814, the construction of a more permanent road was urged and attention directed to the advantages in suitable road materials along the route. In 1815-16, with a view to the improvement of the communication between the James and the Kanawha, the Virginia assembly asked the aid of the federal government.

By act of February 17, 1820, the legislature secured a modification of the charter of the James River Company that would authorize it also "to make a convenient road by the most practicable route from the James to the Great Falls of the Kanawha, and to improve the latter from the falls to the Ohio. For superintending these works the general assembly appointed by joint ballot nine commissioners, a majority of whom should decide all questions. By act of February 28, 1821, the number of commissioners was reduced to five and the company was empowered to graduate the tolls on salt from one to two cents according to circumstances.

In 1821 the route of the new Kanawha road was located westward through Greenbrier and beyond. The right side of both the New and the Kanawha was chosen because that route required fewer bridges and furnished better grade at less cost. A year later, the bridges between Lewisburg and Gauley were about completed. The covered bridges over the Greenbrier and the Gauley cost $18,000 each. In 1822 the company finding it difficult to procure "labor of proper kind" were forced to consider whether it could purchase slaves to complete the work.

By 1824 the road was completed between Lewisburg and the falls with an extension partly constructed from the falls to Montgomery's Ferry, and was much used by wagons transporting salt to Greenbrier, which thereby promised to become the main source of supply for Monroe

and Pocahontas and for part of Nicholas. Salt which cost twenty cents per bushel at the works was conveyed to Lewisburg for twenty-five cents.

By 1824 the large quantities of salt hauled east drove out foreign salt which previously had been shipped from the seaboard, or reduced the price more than half. In order to extend the benefits of the trade the general assembly was asked to extend the road to the lower end of the salt works.

Three years later the road was completed only to a point about twenty-six miles above Charleston, and thence westward to the Big Sandy travel was only by horseback and light carriages. Much of the completed road had been badly damaged by heavy wagons and by hogs.

Early collection of tolls was attended with considerable difficulty. In 1825 the toll was five cents for each person, excepting those exempted by living within four miles of a gate and not traveling over four miles. Complaint was made that those who enjoyed free tolls assisted others to evade the law. The owner of the mill and blacksmith shop at Greenbrier Bridge obtained exemption from bridge tolls for his family, servants and customers. Tolls were much diminished by the action of the county court of Greenbrier in keeping open parts of the old Stone Road (the state road of 1786), which ran from Lewisburg to the falls parallel to the Kanawha turnpike and frequently crossed it. Some gates were so situated that roads could be made around them to avoid payment of tolls. A private road opened in order to turn Metzger's Toll Gate (fifty miles west of Lewisburg) enabled the people to enjoy fifty miles of turnpike free from tolls. An act of February 28, 1829, exempted from tolls persons going to mill or returning from mill. The destruction of Gauley bridge by fire on July 11, 1826, by persons interested in the ferry at that point necessitated the employment of a ferryman who was paid one-third of the collections at that point. A new bridge, uncovered to reduce the danger from fire—a structure which stood until 1849—was completed in 1828. To keep the road in repair from Lewisburg west cost $1,000 per year. The toll gatherers were paid 9 per cent of the collections.

At this period the people of the Kanawha route were temporarily excited over the prospects of railway communications with the east, but their hopes were soon reduced by the refusal of the Virginia Assembly to grant the request of the B. & O. for permission to construct its lines along the Shenandoah and over the divide to the headwaters of the Kanawha. At Richmond and in eastern Virginia the turnpike was regarded as an enterprise more desirable for the Kanawha because it was less liable to contribute to the commercial importance of Baltimore.

In 1828 the Board of Public Works in recommending the completion of the road to the Ohio to connect the East and the West and to stop the flow of population to the West, urged that it would be a better and shorter road to the West than any other road, not excepting the Cumberland road. An additional advantage was found in cheapness of provisions and labor.

The more direct Teay's valley route to the Ohio was chosen in preference to the longer route down the Kanawha to Point Pleasant which some desired. There was already a road on the south side of the Kanawha from the Falls to the Mud river. There were various reasons assigned for the location of the new road on the south side of the Kanawha from a point just above the mouth of the Gauley, but Charleston was selected as the place of crossing. The extension to the Big Sandy was probably influenced by the expectation encouraged by the assurance of Clay in 1826 that Kentucky would thereby be induced to make a good road from the Big Sandy to Lexington.

Work on the western section advancing eastward from the Big Sandy was begun in 1828 and an act for extension of the road to Big Sandy was passed early in 1829. A year later Crozet, the principal engineer, reported that the contractors had done practically nothing for repairs on the western section. In the most dangerous places the road was too narrow. In some places two carriages could hardly pass. Earth slips

made some parts of the road dangerous. Contractors for construction of the road west of Charleston in 1830 suffered from effects of the excessive rains and subsequent drouth, and from the advance of price of labor and provisions resulting largely from the extensive public works undertaken by Ohio. The toll bridge near the mouth of Coal river was not completed until near the close of 1832.

The first stage line was established between Charleston and Lewisburg by Caldwell and Surbough and was in operation by January, 1827, making one trip each week. The fare was $7.00 and preference was given to "those who first registered their names for seats." As soon as the road was extended to Big Sandy, the same weekly stage was run from Catlett's, Kentucky, to Lewisburg, where it connected with a stage line to Sutton. Although at first the stages ran via Pea Ridge (Teays Valley) directly to the mouth of the Big Sandy, Guyandotte promptly extended a road to Barboursville in order to profit by the travel, and thereby became the point of connection with a steamer owned by the stage company which made regular trips to Cincinnati twice each week. By 1835, with a population of only 300, Guyandotte was the most important point of steamboat embarkation and debarkation in western Virginia excepting Wheeling. Three miles below, however, she had a possible competitor for future supremacy: Brownsville (earlier incorporated as South Landing) which had been surveyed into lots by Crozet in 1832 and which still awaited the disposition of the proprietors of the land to put their lots on the market.

Since there was no competition of stage lines as on the National (Cumberland) road, stage fares changed little in the course of several decades. The schedule time for the entire trip was from Thursday at 1 p. m. to Saturday evening. The fare from Big Sandy was 75 cents to Guyandotte, $4.50 to Charleston and $11.00 to Lewisburg. Each passenger was allowed 20 pounds of baggage free and for excess (carried at the option of the driver) was charged $4.00 per 100 pounds for each 100 miles. Passengers from the steamers at Big Sandy or Guyandotte, or from the connecting stage at Lewisburg, were given preference after those who registered for seats. In April, 1829, the stage line from Guyandotte to Lewisburg was purchased by Porter and Beldon; and by the close of 1830 stages were running tri-weekly, and the company advertised to make the trips by daylight and to rest on Sunday—although, when the roads were in a bad condition and the stages were delayed, the passengers got little sleep. The earlier stage "stands" (relays where horses and drivers were changed) eastward from Charleston were Malone's Landing (opposite old Brownstown), Bowserman's (Hughs creek), Kanawha Falls, Mountain Cove (now Ansted), Lewis (Lookout), Richard Tyree's (at foot of Sewell mountain), Sewell creek (now Rainell), Meadow Bluff and Lewisburg.

The extension of the road to the "perfect wilderness" at the Kentucky line, by "foreign engineers," was criticised as an egregious blunder because it tended toward the "destruction of a flourishing Virginia town" (Guyandotte) and because its terminus was closed for a large part of the year by obstacles which Kentucky probably would not help to remove. This argument was used especially by those who advocated a branch road from Charleston down the Kanawha to Point Pleasant as a means to connect with Ohio roads.

Early in 1831, in accordance with the regulations of the post office department relating to mail stages, and to avoid delays of the mail, the stage drivers were prohibited from doing errands excepting the carrying of medicine. The mail contracts enabled the company to run daily stages. In establishing this line the speed was increased so that 75 to 80 miles were covered in a day—"nearly if not altogether accomplished in the daylight." For a while Point Pleasant and Gallipolis mail was carried from Coalsmouth on horseback but later it was dispatched from Charleston by water. In July, 1831, the increase of travel eastward compelled the contractors to put on extra stages. The steamers connecting with the stage lines at Guyandotte and at Charleston were doing a good business. In 1832 the stage line carried mail daily, although under contract to do so only six days each week. Late in the year, however, the postmaster general established a daily mail from Richmond to Guyandotte. At the close of 1833 this was reduced to a tri-weekly mail. By 1837 the mail—carried in the regular passenger

stages—was transmitted from Richmond to Guyandotte in four and one-half days.

In 1831 there was considerable opposition to the increased tolls on the portion of the turnpike which had been completed above Gauley Bridge. Objection was made to the law requiring not only the stages but also the individual passengers to pay a heavy toll. At the Gauley river and Greenbrier river bridges 6¼ cents was collected from each passenger. Those who at first refused to pay finally yielded to the strong arm of the law. The "Daily Stage" line, which had been "established at great expenditure," and in the face of great obstacles, applied to the legislature for an abatement of the "excessive tolls to which the stages would be subjected" but without success. In 1832 the House of Delegates by a vote of 72 to 44 passed a bill authorizing the James River Company to regulate from time to time the tolls on stage coaches using the Kanawha turnpike. By act of March 6, 1833, the toll previously charged passengers on the stage coach or riding carriage crossing Gauley bridge and Greenbrier bridge was abolished.

Notwithstanding the tolls, the stage line attracted much travel which previously had gone by a more circuitous route. The scenery along the route was an attraction to many travelers.

In 1832 Hall and Trotter of Kentucky established a tri-weekly line of stages from the mouth of the Big Sandy to Guyandotte where it connected with the Kanawha stage line of Porter, Belden & Co. At the Big Sandy this line connected with a stage line for Lexington, Kentucky. In order to improve westward connections Kentucky in 1837 began two turnpikes at Big Sandy—one leading toward Owensville, thence to connect with the Maysville and Lexington turnpike, and the other down the Ohio. At Lewisburg connection was made with Caldwell's line which extended eastward through White Sulphur, Salt Sulphur and Sweet Springs and Fincastle and at Teaks' on the Blue Ridge intersected with the line leading east to Lynchburg and Richmond or south to Salem where it connected with the great valley line to Huntsville and Nashville. White Sulphur Springs, a resort which has been crowded with visitors during the warm season of each years since its first opening in 1818, was reached from Washington in three days travel—by steamboat to Fredericksburg, then by stage via Charlottesville, Staunton and Warm Springs. Callahan's celebrated tavern thirteen miles east of White Sulphur was a center of the travel from all directions—Pennsylvania, Maryland, North Carolina—and an interjunction of several mail routes.

In the Gazetteer of Virginia published in 1835 appears a vivid description of the route from Covington westward over the mountains. "The great state road * * * passing the gigantic Alleghenies at a grade which is almost level, pursues its winding yet steady course over ranges of mountains, and through wild and hitherto unbroken depths of wilderness and shade. Now and then it courses along the margin of some rocky and stupendous precipice often several hundred if not a thousand feet in depth,—and as the mail coach drawn by four spirited steeds whirls you along the perilous cliff, you feel an involuntary shuddering at the slender barrier which separates you from eternity. The blue mist which hovers along the yawning chasm beneath, and is visible through the variegated foliage which obscures without concealing the view, impresses the mind with undefinable images of danger—and indeed * * * I have been credibly informed that in more than one instance the lives of travelers have been exposed to imminent peril. At one of those narrow defiles * * * the stage with eight passengers and driver rolled down a steep declivity of fifty feet and—although the luckless vehicle turned two or three somersets and was actually shattered into fragments neither horse nor passenger suffered material injury."

Among the local influences attributed to the turnpike were the decrease of game, the increase of evidence of civilization resulting partly from the immigration of families of refined people from eastern Virginia, and the economic and industrial development resulting from market facilities and the increase of passing travel and traffic.

The route soon became a busy thoroughfare of travel and traffic—an avenue of activity and increasing wealth. In the stage the average citizen might ride with the greatest statesmen and converse with them enroute or at the taverns. Among the passengers of most prominence were Henry Clay who was a great favorite along the route and President Jackson, who in 1832 spent Sunday at Charleston enroute to Washington. Many of the wealthier people who disdained to ride in the stage with the common herd traveled in their own private con-

veyances. Many who were too poor to pay the stage fares traveled by horseback or walked.

Westward over the route passed many families emigrating to Ohio and Kentucky. Hundreds of wagons and other conveyances filled with emigrant families—men, women and children of all ages and conditions—who had left the worn-out lands of Virginia to seek new homes in the states bordering on the Ohio, passed along the road for weeks each year. To some of the more conservative Virginians mourning over the increasing drain of the population, this spectacle of fugitive emigrants "bending their toilsome march to the war West" awakened a melancholy train of reflections in regard to what was characterized as "the last struggle of despairing poverty to escape from the hardships of its lot." The road furnished increased facility for driving hogs to the eastern market, and consequently increased the demand for corn along the route. It was estimated that in the fall of 1826, about 60,000 hogs passed up the valley of the Kanawha, destined largely to Eastern Virginia. This traffic continued until the Civil war, although part of it was diverted by steamboat to Pittsburgh and Wheeling in the decade before the war. It stimulated the growth of corn among the farmers, some of whom took advantage of their less enterprising neighbors by meeting the drovers several miles toward the West in order to make advance bargains. It is said that the soil of Teay's valley was worn out by continued cultivation of corn to supply the demand of hog traffic. Sometimes the drovers greatly interfered with other travel for days at a time. After driving the stock through to the Valley, or to Richmond or other eastern cities, they frequently made the return trip on foot.

Freight was usually carried in Conestoga wagons, often painted in gay colors, usually drawn by four or six horses and carrying an average of 1000 pounds per horse. Even after 1852 these wagons were so common that sometimes as many as thirty could be counted in a few hours passing in close proximity and twelve or fifteen could be counted almost any day within the period of travel. Those going east usually included salt in their list of goods. Those coming west were loaded with fruit, and general merchandise—including much plug tobacco to satisfy the refined taste of the western pioneers who were not content with the raw product which they grew at home. Whiskey was also a common article carried on almost every wagon. Many of the wagoners, who endured the hardships of the long journey, "left their religion on the Blue Ridge when they went east with their produce," but, although often rough, they were a jolly crowd who at night enjoyed themselves with fiddling and with bull dances around their camp fires, or with singing negro melodies of which they possessed a fine repertoire. They bought their provisions from the farmers or at the taverns, but they cooked their own meals and drank their own whiskey.

In contrast with the freight wagoners, the stage drivers (young but expert) were aristocrats—stopping at the best taverns and conversing freely with their passengers. The horses behind which they wielded the whip were the finest that could be obtained from the blue grass region of Kentucky or the Valley of Virginia and were dressed in the finest harness ornamented in brass. Each stage driver drove at a rapid rate, and swiftly turned the shortest curves of the mountains without fear of danger. Unless hailed by prospective passengers he seldom stopped until he reached a relay station—the approach to which he announced by blasts from the tin horn which he always carried at his side. For his expert service he received about $1.00 per day, the highest wage paid on the road at that time.

To accommodate the increasing travel, better houses of entertainment were established at regular intervals along the road. These were successors of the mountain taverns which had appeared very early for the accommodation of the many pioneers who journeyed between East and West before the turnpike was begun. The county court records of the first and second decades of the nineteenth century show a surprising number of taverns which obtained license and "entered into bond and security" as required by law, paying for their license about $18.00 per year. Under the law by which county courts fixed the rates of charge, ordinaries were licensed on the Kanawha below the mouth of Paint soon after 1799, at Coalsmouth soon after 1800, at Lewisburg and at Dennis Callahan's (the center of travel farther east) by 1808, at Salines by 1810, at Barboursville by 1814, at Guyandotte by

1815 and at Culloden by 1818. After the construction of the turnpike, the inn-keepers assumed more of a professional character and many of the inns became more pretentious. Among the earlier improved hostelries opened at Charleston by 1826 was the "Jackson Hall" kept by George Goshorn, the Charleston Hotel conducted by Mr. Spotswood and the popular brick hotel of Major Daniel Ruffner located at a picturesque place a mile and a half above the town. The Ruffner place became a noted stage stand, and was also famous by its proximity to a camp-meeting ground at which many people gathered each year. In 1831, by an unusual activity in the construction of buildings Charleston secured better facilities for the accommodation of the increasing number of stage passengers who preferred to connect with the stage line at that point. In 1834 the Kanawha House, a brick structure of four stories and thirty rooms, was built near the boat landing. In 1831 a new two-story hotel was erected on Coal river. By 1832, at a point opposite the Kanawha Falls appeared a spacious hotel "kept by a good natured chunk of a man who cast a shadow of nearly the same altitude when lying down as when standing up." The Hurricane Valley tavern was opened by 1833. A new hotel was built at the Salines by 1830 and another by 1834 to accommodate the local travel to that point, from which a hack ran to Charleston morning and evening. Fourteen miles east of the Falls was the large farm and stage station of Philip Metzker. Ten miles below Charleston, and a mile or two above St. Albans, was "Liberty Hall," owned by Robert W. Poindexter, and previously occupied by Mrs. E. B. Thornton. One mile below Charleston was "Willow Grove," kept by Mrs. Watson. By 1831 there was a ferry and tavern on the Ohio just above the mouth of the Big Sandy at the termination of the turnpike. By 1832 three taverns were scattered along the route between Barboursville and Hurricane bridge. By 1835 there was a hotel at Hansford post office opposite the mouth of Paint creek. At the same time there were three hotels at Lewisburg, the great court town, and several around White Sulphur Springs within a distance of six or seven miles. Later, taverns were opened at the foot of Gauley mountain and on top of the mountain four miles east of Hawk's Nest. In 1835 there was an increasing travel resulting from the wide and increasing popularity of the springs east of Lewisburg. By 1836 the buildings at White Sulphur could accommodate 400, and in 1838 it was estimated that 6,000 persons visited the resort during the entire season.

The Kanawha turnpike was an incentive to the opening of several later lines. By 1827 there was a post-road from Gauley Bridge to Nicholas county but the mail contractor complained to the justices of Kanawha county that its width was less than the twelve feet required by law. In 1838, the Charleston and Point Pleasant turnpike was built. About 1848 the Giles, Fayette and Kanawha turnpike (begun in 1838) was completed, starting at Pearisburg and passing through Peterstown, Red Sulphur Springs and the present site of Beckley, Mt. Hope, Oak Hill and Fayetteville and joining the Kanawha turnpike at Kanawha Falls. About 1850 a "state road" was constructed from Logan through Boone to Charleston, and over it passed much traffic which declined after the completion of the Norfolk and Western in 1891. About 1850 a turnpike (begun in 1848) was constructed from Gauley Bridge via Summersville, Sutton, Flatwoods and Bulltown to Weston at which it connected with another road leading to the Northwestern turnpike at West Union.[2]

In 1848 the Charleston, Ripley and Ravenswood Turnpike Company was incorporated and in 1857 planned a better road northward to the Ohio which was completed by 1861. It was extended to Parkersburg and connected with Ravenswood by a lateral road from Sandyville.

[2] From Arnold's station (near Weston) the Glenville, Ripley and Ohio turnpike (dirt road) was constructed by Virginia about 1854-55 via Spencer and Buffalo post office.

The history of the Kanawha turnpike after 1835 has few new features. In December, 1835, the stockholders of the James river and Kanawha Company consolidated the eastern and western agencies into one agency extending over the whole of the western improvements. Ezra Walker of Kanawha was made agent of the western improvements at a salary of $1,500. He had full charge of the Kanawha river and road, collecting the tolls from the collectors and depositing them in the Bank of Virginia at Charleston.

About May 15, 1837, the road was much damaged by floods which washed out eleven of the forty bridges which it crossed. The road was also much cut on the mountain slopes by the wheels of the heavy stages which had no patent locks. In 1840 the company constructed five bridges of which one was on the Burning Spring branch. The construction of a new bridge over Gauley and other improvements on the road were suspended by cholera in the Kanawha in 1848. The arched bridge over Coal river was completed in 1849. A new bridge over Gauley was completed in 1850 and continued in use until its destruction in 1861. Several bridges finished between 1850 and 1854 absorbed much of the revenue from tolls.

Although at the middle of the century the utility of the road was somewhat increased by the reduction of tolls on live stock passing over it, the need of the road was soon greatly decreased by new factors in western transportation. Even as early as 1835, the demands of the people for a railroad or canal connection threatened the increasing business of the road and caused the president (Cabell) of the company to file objections and urge that the railway from Covington to the Kanawha Falls should be deferred until the completion of the water improvements of the line. In 1853, although the turnpike was in good condition, travel on it was manifestly diminished. At the same time the business on the Kanawha river was increasing. At Charleston could be seen steamers towing flatboats loaded with iron rails imported from Wales for the mines above the town. By 1854, synchronous with the increase of travel on the river and the connection of railroads with the Upper Ohio, the travel on the road was greatly diminished and the income of the company from the turnpike depended entirely on the prosperous business of the salt manufacturers at the Kanawha Salines. Early in 1855 travelers from Guyandotte, to secure most speedy conveyance to Richmond, went via Cincinnati and Columbus, Ohio. Tri-weekly four-horse stages owned by W. P. Parish and Company still made trips to points eastward as far as Lynchburg but the roads were in a "horrid condition." Such conditions furnished reasons for urging appropriations for the completion of the Covington and Ohio railway westward through rich regions whose inhabitants were deprived of all facilities for travel except mud turnpikes. By 1860 the eastern terminus of the stage lines was at Jackson river depot, now Clifton Forge, which was then the western terminus of the Virginian Central railway (now the C. & O.). The decline of the turnpike was completed by the ravages of war resulting in the destruction of the Gauley and Greenbrier bridges and leaving the road in a very inferior condition. The busy life along the route never returned. White Sulphur Springs was reopened in 1867, but even here there was a noticeable absence of much of the society which had once given life and gayety and grace to the resort. A few years later a new era of life along the route was introduced by the completion of the railway from Covington to Huntington.

3. The Staunton and Parkersburg Turnpike. Across the territory of West Virginia north of the region drained by the Kanawha, the Staunton and Parkersburg turnpike upon which the state spent considerable money was a factor of no small importance in local development. The story of its inception and its construction may be indicated briefly. By an act of 1823, the Board of Public Works was directed to inquire into the expediency of directing the public engineer to survey

and mark a road by the nearest and best route from Staunton to the mouth of the Little Kanawha. Following the prompt preliminary report of the board, in March, 1824, the Assembly made small appropriations from the revenues of Pendleton, Pocahontas, Randolph, Lewis and Wood to be used in opening the road, provided each of these counties would appropriate an amount equal to the sum provided by the state. An act of February, 1826, authorized an increased state aid ($3,200) and directed the commissioners of each county to meet at the mouth of Riffles' Run in order to locate the remainder of the road via Beverly and Weston. At the same time, Wood county was allowed additional time to raise the amount which it was required to contribute by the act of 1824. In 1828, the principal engineer was directed to inspect the road from Weston to Parkersburg, and was given power to change the route or location. In 1830, commissioners were appointed by act of the Assembly with power to raise by a lottery $50,000 to complete the road, and the county courts of Pendleton, Pocahontas, Randolph, Lewis and Wood were each required to appoint a superintendent to complete the work in their respective jurisdictions. To each of these counties the lottery money was to be distributed according to a stated proportion. In 1832 there was an additional appropriation, of which a given proportion was to be provided for each county which would raise an equal amount. Some of the counties by act of 1836 were given additional time to meet the requirements. In 1837, Wood county, which had failed to raise the amount required was again given additional time.

A step toward greater activity was taken by the act of 1838, which authorized the Board of Public Works to borrow $150,000 with which to construct a turnpike from Staunton through Dry Branch Gap, with a width of not less than 15 feet in addition to side ditches. In the same year, the principal engineer made a report pointing out five different routes for the northwestern part of the road—one of which utilized twenty-three miles of the Northwestern turnpike from the Three Forks of Goose creek, and another of which proposed to unite it with the Northwestern turnpike which could be utilized for the fifty miles west of Middle Island creek.

The work of construction began at both ends. On the west end one of the chief difficulties was the backwater which increased the need for additional bridges, and also induced the engineer to select a route which did not immediately follow the Little Kanawha. Here, Wood county declined to give aid in preserving the road. At the east end work was delayed by labor conditions. There, the reduction of the price of labor was secured much later than in the west. The beginning of operations was delayed, especially by the continued demand for labor on the Valley turnpike and on the James river. Finally, with an anticipated reduction of wages to $10.00 per month at each end of the road, operations on the east were begun, but in the middle of December (1838) they were stopped for the winter.

As the work of construction advanced, the Board of Public Works, in 1841, were given all the powers and privileges concerning the tolls, etc., that had been conferred on the president and directors of the Northwestern turnpike by act of 1840. The shorter and better route through part of Randolph was changed by an act of 1842 which made Beverly a point on the road, on condition that the citizens of Randolph would pay $4,200 on construction and that owners of land would relinquish all claims for damages. An act of 1845 authorized a loan of $30,000 to complete the road between Weston and Beverly, another of 1846 appropriated $5,000 for a bridge over the Valley river at Beverly, and another of 1847 appropriated $15,000 for bridges across the Valley river at Huttonsville, across the West Fork at Weston, across the south fork of Hughes river, and across Stone Coal creek and other creeks. An act of 1848 appropriated an additional $10,000 for bridges and an act of 1849 authorized a loan of $60,000 for macadamizing parts of the road. An additional appropriation was made in 1852 to repair

and reconstruct bridges and embankments which had recently been injured and destroyed on the road; and $100,000 was appropriated in 1853 for use in macadamizing, planking and bridging. According to the report of the superintendent, John Brannon of Weston, the road at this date was in very bad condition resulting from winter and spring freshets, and the tolls were not adequate for repairs. The bridges on the north and south forks of the Hughes river required stronger masonry and higher location. An act of 1860 again provided for the repair of damage done by recent floods. An act of April 1, 1861, authorized the appointment of two superintendents with separate jurisdiction divided by Cheat mountain. By an ordinance of the Virginia convention of June 14, 1861, the governor was authorized to build bridges and make other repairs on the road in Randolph for use for military purposes.

At the close of the war much of the road was in a very bad condition; but, along the larger part of the route, it has continued to be used for local travel. Tolls were collected in Randolph by order of the county court until about 1898.

The road had considerable influence in the development of different regions through which it was located. It was a factor in causing the formation of several new counties. The citizens of the western part of Lewis county whose trade was down the Little Kanawha, together with the citizens of the northern part of Kanawha county, were successful in securing the formation of the new county of Gilmer (in 1845), with the county seat at Glenville (where Hartford had been established in 1842). A few years later (in 1855), citizens of the western part of the newly created county of Gilmer, not satisfied with the selection of Glenville as the county seat, were successful in securing the formation of the new county of Calhoun.

The construction of the new road together with other influences (competition in trade between Buckhannon and Weston and differences in politics), resulted in the formation of Upshur county in 1850 by separation from Lewis county in spite of the opposition of Weston and vicinity.

The construction of the turnpike was a large influence in the stimulation of other improved roads, acting as lateral feeders. It also stimulated immigration, industry and business prosperity. This is well illustrated in the neighborhood of Weston. The Sand Fork region south of Weston (Court House district) was still a dense wilderness in 1840, although patents for the land had been granted long before, and although settlements had been made in all other parts of Lewis county. Its development was hastened by laws of 1831 and 1835, which marked a changed policy of Virginia in regard to delinquent lands and by a resulting encouragement to land speculators. Its development was primarily due to a partnership formed in 1841 between Minter Bailey (proprietor of the Bailey Hotel at Weston) and two far sighted business men (G. D. Camden and R. P. Camden), who saw that the lands might attract settlers and continue to increase in value after the completion of the Staunton and Parkersburg turnpike. They were especially successful in their plans for inducing the Irish and German laborers on the road to settle upon their lands after the completion of the road. In this they were favored by economic conditions which caused the cessation of constructive projects elsewhere and left many laborers without employment. By dividing large tracts into small farms within the means of the laborers and by arranging easy terms of payment, including the acceptance of their farm products at the Bailey House, they soon attracted a considerable colony of settlers beginning with 1845. In 1845, when there was only "one Irishman and five children" at Weston, Bishop Whelan established a Catholic mission there and celebrated mass in an upstairs room at the Bailey House in the presence of a group of Irish working men and their families, some of whom had walked from Sand Fork to attend the service. In 1848 Father A. F. Crogan was appointed as permanent pastor and began the erection of a small brick

church, the fourth church of the denomination in the territory of West Virginia. The schools, opened in the basement of the church and taught by priests who had good classical education, were attended by boys who later became prominent in the county. The new settlers were thrifty and by united efforts of husbands and wives soon accumulated enough money to complete payment on their lands, which they never abandoned. By 1848 the Sand Fork colony secured through Bishop F. V. Whelan thirty acres of land upon which a Catholic church was later erected. Its success encouraged the formation of another prosperous colony known as the "Murray settlement," developed by speculators who were competitors of Bailey and the Camdens. Later many Irish laborers on construction work of the B. & O. railroad between Cumberland and Wheeling—immigrants who had been driven from Ireland by the potato famine of 1846—were attracted from the railroad (through the efforts of G. D. Camden and others) to work on the macadamization of the Staunton and Parkersburg turnpike. Settlement on Sand Fork was also probably encouraged by Bishop Whelan who had established mission relations with the railway construction camps. Additional settlers arrived after the completion of railroad construction to Wheeling which resulted in temporary employment for many of the laborers. About the same time many Germans arrived. The example of the new settlers had a good influence on the other farmers of the community, although for several years there was little inclination to association. They soon made application for American citizenship, for which (by their travel in the United States) they were perhaps as well fitted as many older residents of the county, and during the civil war they were staunch Union men, in accord with their oath of allegiance.

4. The Old Northwestern Turnpike. The old Northwestern turnpike, extending from Winchester, Virginia, on a general westward course to Parkersburg on the Ohio, is a historic highway which deserves more mention than it has ever received as a factor related to the American westward movement and to the problem of communication between East and West. It was the inevitable result of the call of the West and the need of a Virginia state road.

Perhaps its first suggestion was recorded by Washington, who in 1758 had been the champion of the Braddock road (not then supposed to lie in Pennsylvania) and who in 1784 sought a route located wholly in Virginia. Returning from a visit to his western lands, after following McCulloch's path (then the most important route across the ragged ridges between the valleys), he crossed the North Branch on the future route of the greater Virginia highway—which was first partially realized in the "state road" authorized from Winchester via Romney to Morgantown before 1786, and extended westward in 1786 by a branch road from near Cheat to Clarksburg, from which the first road was marked to the mouth of the Little Kanawha between 1788 and 1790.

The later turnpike was planned and constructed by Virginia partly as a result of the rival activities of New York, Pennsylvania and Maryland to secure the advantages in transportation facilities for the trade of the West; and was especially regarded as a rival of the national road which was opened from Cumberland to Wheeling in 1818, and with which parts of Virginia obtained better connection in 1830 by a stage line established from Winchester to Cumberland. It was built across the Appalachian divide with the hope of securing commercial superiority, and was the main thoroughfare between East and West through northern Virginia.

The act of incorporation of 1827, authorizing subscriptions at Winchester, Romney, Moorefield, Beverly, Kingwood, Pruntytown, Clarksburg and Parkersburg, made the mistake of arbitrarily locating the route through important towns without proper consideration of the physical features of the country. After finding a way through Hampshire via Mill Creek Gap in Mill Creek Mountain, and pushing on into

Preston the engineers encountered insurmountable obstacles to the Kingwood route, causing the stock to languish.

The enterprise was saved by the remarkable act of 1831 which organized a road company, with the governor as president and one of the board of directors, with power to borrow money ($125,000) on the credit of the state to construct a turnpike road of a minimum width of twelve feet, "from Winchester to some point on the Ohio river to be situated by the principal engineer," and with the right to erect bridges or to regulate ferries already in existence and to establish toll gates on each twenty mile section completed.

The chief engineer was Col. Claudius Crozet, a French officer of artillery under Napoleon Bonaparte in the Russian campaign, and later professor of engineering in the United States military academy from 1816 to 1823. He was assisted by Charles B. Shaw.

The route chosen was through Hampshire, Mineral, Grant, Garrett, Preston, Taylor, Harrison, Doddridge, Ritchie and Wood—all in West Virginia except Garrett which is in Maryland. In Hampshire county it was established via Capon Bridge, Hanging Rock, Pleasant Dale and Augusta to Romney west of which it crossed the South Branch. Through Mineral it passed via Burlington, thence westward across Patterson's creek, and through Ridgeville on the divide to New creek which it crossed at Rees' tannery. Then turning toward the southwest, it crossed the North branch of the Potomac southwest of the present town of Germania and entered the southwest corner of Maryland through which it passed for eight and three-fourths miles, crossing the Alleghenies and emerging into Preston east of the German settlement (later known as Aurora). It passed across the picturesque Cheat valley considerably south of Rowlesburg, and via Fellowsville, Evansville, Thornton, Grafton, Pruntytown and Bridgeport to Clarksburg, thence over the summit via the head of Ten Mile creek to Salem, thence across Middle Island creek at West Union and via Tollgate, Pennsboro, Ellensboro (earlier Shumley) the head of Goose creek, and Murphytown, to Parkersburg. Much of the route passed through a vast wilderness interspersed here and there by a few old settlements and towns.

No longer dependent on the larger towns for its success, the road was completed through the wilds of Preston, considerably south of Kingwood, in 1832, and was opened westward to Clarksburg and Parkersburg by 1838. Its construction cost $400,000. It crossed the mountains by easy grades and the larger streams (in some sections all the streams) by good bridges. It was macadamized from Tygart's Valley river to Parkersburg in 1848. About 1852, it was further improved by construction of new bridges across several streams at important crossings. In 1840, facilities for travel and news were increased on the western end of the road by the establishment of a daily line of stages, and a regular mail service, which made connection with the Ohio steamers at Parkersburg. By 1845, there was a line of fast tri-weekly stages from Romney to the Ohio at Parkersburg. It connected at Romney with stages from Winchester, Moorefield and from Green Spring at which connections were made with Baltimore by trains of the B. & O. railway. The fare from Green Spring to Parkersburg (210 miles) was $10.00.

The road, establishing commercial and other relations, soon became a busy thoroughfare of travel and traffic which stimulated the creation of many inns and towns along the route—such as Aurora, Fellowsville, Evansville (1833), and West Union (1846). In many ways it influenced the material prosperity and social life of the people of the region through which it passed. Following the act of 1831, which provided for more satisfactory adjustment of land titles, it was an important incentive to immigration and settlement and development—especially along the region of southern Preston and in Ritchie. Its construction also stimulated the construction of intersecting roads, such as the Brandonville pike, starting from Somerfield, Pennsylvania, passing via King-

wood, and connecting with the Northwestern at a point which became Fellowsville by 1848. It also doubtless influenced the legislature in 1837 to provide for a survey of Cheat from the turnpike crossing to the Pennsylvania line. On some parts of its course it furnished the incentive for the establishment of inns to meet the needs of those who desired to escape the heat of the seaboard by a summer sojourn amid the wild beauty of the mountains, whose streams were filled with trout and whose forest furnished a home for deer and other game.

Among the immediate political influences of the Northwestern turnpike, together with that of the Staunton, was the creation of Ritchie county in 1843 for the convenience of the nearly 3,000 people who lived in Hughes River valley remote from their previous courthouses at Weston and Clarksburg, and the later creation of Doddridge county, (in 1845) especially for the convenience of many dissatisfied citizens of the eastern part of the new county of Ritchie who had preferred Clarksburg as their political (and business) center.

Beyond the headwaters of the Potomac, it passed over the Backbone, opening the way to a remote and inaccessible region bordering on the land of Canaan, which was made famous a few years later by "The Clerk of Oxenfords" (David Hunter Strothers) in "The Blackwater Chronicle" and later by the same writer under the *nom de plume* "Porte Crayon" in "A Visit to the Virginia Canaan."

It might have been a road of greater importance if Virginia soon after its completion had not been induced to divert her interest from turnpikes to canals—influenced by the completion of a Pennsylvania system of transportation connecting with the Ohio at Pittsburgh. West of the Alleghenies, it was extensively damaged by the numerous heavy cattle driven over it in the winter and early spring. It was also much injured by high waters, especially in 1852 and 1853.

Although it never became of national importance as did its more renowned national rival at the north, it was for awhile the busy scene of much business of a national character and gave fair promise of serving well the purpose for which Virginia had planned it until its larger usefulness was transferred to its horseless rival which, persistently overcoming obstacle and opposition, reached Cumberland by 1845, Grafton in 1852 and Parkersburg in 1857.

Supported by a sentiment that long scorned the possibility of competition and that later opposed any improved system of transportation which, by absorbing the slower traffic, might close the taverns and ruin the local market for grain and provisions, it was finally paralleled by a railroad which diverted its travel and traffic, created rival towns, and brought pioneer prospectors and promoters who prepared the way for the later era of larger industrial development.

Although its utility was diminished by proximity to the railroad, it was still kept in moderate repair in the decade after the close of the war, and it has continued a constant local benefit to the territory through which it passes.

CHAPTER XIII

THE FIRST RAILROAD

The beginning of the era of larger industrial development in West Virginia was due to the enterprising spirit of a few of the shrewder business men of Baltimore who feared the doom of their city's prosperity was foreshadowed in the diversion of trade and emigration from the National turnpike to the route of the Erie canal around the northern flank of the Alleghenies, and after realizing that the expense of the completion of the Chesapeake and Ohio canal rendered it inexpedient as a measure calculated to counteract New York's advantage or to retain Baltimore's inherited commercial prestige, decided on the feasibility of a railroad from Baltimore to the West, and faithfully and persistently pushed their plans to completion.

The Baltimore and Ohio railway was incorporated by act of the Maryland legislature on April 2, 1827. Desiring to reach the Ohio by the most southern route possible the directors of the corporation asked Virginia for permission to construct its lines along the Shenandoah to the headwaters of the Kanawha and thence by that stream to the Ohio. Although the inhabitants of the valley and of the Kanawha heartily indorsed the scheme, the assembly refused the request and restricted the western terminus to such point as the company might select north of the mouth of the Little Kanawha.[1] In 1828 Pennsylvania authorized the company to construct part of the proposed line across the state, on condition that it would locate a branch terminal at Pittsburgh, and one of the earlier surveys followed the general course of the National road, crossing the Monongahela at Brownsville.

The company was organized with a capital of $3,000,000 of which $500,000 was subscribed by Maryland, $500,000 by Baltimore. The remainder was promptly secured by subscriptions at Baltimore, Frederick and Hagerstown.

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[1] The people along the Kanawha made strenuous efforts to secure the road. On July 20, 1827, at the inception of the project, they sent a memorial to the president and directors of the railroad company, urging that the route from Baltimore via Staunton to the Ohio at Point Pleasant or to Kanawha Falls presented more advantages than the route by Cheat and the Monongahela or any more direct Virginia route along which many stationary engines would be required. Among other advantages mentioned for this route was the convenience of connection with the lower part of the Ohio and Erie canal between Cleveland and Portsmouth via the Scioto, which was planned for completion in 1831, and which might be reached directly by an extension of the railroad from Point Pleasant to the mouth of the Salt creek on the Scioto.

In 1831, the people of the Kanawha urged that the Baltimore and Ohio should be allowed to construct its lines through the Valley of Virginia, and thence via the Kanawha to the Ohio. Kanawha delegates endeavored to amend the act incorporating the Staunton and Potomac railroad company so that it might be able to extend its proposed lines westward from Staunton via the Kanawha to the Ohio. The conservatives of the East, however, feared that the Baltimore and Ohio was back of the Staunton and Potomac. The amendment was defeated 58 to 53. At the same time the Lynchburg and New River Railroad company was incorporated to divert the trade of the West to the James river. It contemplated a lateral line to the Tennessee boundary. Both these enterprises were killed by the defeat of an appropriation bill of $2,000,000 to aid the companies and other internal improvements. In 1829 an attempt was made in the eastern part of the state to secure a repeal of the act of incorporation in order to keep the road out of the state entirely. At the same time Virginia began to oppose the scheme of connecting the Potomac and the Ohio by a canal, probably because the Chesapeake and Ohio canal had become largely a national enterprise.

The surveys in search of the best way to the Ohio resulted in the examination of numerous routes across the mountains in Maryland and Western Virginia. Expirations and reconnaissances were made across mountains and long gorges.

Apparently the engineers feared that the deep gorge through which Cheat river flows could be crossed only with much difficulty therefore they endeavored to find a way to the Ohio without curiously they examined almost every passing creek on the head of Cheat to its mouth before they finally discovered the route by way of Rowlesburg where the road was finally constructed. Although the surveyors were instructed not to enter Pennsylvania they partly violated their instructions in examining some of the mountains and streams north of Cumberland along the old Nemacolin trail.

From the mouth of Savage river (at Bloomington Mineral County) they ascended the mountain through Maryland and from the head waters of the Youghiogheny river followed for sixty miles the route selected by Washington forty years earlier via of the "lower narrows" on Cheat below Dunkard bottom. They industriously labored for three days on the sixteen miles above Ice's Ferry, "clamoring with excessive fatigue over the rocks at the risk of falling from them, and frequently fording the river to take advantage of the best ground on either side."

After reaching the mouth of Cheat they descended Dunkard creek and without serious obstacle completed the survey from that point to the Ohio.

Following the preliminary survey additional surveys were made resulting in explorations of different routes southward to White Sulphur Springs. From Dunkard Bottom a route was surveyed up Green's river over the divide and down Decker's creek to Morgantown—a route followed seventy-five years later by the Morgantown and Kingwood Railroad. From Morgantown the survey of this route was continued up the Monongahela to Buffalo creek thence by that creek to the divide thence to the Ohio. From the top of Chestnut ridge west to Kingwood a branch survey was made to Three Fork creek and along this creek to the site of Grafton.

Among the surveys farther south was one which branched from the main route near Oakland, Maryland, followed Wolf creek in Preston county, crossed Cheat river five miles above Rowlesburg, ascended Flag run and continuing via Evansville across Tygarts Valley river above Grafton and then continued westward to Clarksburg and beyond. Still another was surveyed westward, along the general route of an old Indian trail, near Aurora down Mill run to Cheat at St. George, thence across the river up Clover run, across Laurel hill to Sugar creek (in Barbour County) and to Clarksburg, and thence westward to Parkersburg by practically the same route as that followed in constructing the road twenty-five years later.

Another survey starting from the head of the Youghiogheny river at the top of the Alleghenies (near Altamont, Maryland) led westward down Horseshoe run, along an old Indian trail to Cheat river, thence down the river three miles to St. George and thence westward by the preceding survey. A branch of this survey was made up Cheat river from the mouth of Horseshoe run, up Shaver's fork of Cheat to mouth of Pleasant run (in Randolph county), thence up Pleasant run, across Laurel hill and down Leading creek to Tygart's Valley (partly along the line later selected for the Western Maryland railroad to Elkins). A preliminary examination was made for a route via the Black Fork of Cheat with plans to cross the river at the site of Parsons. The routes via Cheat and also the route west of Clarksburg were regarded as too difficult. The most promising routes seemed to lead around the many streams forming the source of Cheat. One survey was made up of the south branch of the Potomac to the mouth of the North fork in Grant county but no practical route could be found over the Allegheny water shed. At the mouth of Seneca creek (about eighty miles from the mouth of the south branch) the old Seneca Indian trail was followed to the top of the mountain but the passage over the mountain was found impracticable. The survey of the route was continued to the source of the South Branch drainage system (113 miles from the Potomac) and to the summit of the main ridge of the Alleghenies near the later crossing of the Staunton and Parkersburg turnpike, but the search of the mountain wilderness indicated that the way around the heads of Cheat was too rough and difficult and the survey at that point was abandoned. A reconnaissance was made across the headwaters of the Greenbrier and to the source of Elk, thence down Elk through Pocahontas into Randolph county with a view to a route crossing from the Elk to the source of the Little Kanawha, thence down the latter to Parkersburg but the route down Elk was found too rough and the survey was abandoned. A route down the Greenbrier to White Sulphur Springs, thence over the Allegheny near the later route of the C. & O. Railroad was examined but evidently was considered too far south.

On April 5, 1828, the engineers reported on their survey[2] and on July 4 amidst imposing ceremonies the corner stone of the road was laid by Charles Carroll of Carrollton, the only surviving signer of the Declaration of Independence. Soon discovering by actual work that the cost of construction had been underestimated, the company increased the capital stock to $5,000,000 and made an effort to secure from Congress an appropriation which failed through the opposition of the canal lobby.

The first brigade of cars, each operated by one horse, began tri-daily trips between Baltimore and Ellicott City on May 24, 1830, at a rate varying from seven to thirteen miles an hour. Soon thereafter experiments were made with a lighter "sailing" car rigged with a mast and square sails to catch the force of the wind. Later a horse motor car of the tread mill pattern was tried. Finally in August, 1830, Peter Cooper made the trial trip of the first American locomotive—a working model improved for the occasion and constructed in a carriage maker's shop. Although on the return trip the crude locomotive lost in the historic race with the gray horse, it solved the problem of steam power for the railroad.

The completion of the track to Point of Rocks on the Potomac on April 1, 1832, was followed by a steadily increasing traffic and travel from the river above which assured the future success of the road and indicated that it had outgrown the earlier conception of a mere improved form of toll road. At this point the enterprise was halted by a decision of the Court of Appeals in favor of the Chesapeake and Ohio canal, which contested the right to occupy the narrow valley of the Potomac and generously invited the railroad company to abandon its work and devote its resources to the completion of the canal. By interference of the legislature which compelled a compromise, the railroad company subscribed for 2,500 shares of the canal stock and submitted to obnoxious regulations to prevent fright of the tow-path horses—including a demand to haul its trains by horses through the passes alongside the canal.

After securing the repeal of these petty regulations, the directors of the road after May, 1833, pushed their tracks forward to Wager's bridge opposite Harpers Ferry at which connection was made with the short Winchester and Potomac road on December 1, 1834, producing an immediate stimulus to the business of the road, coincident with the introduction of better cars and additional engines and the invention of various devices such as switches and turntables.

At this point westward extension was abandoned for several years during which the democratic legislature of Virginia from 1835-1838 continued to deny the requests of the company for authority to construct its lines through the whig country of central Virginia. In 1837, after reports of reconnaissances of the engineers from Harpers Ferry to Wheeling and from Cumberland to Pittsburgh had been made, the directors recommended the extension of the line to Cumberland at a cost of $4,600,000. Although Maryland and Baltimore each agreed to subscribe $3,000,000 and Maryland paid her subscription in bonds, no money was available either to meet the additional cost of new construction or to rebuild the crude and inadequate experimental road

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[2] The engineers made reconnoissances or surveys on several routes terminating on the Ohio at various points from Pittsburgh on the north to Parkersburg on the south. One of the early routes surveyed passed down Muddy creek in Preston and down Decker's creek via Morgantown and across the southwest corner of Pennsylvania. The change of route may have been partly due to the opposition shown both in Monongalia county and in Greene county (Pennsylvania) by people who feared the innovation would seriously affect the price of horses and horse feed, and the lives of wives and children and of cows and hogs. "Compel them to stop at Cumberland," they said in their meetings, "and then all the goods will be wagoned through our country, all the hogs will be fed with our corn, and all the horses with our oats. We don't want our wives and our children frightened to death. * * * We don't want our hogs and cows run over and killed."

already constructed to meet the necessities of growing traffic, and it was necessary to overcome objections to the extension of the railway parallel to the canal.

Finally, in 1838, construction through Virginia territory was made possible by an extension of the time limit of the earliest charter for five years by the Virginia legislature on the condition that the route should pass through Virginia from Harpers Ferry westward to a point near Cumberland and that Wheeling would eventually be one of the termini. At the same time Virginia added a new subscription of $1,058,420 to the subscription of $302,100 made to the stock of the company in 1836.

In the face of overwhelming difficulties the directors, adopting the expedient of paying bills by certificates redeemable in Baltimore city six per cent stock at par, began actual construction again in 1840 and completed the road to Cumberland on November 5, 1842. The extension increased the yearly earnings from $391,070 in 1842 to $575,205 in 1843 and $658,619 in 1844. At the same time there was a reduction in passenger rates due to the completion of Pennsylvania lines of road,[3] and a much smaller traffic from the wagon traffic over the National road than had been anticipated, thereby causing a disappointment which continued until the completion of the road to Wheeling. The effect of the road on the region through which it passed may be illustrated by Harpers Ferry which changed from a sleepy village to a sprightly town, and by Cumberland which increased in population from 1,162 in 1830 to 6,105 in 1850 and became the most important place between Baltimore and Wheeling.

Failing in an attempt of 1844 to secure money from Europe to extend the road to the Ohio upon whose navigation the company largely relied for expectations of traffic, the directors in 1846 sold bonds at ten per cent discount to finance the reconstruction of the Baltimore-Harpers Ferry section (eighty-one miles) on which the antiquated plate-rail was replaced by the new edge-rail.

The postponement of further extension from 1842 to 1848 was due to lack of money and credit and to the difficulty of securing additional legislation necessary to extend the time limit (1843) provided in the Maryland act of 1836 and the Virginia act of 1838. Although Maryland extended the time to 1863 by act of 1842 (which also ordered the sale of the state's interest in all internal improvements), Virginia delayed for several years. In 1845, however, the Virginia legislature was asked to consider a bill authorizing the extension of the line through Virginia to the Ohio but with no mention of a definite location for the terminus which was sought by almost every town along the river. The railroad company, seeking the shortest route of connection with Cincinnati, preferred a river terminus at Parkersburg which probably had the best claims to advantages of geographical location—especially in connection with the projected plans of the Marietta and Cincinnati and the Cincinnati, Hillsboro and Parkersburg railways which were seeking an eastern route. Nevertheless, Parkersburg lost on the first skirmish. Mr. Edgington moved to amend the bill by specifying Wheeling as the terminus. Although the bill with the amendment became a law, the stockholders of the road rejected it, considering it impractical and its conditions (as to rates, taxation, routes, etc.) onerous. Meantime, the legislature of Pennsylvania, possibly influenced by the plans of the Pennsylvania Railroad which was begun a year later, failed to pass a law authorizing the construction of the road by a route through western Pennsylvania.

During the summer and fall of 1845 the struggle between Parkersburg and Wheeling was renewed on the home grounds. A convention

[3] At one time the directors of the Baltimore and Ohio railroad company being interested in the proposed Pittsburgh and Connellsville railway were inclined to abandon the Wheeling route in favor of the route to Pittsburgh, and authorized a loan of $3,000,000 to build a connecting line to Connellsville.

of those counties favorable to the terminus of the road at Wheeling was held at Fairmont. Resolutions were adopted in favor of the law of the preceding legislature. On November 23, 1845, at an internal improvement convention held at Clarksburg resolutions were adopted in favor of a liberal charter for the railway. Discussion in the newspapers both in eastern and western Virginia was very full and often very amusing. Lengthy arguments were made concerning the question whether the shortest distance from Baltimore to Cincinnati could be found through Parkersburg or through Wheeling. A dispute arose as to which place was the head of navigation. It was a matter of great importance whether up-river boats could reach the river terminal of the road all the year to deliver their cargoes.

The real objections of Tidewater Virginia to the enterprise, irrespective of the question of western terminus, were voiced by the Richmond *Enquirer,* which, after asserting that the road would result in no economic benefit to western Virginia equivalent to the extra tolls which it would charge on commodities produced along the route, exposed the reason for its solicitude by solemnly warning the people that a railroad through that region would divert trade from Richmond to a rival city in a neighboring state. Another objection from a neighboring region was expressed by the Lynchburg *Virginian* which urged that a railroad in northwest Virginia would injure the projected James River and Kanawha system of improvements which the state proposed to connect by a canal across the Alleghenies. From this standpoint the completion of the railway to Parkersburg was much more dangerous than the completion of the proposed line to Wheeling, which passed through a peripheral region whose trade the tidewater section could no longer hope to control. To those who desired to push the Baltimore and Ohio as far out of the state as possible, the Wheeling terminus seemed the least objectionable.

In spite of a flood of petitions requesting the authorization of a railway from the East via Clarksburg to Parkersburg, the Virginia legislature in December, 1845, failed to enact the Potomac and Ohio Railway bill and at the same time granted the Baltimore and Ohio three years to begin its line to Wheeling and fifteen years to finish it.

The fight for a railway to Parkersburg was renewed with increased vigor. At Weston, in the summer, a general convention was attended by 1,400 delegates selected from various counties of the Parkersburg district. It especially expressed strong feeling against the unjust discrimination of the Southeast against the prosperity of the Northwest whose representation under the existing constitution was too low.

To counteract the effects of any railroad which Parkersburg was almost certain to secure by determined efforts, and to save the traffic of this section to eastern Virginia markets, Tidewater interests planned a road from Lynchburg via the Valley of Virginia and down New river to steamboat navigation on the Kanawha and later proposed to complete it to Guyandotte on the Ohio. Similar interests also projected an all-Virginia road from Alexandria via Moorefield and Weston to Parkersburg.

Finally, in March, 1847, possibly influenced in part by the Pennsylvania grant of the Connellsville railroad charter, the Virginia legislature became more friendly to the railway and granted an act authorizing the extension of the road through Virginia on restrictive terms acceptable to the company. This act providing for the beginning of construction within three years and completion within twelve and designated a route via Three Forks and the mouth of Tygart's Valley,[4] and thence to the Ohio by either Grave or Fishing creek and along the Ohio to Wheeling. It also required all parts of the road between the Monongahela and the western terminus at Wheeling to be opened simultaneously for the trans-

[4] This route was practically determined by the foresight of Thomas Haymond, representative from Marion county.

portation of freights and passengers. It also annulled the stock subscriptions made by Virginia in 1837 and 1838 and made provisions as to connections, erection of depots, taxation and other regulations. At the same time Wheeling was given authority to subscribe $1,000,000.

In 1848 the large cost of the construction of the remaining two hundred miles of extension to Wheeling through the roughest region yet traversed by an internal improvement in America was partly made possible by funds and prestige secured from the sale of $1,000,000 of unsalable state bonds to Baring Brothers with whom they had previously been deposited as security for railway supplies. In 1848, also, the management of the road adopted the policy of applying net revenue as capital and of issuing stock dividends instead of money. It issued bonds for rails bought in London. The peculiarly difficult conditions were met by the ingenuity of Chief Engineer B. H. Latrobe and his assistants, and by the motive power supplied by the resourceful mind of Ross Winans the indefatigable inventor and locomotive builder. In the summer and fall of 1848, Engineer Latrobe induced by the difficulties of a suitable route over the mountains and across the valleys of the

Ruins of Colonnade Bridge (B. & O. R. R.)

Cheat river and Tygart's Valley river regions, secured the services of two other expert engineers. After careful surveys, he reported the selection of a route on which construction was practicable. The estimated cost of the road was $6,278,000.

Although some of the directors proposed to complete the road only to Fairmont, President Swann urged active measures to push it through to Wheeling as originally planned. The construction of the four years which followed (1849-52), through the mountains, over ravines and rivers, through tunnels drilled in the rocky mountain side, up steep ascents and around perilous curves, was achieved without adequate funds to execute the matured plans and in the face of other obstacles. Between Cumberland and Wheeling eleven tunnels were bored and 113 bridges were constructed. The bridge across the Monongahela, 650 feet in length, was then the largest iron bridge in America.

While the forty-niners were rushing to California, the railway was advancing to Wheeling.

In spite of engineering obstacles between Cumberland and Wheeling the road was carried rapidly forward. The Wheeling end was built as a separate section. The first engine on that part of the road was brought to Wheeling via Pittsburgh.

In 1850 controversy and dissension arose in connection with the decision of the directors of the road to follow the Fish creek route to the ravine of the Ohio. At one time an attempt to stop the progress of the road in the state was made by the citizens of Wheeling who con-

tended for the Grave creek route to the Ohio. By law of March 31, 1850, the dispute was submitted to a board of engineers which made a decision adverse to the company. Bitter controversy was averted by the stockholders of the road who submitted to the desires of the people of Wheeling. At the same time Wheeling agreed to pay the road $50,000 for release from an agreement of 1847 to furnish right of way through the city streets and a depot on two acres of ground north of Wheeling creek.

In spite of the previous scarcity of labor, the operations in 1850 were conducted by 3,500 laborers and 700 horses. Employment was given to the native inhabitants who sought work along the route, and the increased demand for food benefitted the people for miles around. New towns began to rise around the route—especially near the location of tunnels and bridges. The completion of the section from Cumberland to Piedmont was celebrated in 1851 with a formidable excursion from Baltimore. At the same time Engineer Latrobe promised that trains would run into Wheeling by January 1, 1853.

Then followed a series of triumphs over the difficulties in the mountains. The road was pushed from Piedmont westward across Preston county, parallel to the extensively traveled route whose immense throng was soon to be diverted to newer routes of more rapid travel. After passing over deep gorges on high trestle work, and over turbulent streams by heavy masonry work, at Tunnelton it passed through the longest railroad tunnel which had yet been constructed in the world and continued westward toward Fairmont creating new towns (Rowlesburg, Newburg, etc.) in a region which was still sparsely settled and bringing the pioneer prospectors who prepared the way for the later era of great industrial development based on coal and timber. In order to hasten the work westward beyond the site of the Kingwood tunnel which was not yet opened, one of the most remarkable achievements, performed in order to get the road into Wheeling on schedule time, was conveyance of materials over the top of the mountain on a temporary track which had a grade of 530 feet per mile. To this point cargoes of supplies, which for part of the year reached Morgantown from Pittsburgh by steamboats, were transported by wagons from the head of the Monongahela navigation. By the same route, or across the country from the National road, also came bands of Irish laborers inquiring their way to the "big toonel."

Just above the site of Tunnelton, on Tunnel Hill on the pike in the direction of Fellowsville, a hamlet known as Greigsville, sprang into existence, grew to a busy town resembling the frontier terminal stations of the later transcontinental Union-Pacific, and melted away with the cessation of the construction of railroad and tunnel. It was the scene of the termination of the "Irish War" of the combined factions of Connaughters and Corkers (about 500) against the Fardowners who, after being driven eastward from the scene of the construction camp at Fairmont and partially dispersed at Newburg, were finally relieved from further disturbance at Tunnel Hill by the prompt action of acting sheriff, Col. J. A. F. Martin, who, with a force of 130 men, dispersed the invading force and arrested several leaders. Many of the Irish laborers, although in some instances they engaged in disturbing factional fights during the construction of the road, became permanent residents and contributed a useful element to the citizenship of the state.

The new village of Tunnelton, the neighboring successor to the construction town of Greigsville, was located on the Baltimore and Ohio ten miles south of Kingwood at the head of Pringle's run at a spot on which the primeval forests were first broken in the summer of 1849 by the Baltimore and Ohio surveyors, who announced to the neighboring farmer-pioneers the invasion of steam transportation to the Ohio.

It was built on land acquired by Hon. James C. McGrew who, perceiving the advantageous position, erected the first house and the first

store which furnished the nucleus for the future town. It was largely supported at first by timber and lumber industry, to which was added a large tannery in 1858. Later Mr. McGrew, after opening mines and constructing tramways and other structures, began to mine and ship coal to supply the increasing demand in eastern cities; but he was forced to abandon his enterprise by a discrimination in freight rates in favor of other mines farther west in which railroad officials were interested. The first postoffice immediately followed the opening of the railroad.

New industrial life began at many points and stimulated new enterprises. The stave industry was begun at Independence in 1853. The first circular saw mill which entered the county began operations two miles south of Tunnelton in 1854. Another began work at Newburg in 1865 and a third at Austen in 1867 and three years later they were at work in other sections of the county. By 1852 Cranberry Summit and Rowlesburg had also become centers of considerable lumber and timber business, and coal mines were extensively operated at Newburg and Austen. Coal mines were opened at Newburg in 1855 and at Austen eleven years later. The Orrel Coal Company which operated the Newburg mines after 1856 also acquired timber lands. The revival of interest in the iron industry is shown by the construction of the Virginia Furnace on Muddy creek in 1853 by Harrison Hagans who shipped his product by rail to Cranberry Summit, and by the later enterprise of George Hardman near Independence (Irondale) in 1859 and at Gladesville in 1869. The demand for better highways was also increased. The West Union and Morgantown turnpike was opened in 1854. Brandonville was connected with the railroad in 1857-58 by a turnpike terminating at Cranberry Summit.

The rapid development of the region along the new railroad resulted in an unsuccessful attempt to remove the county seat from Kingwood to the east side of Cheat at the suspension bridge. Kingwood increased its hold on the county seat in 1857 by erecting a fire brick court house to replace the small stone structure. This hold was strengthened a year later by the establishment of Kingwood's first newspaper although in 1869, when the court house was burned by an incendiary, the question of removal to Cranberry Summit (later Portland and now Terra Alta) was agitated.

With the gradual development of the eastern part of the county there was a revival of the old boundary dispute with Maryland which persisted until it was finally settled by the decision of the United States Supreme Court in 1910 and the survey which followed.

In November, 1852, as the Baltimore and Ohio was pushing westward through southern Preston and via Fairmont to the Ohio at Wheeling, enterprising citizens of Preston and Monongalia counties desiring to develop the great mineral wealth of the region secured from the legislature the incorporation of a company to build a branch railroad by 1857, from the mouth of Cheat via Morgantown, to intersect the Baltimore and Ohio at Independence.[5] Although the enterprise failed through lack of general interest and financial means, its inception was prophetic of the great industrial development of the region half a century later.

West of the southern part of Preston was a region, retarded in development, organized as Taylor county in 1844—following the new

[5] Monongalia county, regretting the earlier opposition which had been a factor in diverting the route of the road to Fairmont, made new efforts to escape from her comparative isolation. Enterprising citizens also urged another road—"The Monongahela and Ravenswood Railroad"—which the legislature incorporated in 1854 to connect Morgantown with the Ohio, but which never got beyond the paper stage of projection. This road was really conceived as a link connecting the Pennsylvania lines with the Ohio at a terminal point which, situated below Parkersburg, was believed to possess advantages over either Wheeling or Parkersburg as a satisfactory head of navigation, and which therefore would give an advantage in securing control of the trade of the Ohio valley. At the same time efforts were renewed to secure better facilities for river transportation on the Monongahela.

stimulus to greater development resulting from the opening of the Northwestern turnpike. Its first village of any importance was Williamsport, or Pruntytown, situated near the ferry across Tygart's river, whose growth was influenced first by Rector College, which reported 110 students in 1840, and later by its selection as the county seat. In 1845 it had grown to a town of thirty dwellings, three stores and two churches. Wonderful changes in the industrial and social life of the country followed the construction of the Baltimore and Ohio railroad. Shipments of cattle and other sources of wealth were made with larger profits. Timber resources were utilized, agricultural interests were improved, coal mines and other mineral deposits were opened, manufacturing and commercial interests flourished and thriving business centers were created. Fetterman, bright with prospects of rapid growth, became a way station only through enthusiastic over-confidence of its citizens which induced them to elevate the price of land beyond that which the railroad promoters proposed to pay.

Grafton, founded in the woods at Three Forks—its first house constructed by Mr. McGraw, one of the many "railroad Irish," whose descendants have become prominent and useful in the affairs of the state—grasped the opportunity which Fetterman failed to seize, obtained the location of railroad shops and buildings, became the division stop for the change of engines and crews, and later flourished as the terminus of the Parkersburg branch known as the Northwestern Virginia railroad. Largely the creation of the Baltimore and Ohio, the new town also later received a new stimulus to growth by securing the location of the court house which in 1878 was finally removed to Pruntytown. Its railroad facilities attracted capital to the town, gave it excellent manufacturing plants and made it quite a mercantile center. Before the extension of branches of the Baltimore and Ohio it was the market for all the timber from Buckhannon and Valley rivers—which was floated down and caught in the boom above the town, but later the timber was sawed nearer its source and the lumber shipped by railroad.

West of Grafton construction was continued down Tygart's valley to its mouth, thence following the opposite side of the Monongahela to Fairmont to which the road was opened on January 22, 1852. Here a decided increase in the population of the county had begun in 1849 through the immigration which followed closely on the heels of the surveying engineers of the Baltimore and Ohio. Some of the immigrants were Irish, fresh from the bogs of Connaught and the lakes of Killarney, who carried with them all their local feuds and prejudices which induced them to transfer their sectional fighting from the old sod to the land of greater freedom and opportunity. In a locally famous riot, in which the Connaughters, who were employed at Benton's Ferry, attacked the Fardowners at Ice's mill and pursued them to Fairmont in an exciting chase punctuated by occasional gun-shots and hideous yells, the law abiding citizens of Fairmont proved themselves equal to the occasion by arresting all accessible assailants, eighty-eight of whom they placed in jail where they had an opportunity to study their first lessons in Americanization.

The approaching railroad encouraged other activities which furnished other incentives to industry and progress. These included the construction of three turnpikes, each begun in 1849—one to Weston, another to Beverly and another to Fishing creek. In February, 1850, the people were excited with delight by the first arrival of a steamboat—the *Globe*—resulting in the subsequent arrival of others which began to make regular trips in high water during 1852, and also producing local efforts to secure permanent navigation through organization of the Monongahela Navigation Company [6] and attempts to interest cap-

[6] A company was chartered by Virginia in 1847 to slack the Monongahela from the state line to Fairmont. In 1851 it became active in its efforts to obtain subscriptions but failed. Its charter was extended by Virginia in 1853 and the Board of Public Works was authorized to subscribe to its stock as soon as the Pennsylvania

italists—efforts which failed largely through lack of sufficient encouragement from the people of the county. A suspension bridge across the river to Palatine was completed in April, 1852. In 1853 a state stock bank was organized.

Rafting on the Monongahela to Pittsburgh and lower points, which began as early as 1840, continued until about 1890. A few years after the completion of the Baltimore and Ohio in 1852, much lumber cut by portable mills was shipped to Fairmont, Farmington and Mannington.

Westward from Fairmont the railway followed Buffalo creek and at the junction of Pyles creek furnished the stimulus for the creation of another town from a cluster of houses which as early as 1845 had been known as Koontown, in honor of Samuel Koon, who built a tavern and a store there. In 1852 the place was renamed Mannington, for James Mannings, a civil engineer of the new railroad, and in 1856 it was incorporated by the assembly. From 1853 it had a tannery and a good trade in timber products and farm products.

Northwestward from Mannington, the route[7] continued up Pyles Fork, thence across the divide between Glovers Gap and Burton to the upper waters of Fish creek (via Hundred and Littleton and Board Tree Tunnel) and finally across another divide to another stream which it followed from near Cameron to Moundsville. On the site upon which David McConaughey settled in 1846, Cameron began to grow and, by an increasing trade from Wetzel, Greene and Marshall counties, soon became one of the best business points between Grafton and Wheeling.

At Roseby's Rock, the last rail was laid and the last spike driven on December 24, 1852. The first train from the East rolled into Wheeling on January 1, 1853, and the road was opened to the public on January 10.

Extensive preparations were made for a grand celebration at Wheeling on January 10-12. Over 400 persons, including the legislators and executives of both Virginia and Maryland, left Baltimore on two trains on January 10 and arrived at Wheeling about midnight on January 11, after a ride behind snorting locomotives and an exciting ride on the frail and temporary switch back railroad over the steep summit above awe-inspiring gorges at Board Tree Tunnel which was not yet completed. The triumphal march, banquet and oratory which the citizens of Wheeling had planned for their guests was postponed until the following day. At six o'clock on the following evening nearly one thousand persons sat at the banquet in Washington Hall.

In the control of river traffic, by diverting it from Pittsburg to connect with the railway at Wheeling, the company, in 1852, chartered a line of boats to run regularly between Wheeling, Cincinnati and Louisville. Soon after the opening of the road the following advertisement appeared in the newspaper:

"The tunnels across the mountains are now completed. Connection

company completed slack-water navigation to the state line. Morgantown in March, 1853, became especially active in soliciting aid and appointed a committee to institute suit against the Pennsylvania company to compel it to complete its work or forfeit its charter, but the suit was never brought. The charter of the Virginia company was revived in 1858, extending until 1868, the time for completing the work of slacking the river to Fairmont, and again in 1860, authorizing the extension of the work to Clarksburg. At that time the Pennsylvania Navigation Company had completed dams (1844) making the lower Monongahela navigable from Pittsburgh to Brownsville and by 1856 to New Geneva, but assurances of aid from the Pennsylvania company came to naught, and civil war postponed the subject until the incorporation of the Marion and Monongahela Navigation Company in 1863, and the amendment of its charter in February, 1867, so as to allow it to collect tolls on lumber and their freight as soon as one lock and dam should be completed. The project was fruitless as its predecessors and nothing was accomplished until Congress began a policy of appropriations in 1872.

[7] When the Baltimore and Ohio was completed to Grafton, the company contemplated a route westward from a point near Mannington via Fishing creek to the Ohio and Mr. Hunter who was attorney for the railroad presented a request for a right of way through Tyler county (which then included Wetzel) but the plan was defeated by the vote of John W. Horner of Middlebourne who was influenced by arguments that the trains would scare the game out of the country.

with a fine line of steamers from Cincinnati at Wheeling. Leave Wheeling daily at 9 a. m. and arrive at Cumberland (201 miles) at 7 p. m., and allowing two hours there, arrive at Baltimore (380 miles) at 5 a. m. Passengers allowed ample time and opportunity at all points to get their meals. Tickets from Wheeling to Baltimore, $8.50."

For a while after the completion of the railway along Lake Erie, from which a good connection was established with Cincinnati, there was a reversal of the current of travel by which the routes to the East via Wheeling and Pittsburg were practically abandoned, but these temporary conditions were changed by later events resulting in a return of steady traffic.

Rejoicing over new advantages by which she might be able to maintain her claim in a contest against Pittsburg for the hegemony of the Ohio, Wheeling soon confronted a new cause for grievance in a proposed connection contemplated by the Baltimore and Ohio with the Ohio Central railway four miles below the city at what is now Benwood Junction—a project which induced the people of the city to tear up the tracks of the railway and stimulated the city to secure an injunction against the railway company, which, after a long fight, was finally dissolved by the Court of Appeals of Virginia in August, 1855. Having subscribed to the Baltimore and Ohio to get its western terminus, Wheeling objected to any change of plans, or to the repeal of any charter restrictions, which would leave her on a mere branch of the road. She was also anxious to prevent diversion through travel from Wheeling to the Parkersburg branch, known as the Northwestern. With the hope of securing better communications, she gave hearty support to the Hempfield railway enterprise which was organized by Pennsylvania interests in 1850, incorporated by the Virginia legislature in 1851, begun at Wheeling in 1855 and completed to Washington, Pennsylvania, by 1857. At the same time she strenuously opposed the Pittsburg and Steubenville railway,[8] which was chartered by the Pennsylvania interests in 1849 (as a link in a proposed extension to Columbus), begun at Pittsburg in 1852, and thereafter long delayed, first by failure to get permission of Virginia to cross the narrow strip of panhandle, and later by the objection of the restored government of Virginia to the construction of the Steubenville bridge. In May, 1868, a through line from Pittsburg to Columbus, under one management, was finally secured by the consolidation of the Panhandle Ry. Co. of Pennsylvania, the Holliday's Cove Ry. Co. of West Virginia, and the Steubenville and Indiana Ry. Co. of Ohio.

Grafton-Parkersburg Branch

Undaunted by previous failures, Parkersburg, with the support of a large tributary region, continued the fight for a railway. Meantime, always doubtful of the wisdom of establishing the terminus of the road at Wheeling, and still regarding it as an unsatisfactory terminus, the directors of the company felt the necessity of a river terminus at a lower point in order to get an advantage in securing the traffic of the West. To this end the Northwestern Virginia railroad was projected (and chartered) in 1851 from the main line at Three Forks (Grafton) to the Ohio at Parkersburg.[9] Although regarded as a domestic corporation, which

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[8] This opposition, sustained by the Virginia legislature, caused considerable ill feeling in Brooke and Hancock counties. As late as 1856 the Washington (Pa.) *Examiner* still referred to the contemplated secession of the upper counties of the panhandle from Virginia and annexation to Pennsylvania which would thus secure the logical western boundary on the Ohio.

[9] The Northwestern Virginia was hardly under construction before a movement was started in Philadelphia to save the trade of the Ohio valley to that city. The Hillsborough and Cincinnati road, with which the Baltimore and Ohio expected to connect at Parkersburg, became involved in financial difficulties and was absorbed by the Marietta and Cincinnati, which preferred Philadelphia to Baltimore as an outlet for its traffic. By 1854, when the Pennsylvania railway was completed to Pitts-

should receive more friendly support than a foreign corporation, it was really constructed under the direction of the Baltimore and Ohio railway through B. H. Latrobe, who was chosen chief engineer of the new line.

Although over 3,000 shares of the stock of the new company were held in Parkersburg and along the road to its intersection with the Baltimore and Ohio, one can see back of the project the interests of Baltimore and especially of the Baltimore and Ohio company pushing it to the fullest extent and furnishing the support that made the construction of the line possible. To relieve the embarrassing financial difficulties encountered near its completion, the directors of the Northwestern obtained from the Baltimore and Ohio a loan of $210,000 of its bonds and gave a mortgage on the uncompleted road to secure payment. The road, after its completion (on May 1, 1857), passed to the management of the Baltimore and Ohio. Although it had twenty-three tunnels it was one of the best constructed railroads in the country at the time. Along its entire route, especially at Grafton, Clarksburg and Parkersburg it opened the way for a new era of larger opportunity and development. Even at points which did not feel its immediate touch it stimulated efforts to secure better communication [10] as a basis for new enterprise and industry.

The opening of the road, on June 1, 1857, was simultaneous with the opening of the Marietta and Cincinnati railroad (chartered 1847) and of the Ohio and Mississippi (chartered 1848 and constructed as a six-foot gauge) from Cincinnati to St. Louis. These openings, completing a through route from New York to St. Louis, were enthusiastically observed by the "great railway celebration" of 1857, beginning with a triumphal progress from Baltimore to St. Louis, punctuated by many stops and delays and enlivened by the long winded speeches of aspiring orators bursting with burning rhetoric which nothing but the shrill shrieks of the starting whistles of the locomotive could control. After a program of feasting and fireworks at St. Louis and on the return trip, the celebration closed with a military banquet at Baltimore.

The people of Parkersburg, who had made such a long, hard fight to secure a road and therefore felt that they were entitled to recognition, were much disappointed that their town had not been selected as a place for the part of the celebration which was held in Cincinnati. Their dissatisfaction became increasingly serious by the report that the Baltimore and Ohio, which had leased the Northwestern at its completion, was diverting Northwestern traffic to the Wheeling route in order to force a failure of the new road so that its stock could be purchased for a trifle. Their complaints gradually died away coincident with the stimulating oil development at Burning Springs and the new excitement which precipitated the civil war.

The completion of the Baltimore and Ohio railway, the horseless rival of the great Northwestern turnpike, which had scorned the possibility of competition, greatly facilitated travel between the Ohio Valley [11] and the Atlantic coast. Although there were no conveniences,

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burgh, a road to connect with it was already projected from Greenburg to Wheeling. In 1854 the legislature of Virginia chartered the Morgantown and Ravenswood railway which was proposed as a link to connect with another road reaching the main line of the Pennsylvania west of Philadelphia. It was thought that this road, striking the Ohio south of Parkersburg, would have a great advantage in getting the trade of the Ohio valley. Most of the money for the proposed enterprise was promised by Philadelphia capitalists. Meetings were held along the proposed route to arrange for stock subscriptions. Like so many enterprises of its kind, however, it remained on the list of roads constructed only on paper.

[10] A projected railway from Williamson to intersect with the Baltimore and Ohio at Ellenboro, thirty-seven miles east of Parkersburg, was chartered by Virginia but construction failed from lack of capital.

[11] The Baltimore and Ohio company no longer looked to the Ohio river for all its traffic. Four years before the Northwestern Virginia was completed a meeting of the engineers of this company and those of the Hillsborough and Cincinnati was held in Parkersburg to discuss plans for a bridge across the Ohio. After considering

such as the sleeping car, the buffet and the chair car, the people were happy with the new mode of travel, which made a trip East a sort of holiday long to be remembered by those who made it for the first time.

Although for many years at least the road was not a financial success, if measured by its dividends to stockholders, it was an incalculable success, if measured by the salutary effect on the country through which it passed and upon the city of Baltimore, which gave it birth. It carried from western Virginia and Maryland great quantities of raw material which were converted into manufactured articles which were shipped back for use in reducing the forests and spreading civilization along the route of the great highway. It benefited even the lower reaches of the Ohio by the improvement of transportation facilities by which Baltimore became a good market for Cincinnati and Louisville. Nor were its benefits economic alone. The parts of country which it touched bound together into a closer social and political union than had before been realized. It was a large factor in determining the political destiny of West Virginia, the military strategy of the civil war, and the continued integrity of the American Union.

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four sites—Parkersburg, Blennerhassett's Island, Little Hockhocking, and Walker's brick house—the companies decided that the enterprise was too large to undertake at that time. When the road to Parkersburg was finished in 1857 connection with the Ohio road was made by boat to Marietta. Wheeling objected to the construction of a bridge at Parkersburg on the ground that it would obstruct navigation.

CHAPTER XIV

WHEELING-PITTSBURGH RIVALRY

The Baltimore and Ohio railway, which at its inception was largely influenced by rivalry between eastern cities in its period of construction west of Cumberland and at its completion to the Ohio, had an important relation to an increasing rivalry between Virginia and Pennsylvania and especially between Wheeling and Pittsburg, each of which claimed headship on the Ohio.

The Wheeling Bridge case, in the Supreme Court in 1849-52 and 1854-56, is as interesting through its relations to the industrial history of the period as it is from the standpoint of constitutional questions involved. Its study introduces us to the earlier rivalries of coast cities to secure the trade of the West, the systems of internal improvements planned to reach the Ohio, the development of trade and navigation and the extension of improvements and regulations by Congress on the Ohio, and the rivalries of Pittsburg and Wheeling to obtain the hegemony by lines of trade and travel converging and concentrating at their gates.

Pennsylvania was early interested in plans of internal improvements to connect Philadelphia with Pittsburg and the free navigation of the Ohio. Occupying a central position, resting eastward on the Atlantic, north on the Lakes, and flanking on the Ohio which connected her with the Gulf and the vast regions of West and South, she had advantages over other states for both foreign and domestic commerce. These advantages she cultivated from the earliest period. In 1826, influenced by the improved conditions of steam navigation on the western waters, by the effects of the Cumberland road in diverting to Wheeling much of the westward travel which had formerly passed down the Monongahela to the Ohio at Pittsburg, and by the success of the Erie canal which also diverted travel and trade from Pittsburg, she began a system of canals to connect the Atlantic and the Lakes with the Ohio, which had begun to bring to her western gates the commerce from the Gulf and the Mississippi—and at great expense and sacrifice she forced her way westward, from the end of the horse railway at Columbia, up the Juniata to Hollidaysburg. Then, in 1835, by an inclined plane portage railway, for thirty-eight miles across the Appalachians, at the base of which other enterprises halted, she connected with the western canal from Johnstown to Pittsburg. Over this route she transported both passengers and goods—carrying to eastern markets the rice, cotton and sugar of the South, the bacon and flour of the West, and the furs and minerals of the Northwest. In 1844 her connections with the Ohio were improved by a packet line established between Pittsburg and Cincinnati. By 1850, these improvements, together with her interest in a slack water navigation from Pittsburg to Brownsville and up the Youghiogheny to West Newton, and the importance of the ship-building industry at Pittsburg, made her watchful of the problems of navigation on the Ohio. At the solicitation of her legislature, and to meet the needs of growing commerce, Congress, beginning its policy of improvement of Ohio navigation in 1824, had appropriated large sums by 1850 to remove obstructions in the river.

In the meantime Wheeling, whose growing importance had received its first stimulus from the completion of the Cumberland road to the Ohio in 1818, threatened to rival Pittsburg in prosperity, wealth and greatness,

and to become the head of navigation on the Ohio, as well as the western terminal of the first railway to reach the western waters from the East, and a center of other converging lines from both East and West. After persevering efforts of nearly a quarter century she scored her greatest victory by securing the route of the Baltimore and Ohio Railway, whose charter of 1827 had prohibited the termination of the road at any point on the Ohio below the Little Kanawha and whose engineers on reconnaissance and surveys in 1828 had considered several routes terminating on the Ohio between Parkersburg and Pittsburg. Coincidently, after the unsuccessful efforts of over half a century, she secured the first bridge across the Ohio—a structure which she regarded as a logical link and incidental part of the national road, and a fulfilment of the provisions of the act of 1802, by which Ohio had been admitted as a state, but which Pittsburg regarded as an injury to navigation—obstructing it much more effectively than Congress had been able to improve it by her recent expenditures of public money.

The story of the efforts to obtain the bridge is a long one, reflecting the industrial progress and energy of the West and the evolution of national policies, and punctuated with the spice and pepper of rival memorials and resolutions. In 1816, during the construction of the national road from Cumberland to the Ohio, the legislatures of Virginia and Ohio incorporated the Wheeling and Belmont Bridge Company and authorized it to erect a bridge which, however, was to be treated as a public nuisance liable to abatement if not constructed so as to avoid injury to navigation. Unable to raise funds necessary for the work, the company, in 1830, asked for a national subscription to the bridge, and its request received a favorable committee report in the House. Two years later citizens of Pennsylvania submitted to the House a memorial against the erection of the bridge.

Under the old charter of 1816, the company in 1836 built a wooden bridge from the west end of Zane's Island to the Ohio shore, leaving the stream east of the island free to navigation. At the same time petitions to Congress, backed by resolutions of the Ohio legislature, urged the construction of the bridge over both branches of the stream in order to facilitate trade and travel and to prevent inconvenience and delay in transporting the mails by the ferry, which was frequently obstructed by ice and driftwood, and especially so in the great floods of 1832. A congressional committee on roads and canals made a favorable report recommending the completion of the Cumberland road by the erection of the bridge, but the objection was made that the bridge might prove an obstruction to the high chimneys of the steamboats whose convenience Congress did not think should yield to the benefits of the bridge. In 1838, government engineers, after a survey made under the direction of the war department, presented to Congress a plan for a suspension bridge with a movable floor which they claimed would offer no obstruction to the highest steamboat smoke-stacks on the highest floods, but the plan was rejected. In 1840, the postmaster-general recommended the construction of the bridge in order to provide for safe and prompt carriage of the mails which had been detained by ice from seventeen to thirty-two days each year; but his recommendation was buried in the archives.

Early in 1844, Pennsylvania, awakened by the fear of plans to make Wheeling the head of navigation, became more active in her opposition to what seemed an imminent danger to her interests and the interests of Pittsburg. By action of her legislature she opposed the request of Wheeling and the Ohio legislature for national appropriations to construct the bridge, and soon took new steps to secure the construction of a railroad from Harrisburg to Pittsburg. Nevertheless, the House committee on roads and canals, deciding that the bridge could be constructed without obstructing navigation, reported a bill making an appropriation and submitting a plan of Mr. Ellet for a simple span across the river at an elevation of ninety feet above low water; but those who

spoke for Pennsylvania urged the specific objection that ninety feet would not admit the passage of steamboats with tall chimneys, and defeated the bill. In vain did Mr. Steenrod, the member from Wheeling, propose hinged smoke stacks for the few tall chimneyed boats, and press every possible argument in favor of the bridge. Opposition increased after 1845 with the increase in the size of the Pittsburg steamboat smokestacks—an improvement by which speed power was increased through increased consumption of fuel.

Baffled in her project to secure the sanction and aid of Congress for a bridge which Pennsylvania regarded as a plan to divert commerce from Pittsburg by making Wheeling the head of navigation, Wheeling next resorted to the legislature of Virginia in which the remonstrating voice of Pennsylvania could not be heard. On March 19, 1847, the Bridge Company obtained from the legislature a charter reviving the earlier one of 1816 and authorizing the erection of a wire suspension bridge—but also providing that the structure might be treated as a common nuisance, subject to abatement, in case it should obstruct the navigation of the Ohio "in the usual manner" by steamboats and other crafts which were accustomed to navigate it. Under this charter the company took early steps to erect the bridge. At the same time, and coincident with the beginning of construction on the Harrisburg and Pittsburg railway at Harrisburg, under its charter granted by the Pennsylvania legislature on April 13, 1846, Wheeling managed to secure a promise of the western terminal of the Baltimore and Ohio railway—which, after a long halt at Cumberland, received a new charter from the Virginia legislature and prepared to push construction to the Ohio ahead of the Pennsylvania line.

The possible strategic and economic effects of the Baltimore and Ohio terminal at Wheeling increased the activity of Pittsburg against the bridge, which the engineer of the Pennsylvania and Ohio railway openly declared was designed as a connecting link between the Baltimore and Ohio and the state of Ohio—by which Wheeling was also endeavoring to make herself the terminal of the Ohio railways which Pittsburg sought to secure.

A determined struggle followed. Before its cables were thrown across the river, the Bridge company received legal notice of the institution of a suit and an application for an injunction. The bill of Pennsylvania, filed before the United States supreme court in July, 1849, charged that the Bridge company, under color of an act of the Virginia legislature, but in direct violation of its terms, was preparing to construct a bridge at Wheeling which would obstruct navigation on the Ohio and thereby cut off and divert trade and business from the public works of Pennsylvania, and thus diminish tolls and revenues and render its improvements useless. In spite of the order of Judge Grier (August 1, 1849), the Bridge company continued its work, and in August, 1849, Pennsylvania filed a supplemental bill praying for abatement of the iron cables which were being stretched across the river. The Bridge company continued to work and completed the bridge. The state treasurer of Pennsylvania reported that it threatened to interfere with the business and enterprise of Pittsburg whose commercial prosperity was so essential to the productiveness of the main line of the Pennsylvania canal. In December, 1849, Pennsylvania filed another supplemental bill praying abatement of the bridge as a nuisance, representing that the structure obstructed the passage of steamboats and threatened to injure and destroy the shipbuilding business at Pittsburg. With no appeal to force (such as had recently occurred on the Ohio-Michigan frontier), or blustering enactments of state sovereignty, or threats of secession, she sought a remedy by injunction against a local corporation. In January, 1850, the Pennsylvania legislature unanimously passed a resolution approving the prosecution instituted by the attorney-general. At the same time the Bridge company secured from the Virginia legislature (on January 11, 1850), an amendatory act declaring

that the height of the bridge (90 feet at eastern abutment, 93½ feet at the highest point, and 62 feet at the western abutment, above the low water level of the Ohio), was in conformity with the intent and meaning of the charter.

In the presentation of the case before the Supreme court, the attorney-general of Pennsylvania and Edwin M. Stanton were attorneys for Pennsylvania, and Alex. H. H. Stuart and Reverdy Johnson for the Bridge company.

The counsel for Pennsylvania urged that the bridge had been erected especially to the injury of Pittsburg (the rival of Wheeling in commerce and manufactures), whose six largest boats (those most affected by the bridge), carried between Pittsburg and Cincinnati three-fourths of the trade and travel transported by the Pennsylvania canal. "To the public works of Pennsylvania the injury occasioned by this obstruction is deep and lasting," said Stanton. "The products of the South and West, and of the Pacific coast, are brought in steamboats along the Ohio to the western end of her canals at Pittsburg, thence to be transported through them to Philadelphia, for an eastern and foreign market. Foreign merchandise and eastern manufactures, received at Philadelphia, are transported by the same channel to Pittsburg, thence to be carried south and west, to their destination, in steamboats along the Ohio. If these vessels and their commerce are liable to be stopped within a short distance of the canals, and subjected to expense, delay and danger, to reach them, and the same consequence to ensue on their voyage, departing, the value of these works must be destroyed."

The Bridge company, through its counsel, admitting that Pennsylvania had expended large amounts in public improvements, terminating at Pittsburg and Beaver, over which there was a large passenger and freight traffic, alleged the exclusive sovereignty of Virginia over the Ohio, submitted the act of the Virginia legislature authorizing the erection of the bridge, denied the corporate capacity of Pennsylvania to institute the suit, and justified the bridge as a connecting link of a great public highway as important as the Ohio, and as a necessity recognized by reports of committees in Congress, it cited the example set by Pennsylvania in bridging the Allegheny, in authorizing a bridge across the Ohio below Pittsburg at thirteen feet less elevation than the Wheeling bridge, and in permitting the bridging and damming of the Monongahela by enterprising citizens of Pittsburg under charters from the state. It declared that the bridge was not an appreciable inconvenience to the average class of boats and would not diminish the Pittsburg trade, and suggested that the chimneys of steamboats should be shortened or put on hinges for convenience in lowering. It also contended that the bridge was necessary for transporting into the interior the passengers and much of the freight which would be diverted from the streams by the greater speed and safety of railroads which would soon concentrate at Wheeling.

The court, accepting jurisdiction, appointed Hon. R. H. Walworth, a jurist of New York, as special commissioner to take testimony and report. The report indicated that the bridge obstruction would divert part of the total traffic (nearly 50,000,000 annually) from lines of transportation centering at Pittsburg to the northern route through New York or to a more southern route. Of the nine regular packets which passed Wheeling in 1847, five would have been unable to pass under the bridge (for periods differing in length), without lowering or cutting off their chimneys. The passage of three of the Pittsburg-Cincinnati packets had been actually stopped or obstructed. One, on November 10, 1849, was detained for hours by the necessity of cutting off the chimneys. Another, the Hibernia, on November 11, 1849, was detained thirty-two hours and was obliged to hire another boat to carry to Pittsburg the passengers, except those who preferred to cross the mountains via Cumberland. Later, she was twice compelled to abandon

a trip—once hiring another boat, and once landing her passengers who proceeded east to Cumberland. Two accidents had also occurred.

The report indicated a preponderance of evidence against the safety of lowering the chimneys, which, at any rate, was regarded as a very slow and expensive process. Although the commissioner recognized that it would be a great injury to commerce and to the community to destroy fair competition between river and railroad transit by an unnecessary obstruction to either, and recognized the propriety of carrying railroads across the large rivers if it could be done without impairing navigation, he concluded that the Wheeling bridge was an obstruction to free navigation of the Ohio. Of the 230 boats on the river below Wheeling, the seven boats of the Pittsburg-Cincinnati packet line were most obstructed by the bridge. They conveyed about one-half the goods (in value) and three-fourths of the passengers between the two cities. Since 1844, they had transported nearly 1,000,000 passengers.

The Wheeling Bridge Company complained that Mr. Walworth had given the company no chance to present its testimony.

The decision of the court was given at the adjourned term in May, 1852. The majority of the court (six members), held that the erection of the bridge, so far as it interfered with the free and unobstructed navigation of the Ohio, was inconsistent with and in violation of acts of Congress, and could not be protected by the legislature of Virginia because the Virginia statute was in conflict with the laws of Congress.

Justice McLean, who delivered the opinion of the court, held that since the Ohio was a navigable stream, subject to the commercial power of Congress, Virginia had no jurisdiction over the interstate commerce upon it, and that the act of the Virginia legislature authorizing the structure of the bridge so as to obstruct navigation could afford no justification to the Bridge company. However numerous the railroads and however large their traffic, he expected the waterways to remain the great arteries of commerce and favored their protection as such instead of their obstruction and abandonment. He decided that the lowest parts of the bridge should be elevated not less than 111 feet from the low water mark and maintained on a level headway for 300 feet over the channel. The decree stated that unless the navigation was relieved from obstruction by February 1, 1853, by this or some other plan, the bridge must be abated.

Chief Justice Taney dissented on the ground that since Virginia had exercised sovereignty over the Ohio, and Congress had acquiesed in it, the court could not declare the bridge an unlawful obstruction and the law of Virginia unconstitutional and void. He preferred to leave the regulation of bridges and steamboat chimneys to the legislative department. Justice Daniels, also dissenting, declared that Pennsylvania could not be a party to the suit on the ground stated in the bill (diminution of profits in canals and other public improvements many miles remote from the Wheeling bridge) and that the court could take no jurisdiction in such cases of imperfect rights, or of merely moral or incidental rights as distinguished from legal or equitable. "And," said he, "if the mere rivalry of works of internal improvement in other states, by holding out the temptation of greater dispatch, greater safety, or any other inducement to preference for those works over the Pennsylvania canals, be a wrong and a ground for jurisdiction here, the argument and the rule sought to be deduced therefrom should operate equally. The state of Virginia, who is constructing a railroad from the seaboard to the Ohio river at Point Pleasant, much further down that river than either Pittsburg or Wheeling, and at the cost of the longest tunnel in the world, piercing the base of the Blue Ridge mountains, should have the right by original suit in this court against the canal companies of Pennsylvania or against that state herself, to recover compensation for diverting any portion of the commerce which might seek the ocean by this shortest transit to the mouths of her canals on the Ohio, or to the city of Pittsburg; and on the like principle, the state of Pennsylvania

has a just cause of action against the Baltimore and Ohio railroad for intercepting at Wheeling the commerce which might otherwise be constrained to seek the city of Pittsburg."

Justice Daniels, intoxicated with the recent effects of the development of railroads, directed considerable attention to the reigning fallacy which Pennsylvania urged upon the court—that commerce could be prosecuted with advantage to the western country only by the channels of rivers and through the agency of steamboats whose privileges were regarded as paramount. He urged that the historical progress of means of transportation exposed the folly and injustice of all attempts to restrict commerce to particular localities or to particular interests. Against the narrow policy of confining commerce to watercourses, whose capacity was limited by the contributions of the clouds, he urged the superiority of the railroads for speed, safety, freedom from dependence on wind or depth of water, and unifying power in interfluvial regions.

Plans were proposed by the defendant's counsel to remove the obstructions to navigation at less expense than the elevation or abatement of the bridge, and the court (March 3, 1852), referred the plans to J. McAlpine, who made a report on May 8, 1852. The majority of the court looking only to desired results and not to methods then agreed that the former decree would permit the Bridge company to remove the obstruction by a 200-foot draw in the bridge over the western branch of the river. Justice McLean then delivered the opinion of the court in which he stated that the right of navigating the Ohio or any other river does not necessarily conflict with the right of bridging it; but he declared that these rights could only be maintained when they were exercised so as not to be incompatible with each other. If the bridge had been constructed according to the language of the charter, he said, the suit could not have been instituted.

Defeated before the courts, Wheeling took prompt steps to save the bridge by action of Congress. In her efforts she received the co-operation of 121 members of the Ohio legislature who (in April, 1852) petitioned Congress to protect the bridge by maintaining it as a mail route and also by resolutions of the Virginia and Indiana legislatures. She even had the sympathy of thirty-six members, representing the minority of the Pennsylvania legislature, who presented a petition in favor of protecting the bridge. On July 8, the committee on roads made a favorable report asking Congress to declare both bridges to be post-roads and military roads and to regulate the height and construction of chimneys of steamboats navigating the Ohio. On August 12, an adverse report was made on a resolution of the Pennsylvania legislature. In the debates which followed (from August 13 to August 18), the advocates of the bill included: those who felt that the entire proceeding against the bridge originated in Pittsburg's jealousy of Wheeling; those who felt that the recent decision of the supreme court was a strike against state sovereignty; and those who (favoring the encouragement of better facilities for travel), asserted that within two years one could travel from New York to Cincinnati via Wheeling bridge as quickly as one could now pass from Cincinnati to Wheeling in either of the seven tall chimneyed Pittsburg packet boats, and with no danger of stoppage of transportation alternately by low water and frozen water. [John Randolph once said that the Ohio was dry during one-half the year and frozen over during the other half.]

Some of those who opposed the bill regarded the proposed legislation in favor of the bridge as giving a preference to boats bound to Wheeling over those bound to Pittsburg and as a strike at the prosperity of Pittsburg. Others in opposition directed attention to the fact that bridges adapted to railroad purposes could be erected near Wheeling without obstruction to navigation, and that the Ohio Central railway and the Baltimore and Ohio, which had recently intended to connect at Wheeling, had found a more convenient point four miles south at Boggs

Ferry where a bridge could be constructed at sufficient height to avoid the objection taken by the supreme court to the bridge at Wheeling.

The bill passed the Senate on August 28 by a vote of 33 to 10, and the House, on August 30, by a vote of 92 to 42. On August 31, before the time designated for the execution of the decree of May, 1852, it became an act of Congress legalizing in their existing conditions the bridges, both of the west and the east branch, abutting on Zane's Island. It declared them to be post roads for the passage of United States mail, at the same time requiring vessels navigating the river to regulate their pipes and chimneys so as not to interfere with the elevation and construction of the bridges.

The Bridge Company relied upon this act as superseding the effect and operation of the decree of May, 1852; but Pennsylvania insisted that the act was unconstitutional. The captain of one of the Pittsburg Packets showed his displeasure by unnecessarily going through the form of lowering his chimneys and passing under the bridge with all the forms of detention and oppression.

Meantime the rival railroads had been pushing westward to connect the rival cities of the Ohio with rival cities of the East. The original line of the Pennsylvania, whose construction began at Harrisburg in July, 1847, was opened to the junction with the Allegheny Portage railway at Hollidaysburg at the base of the mountains on September 16, 1850. The Baltimore and Ohio, notwithstanding delays incident to the difficulties experienced in securing laborers, was opened for business from Cumberland to the foot of the mountains at Piedmont on July 5, 1851. The western division of the Pennsylvania line from the western end of the Portage railroad at Johnstown to Pittsburg was opened on September 22, 1852; and a through train service via the inclined planes of the Portage railway was established on December 10 following.

By the beginning of 1853, Wheeling seemed to have won new advantages over Pittsburg through the strategy of prospective railway lines and new steamer lines which induced the belief that Pennsylvania, with her foot on the Ohio was but at the threshold of the promised land. The B. & O. won the race to the Ohio by a single continuous track over which through train service was established from Baltimore to Wheeling in January, 1853.

On January 12, at a great "opening celebration," of the marriage of East to West, the city of Wheeling provided an elaborate banquet for nearly 1,000 guests who listened to many regular and irregular toasts of rejoicing, and to whom was dedicated a poem closing with these lines:

> "Poor Pittsburg is flung—for her steamboats no more
> Can whistle, in scorn, as they pass Wheeling's shore
> No chimneys to lower—no action to bring—
> For a flat-boat, she'll find, will soon be the thing;
> She may war on all bridges—save one, for herself,
> But her trade on the river is laid on the shelf."

To connect with the new railroad at Wheeling the Wheeling and Kanawha packet line was established by the Virginia legislature, and the Union line of steamboats was established between Wheeling and Louisville. At the same time, steps had been taken to construct several other prospective railways which would naturally converge at Wheeling. These included the Hempfield to connect with Philadelphia, a line from Columbus, a line from Marietta, and also a line from Cleveland, which was expected to become an important point in case the proposed treaty of reciprocity with Canada should become a law. While the James river and Kanawha canal and the Covington and Ohio railway still hesitated to find a way westward across the mountains farther south, and before the construction of the Northwestern Virginia railroad from Grafton to Parkersburg, Wheeling especially expected to divert the trade

of southern Ohio, Kentucky and Tennessee and to center it at Wheeling. Wheeling was also favored by cheaper steamer rates to the west and by the danger of navigation between Wheeling and Pittsburg at certain periods of the year. Early in 1854, New York merchants shipped western freight via Baltimore and Wheeling. Oysters too, because of the bad condition of the Pennsylvania line of travel were shipped via Wheeling to Cleveland and Chicago.

Pittsburgh, however, undaunted by the chagrin of defeat, and with undiminished confidence in her ability to maintain her hegemony of the upper Ohio and the West, prepared to marshal and drill her forces for final victory by efforts to regain ground lost and to forestall the plans of her rival by new strategic movements. She declared that Wheeling was outside the travel line. She stationed an agent at Graves' creek below Wheeling to induce eastward-bound boat passengers to continue their journey to Pittsburgh and thence eastward via the Pennsylvania line of travel in order to avoid the tunnels and zigzags, and the various kinds of delay on the B. & O.—to which the Wheeling *Intelligencer* replied by uncomplimentary references to the slowness of travel over the inclined planes and flat rails of the Pennsylvania Central railway. Through her mayor and her newspapers she warned travelers against the danger of accidents on the B. & O.—to which Wheeling replied that the frightful accidents on the Pennsylvania line hurled more people into eternity each month than had ever been injured on the B. & O. She also endeavored to prejudice travelers against the Union line of steamers, complaining of its fares and food, and also of the reckless racing encouraged by its captains who had bantered the boats of other lines for exhibitions of speed. She was also accused of using her influence to secure the location of the route of the Pittsburgh branch of the Cleveland road on the west shore of the Ohio from Wellsville to Wheeling, causing Brooke and Hancock counties to threaten secession from Virginia.

As a strategic movement against the proposed Hempfield road by which Wheeling hoped to get not only direct connection with Philadelphia but also a connection with the Marietta road, Pittsburg resuscitated a movement in favor of the Steubenville and Pittsburg railway and revived the project of the Connellsville route to Baltimore. She also strained every nerve to open connections with the New York and Erie line via the Allegheny valley.

The proposed Steubenville and Pittsburgh railway, especially, was strongly opposed by Wheeling by whom it was regarded as a project to cripple her by diverting her trade. Largely through her influence, Pittsburg's attempt to secure a charter from the Virginia legislature for the road for which she proposed a bonus on every passenger, was defeated in the lower house by a vote of 70 to 37 and later failed to secure the approval of the house committee. When the promoters of the road tried the new plan of getting a route by securing the land in fee, with the idea of rushing the road through in order to get the next Congress to declare it a post road, the Wheeling *Intelligencer* declared that Congress would not dare thus to usurp the sovereignty of Virginia. An injunction against the road was proposed, and in order to prevent the construction of the railway bridge at Steubenville a plan to construct a road from the state line through Holliday's Cove and Wellsburg was considered.

From the consideration of plans to prevent the construction of the Steubenville bridge above her, Wheeling turned to grapple with a more immediate danger of ruin which threatened her by a proposed connection of the B. and O. and the Central Ohio railway at Benwood, four miles below her. This she claimed was in violation of the law of 1847, granting a charter to the B. and O.; and, to prevent it, she secured an injunction from Judge George W. Thompson of the circuit court—causing the State Journal of Columbus to place her in the list with Erie, Pennsylvania (which had recently attempted to interrupt travel between

east and west) and to assert that the Benwood track case was similar to the Wheeling Bridge case. An attempt was made to secure combination and cooperation of the railroads to erect a union bridge in Wheeling to replace the old structure.

Meantime, transportation facilities improved on the Pennsylvania line after the mountains were conquered by a grade for locomotives. The mountain division of the road and with it the whole line, was opened on February 15, 1854, and by its cheaper rates soon overcame the advantages which New Orleans had held in attracting the commerce of the West. Pennsylvania promptly passed a bill (1854) authorizing the sale of her unproductive public works, and abandoned her portage railway across the mountains. Three years later (1857), she sold to the Pennsylvania railway the main line of the system of public works undertaken in 1826, including the Philadelphia and Columbia railway.

Coincident with the determination of Pennsylvania to dispose of her unproductive public works, the old Wheeling bridge over the main branch of the stream was blown down by a gale of wind (in May, 1854) and was promptly removed to avoid obstruction. Some regarded the disaster as a just judgment for trespass upon the rights of others by Wheeling in order to make herself the head of navigation. The Pittsburg *Journal* edited by the ex-mayor of the city, gloated over Wheeling's misfortune. The Pittsburg and Cincinnati packet *"Pennsylvania"* in derision lowered her chimneys at the place recently spanned by the bridge. Her second offense, a few days later, exasperated the indignant crowd on shore and induced the boys to resort to mob spirit and to throw stones resulting in a hasty departure of the vessel; but further trouble was avoided by an apology from the captain and the wise advice of older heads.

Another and a final Wheeling Bridge case before the supreme court (arising in 1854 and decided in April, 1856) resulted from the decision of the company to rebuild the bridge. When the company promptly began the preparations for rebuilding, Pennsylvania, stating that she desired to secure a suspension of expensive work until the force and effect of the act of Congress could be judicially determined, asked the United States Supreme Court for an injunction against the reconstruction of the bridge unless in conformity with the requirements of the previous decree in the case. Without any appearance or formal opposition of the company, the injunction was granted (June 25, 1854) during vacation of the court, by Justice Grier whom the Wheeling *Intelligencer* called "the Pittsburg judge of the supreme court." The *Intelligencer* regarded the question as a grave one, involving the sovereign authority of Virginia and a direct law of Congress, and illustrating the aggressions of the supreme court which it feared were becoming daily more alarming. Charles Ellet, the engineer on whom the injunction was served promptly announced that he expected to have the bridge open for traffic in two weeks, and the Bridge Company asked Congress to investigate charges against Judge Grier to the effect that he had invited bribery. The new suspension bridge was opened as a temporary structure on July 26 at an expense of only $8,000.

The injunction having been disregarded, Pennsylvania asked for attachment and sequestration of the property of the company for contempt resulting from disobedience of the injunction of Justice Grier. At the same time, the company asked the court to dissolve the injunction. Pennsylvania insisted that the act of Congress was unconstitutional and void because it annulled the judgment of the court already rendered, and because it was inconsistent with the clause in Article I, Section 9, of the Constitution against preference to the ports of one state over those of another.

Justice Nelson in delivering the decision of the court on the latter point said: "It is urged that the interruption of the navigation of the steamboats engaged in commerce and conveyance of passengers upon the Ohio river at Wheeling from the erection of the bridge, and

the delay and expense arising therefrom, virtually operate to give a preference to this port over that of Pittsburg; that the vessels to and from Pittsburg navigating the Ohio and Mississippi rivers are not only subjected to this delay and expense in the course of the voyage, but that the obstruction will necessarily have the effect to stop the trade and business at Wheeling, or divert the same in some other direction or channel of commerce. Conceding all this to be true, a majority of the court are of the opinion that the act of Congress is not inconsistent with the clause in the constitution referred to—in other words, that it is not giving a preference to the ports of one state over those of another, within the true meaning of that provision. There are many acts of Congress passed in the exercise of this power to regulate commerce, providing for a special advantage to the port or ports of one state (and which advantage may incidentally operate to the prejudice of the ports in a neighboring state) which have never been supposed to conflict with this limitation upon its power. The improvement of rivers and harbors, the erection of lighthouses, and other facilities of commerce, may be referred to as examples."

The court decided that the decree for alteration or abatement of the bridge could not be carried into execution, since the act of Congress regulating the navigation of the river was consistent with the existence and continuance of the bridge—but that the decrees directing the costs to be paid by the Bridge Company must be executed. The majority of the court (six members), on the grounds that the act of Congress afforded full authority to reconstruct the bridge, directed that the motion for attachments against the president of the Bridge Company and others for disobedience and contempt should be denied and the injunction dissolved; but Nelson agreed with Wayne, Grier and Curtis in the opinion that an attachment should issue, since there was no power in Congress to interefere with the judgment of the court under the pretense of power to legalize the structure or by making it a post road.

Justice McLean dissented, feeling that the principle involved was of the deepest interest to the growing commerce of the West which might be obstructed by bridges across the rivers. He opposed the idea that making the bridge a post road (under the purpose of the act of July 7, 1838) could exempt it from the consequences of being a nuisance. He regarded the act of Congress as unconstitutional and void; and, although he admitted the act might excuse previous contempt, he declared that it could afford no excuse for further refusal to perform the decree.

A sequel to the preceding case arose in the same term of court (December, 1855) on motion of the counsel for the Bridge Company for leave to file a bill of review of the court's order, of the December term of 1851, in regard to the costs. The court had already determined that the decree rendered for costs against the Bridge Company was unaffected by the act of Congress of August 1, 1852; but the court, declining to open the question for examination, declared "there must be an end of all litigation."

The later history bearing upon the subject here treated, the regulation of the construction of bridges across the Ohio under acts of Congress, the opposition of both Wheeling and Pittsburg to the construction of bridges such as the railroad bridges at Parkersburg and between Benwood and Bellaire (which were completed in 1871), the decline of old local jealousies and prejudices, the rise of new problems of transportation resulting from the extension of railways, cannot be considered within the scope and limits of this chapter.

CHAPTER XV

OHIO RIVER INFLUENCES (TO 1861)

(Written by Dr. Charles H. Ambler)

It was some thirty years ago that I came up behind a tramp on a public highway in the hills of West Virginia. I was only a boy then on an errand to a blacksmith's shop for the repair of a part belonging to my father's mowing machine. He had requested haste, and the setting sun of a midsummer's evening kept his wish constantly before me. But the tramp moved leisurely and kept the middle of the road. The thought of passing him struck terror into my youthful bones, but there was no other alternative. Accordingly I pressed forward hoping that some favorable turn of fortune would save me from the frightful possibilities of the situation. Soon we were side by side, and a gentle voice had arrested my haste and quieted my fears. As we walked on together I learned that the supposed tramp was a profressor in a German university and that he was then on a tour of America, having already "tramped" most of Europe and Asia. His confiding manner soon won my complete confidence; the importance of my errand was temporarily forgotten; and I found myself absorbed in a new and strange companionship.

Suddenly all was changed. A peculiar silence had come over my companion, and his strange manner recalled my former fears and suspicions. He stood still and motionless gazing into space over a landscape that was then only commonplace to me. After a few awful minutes and to my immediate relief there came, however, these gentle and assuring words: "This is the most beautiful river I have ever seen! It is more beautiful even than the Rhine!" Upon turning a sharp bend in the hills we had suddenly reached a high elevation overlooking the Ohio river which wound its way thence in matchless beauty through the distant hills to the southwest and gradually disappeared in the golden rays of the setting sun.

Already the Ohio, or "the river" as it was affectionately called by those who lived near it and loved it, meant much to me. My earliest recollection, formed at the age of three, was that of crossing it in an open ferry with my parents when they moved from Ohio to West Virginia, a part of that tide of settlers who sought homes in the latter state in the period following the Civil war. Meanwhile the Ohio had come to be familiar as a great thoroughfare of commerce. By means of it my paternal ancestors had made numerous trips from Wheeling to New Orleans in the early part of the century. Stories of their experiences yet lingered as family traditions. The mere mention of the lower Mississippi suggested my grandfather who had seen New Orleans eleven times and made as many return trips overland through the mountains of Tennessee and Kentucky. Then there was a great uncle who had lost his life in an encounter with a wild beast on that same perilous mountain route. But, fortunately my impressions were not all repelling. Through the river I had come to appreciate New Orleans as the source of Orleans molasses and sugar which were then to the boys and girls of the upper Ohio what chocolates and candies are to them today.

But henceforth the Ohio had a new meaning for me. It became a thing of beauty and inspiration. I learned to love its boats and rivermen, to revel in the beauty and grandeur of the hills that skirt its banks;

and to reflect with wonder and admiration upon the majesty of the stream itself as it wound its way to the sea. Stories of its rivermen were my first romances; the whistle of its boats came to possess a sweetness excelled only by that of the conch used to call us to dinner at my country home; and the panorama of life that daily passed before me whetted my ambitions and temporarily shaped my plans for the future. Like many another boy living on or near it I cherished the ambition of becoming a steamboat captain or a steamboat pilot, one of the happiest days of my youth being that on which an indulgent and kind old pilot permitted me to stand at the wheel and, under his directions, guide a local packet between my home town and a neighboring town. For years I looked upon him as a real benefactor and upon myself as having mastered many of the essentials in the training of a steamboat pilot.

In the same or similar ways the Ohio river has had a part all its own in shaping the lives and interests of those reared on or near it. The heart of one of the smaller potential nations out of which the greater nation has grown and the only river of importance in North America flowing from east to west, it seems to have been set apart by nature as a course of empire. It is significant that its mountains should shelter natural resources the use of which has changed the character of the lands through which it flows and of the nation of which these lands are a part. In all his travels Henry Clay had never seen "a section for which God had done so much and man so little."

As first seen by the white man the Ohio was "a long shining aisle through a fair green world." Except for short spaces here and there, the site of Indian corn fields, the river was then lined on either side by one continuous forest, the trees of which dipped their branches into its waters and, at the narrowest places, almost spanned its course. The number and beauty of its islands were marvelous, the beauty of Blennerhassett being unsurpassed. Its waters and forests teemed with life. There was the agile pike, the fat groveling catfish, and the silver scaled perch; bison and deer quenched their thirst; and the Indian warrior in his birch bark canoe pursued his enemy and wooed his dusky mate. Then, too, birds of many varieties, some permanent residents, others coming only in the spring and autumn, found homes or temporary resting places on its banks, among them the turkey buzzard and the bald eagle which soar now as then in safe retreat above its lofty hills.

But despite its natural beauties and the French interpretation of the meaning of the word Ohio, the river itself did not always appeal to those who first saw it as an object of beauty and admiration. To some it was indeed quite the opposite. The problem of its mastery inspired awe and challenged the genius of the most resourceful. Its whirling eddies; its treacherous shoals; its lurking logs and limbs; the havoc of its floods and ice gorges; and its overhanging vines and trees had defied the Indian for ages. The absence of important native villages upon its banks was significant, as was also the advice of friendly red men that the white man build no forts or villages on or near its waters.

Both the beauties and the horrors of nature have had their part, however, in determining the character of the people who built homes in the Ohio valley.

Even before the American Revolution the Ohio river had become a course of empire determining the confines and character of the society then establishing itself in what is now West Virginia. Two years following the Treaty of 1763, that famous Indian trader, Captain George Croghan having paved the way, Captain Thomas Sterling with one hundred and twenty Scotch Highlanders descended the Ohio from Fort Pitt to the Illinois country, there to raise the flag of the British Empire in the heart of the continent. At once the Ohio became the most popular route between the East and the West, and home seekers began to carve out their tomahawk claims to lands on its upper waters and to rear their log huts by its banks. As early as 1770 George Washington observed that settlers from the East, chiefly Virginia, had preempted the best

lands on its southern bank to the mouth of the Little Kanawha. He then predicted that another year would suffice to carry their land grabbing activities to the mouth of the Great Kanawha.

These pioneers and their immediate successors thus won a great advantage in the work of empire building. Their initiative and fortitude made them the chief beneficiaries of the cosmopolitan influences and the economic opportunities of the greatest of American highways. The results have never ceased to manifest themselves in the solution of questions diplomatic and political and in urging our territorial expansion.

The Revolution checked only temporarily the advance of the frontiersmen through Virginia towards the Ohio. Before it had ended a second tide of home seekers, larger than the first, had returned to the work of establishing tomahawk claims and killing Indians. By the Treaty of Fort Stanwix, 1764, the Iroquois relinquished their claims to the lands south of the Ohio. Six years later, at Lochaber, the southern Indians did likewise. But the tribes north of the Ohio, the Shawneese, Delawares, and Mingoes, lingered reluctant to leave the graves of their fathers and their choicest hunting grounds. Finally they were induced to retire to the northern, or "Indian side of the Ohio," whence, for years, they conducted pillaging and murdering expeditions into the land of the whites, the Ohio becoming an ineffective barrier between civilization and barbarism.

Thus it was that western Virginia became a "dark and bloody land," second only to Kentucky. Such sources as Withers, "Chronicles of Border Warfare" and Doddridge, "Notes on the Settlement and Indian Wars" record the incidents of a border warfare that is without parallel in our national annals for persistency, treachery, and daring exploits. But the traditions of every normal boy and girl reared in the Ohio valley have been greatly enriched thereby. The names of Daniel Boone, Lewis Wetzel, Adam Poe, Samuel McCullough, Simon Girty, Elizabeth Zane, Samuel Bardy, and Anne Bailey are commonplace with most boys and girls there, the deeds of their heroes being dramatized in their plays.

The Indian dangers finally removed through the victory of Anthony Wayne at Fallen Timbers, 1794, the frontiersmen on the Ohio addressed themselves to the task of felling the forest and cultivating choice lands. The experiences of the blockhouse had already taught lessons of cooperation. Accordingly logrollings, houseraisings, and husking bees became the order of the day and with most gratifying results. By 1806 Thomas Ashe, an English traveler and writer, noted that the forests along the Ohio were rapidly giving place to corn fields and wheat fields, that fruits and vegetables of many varieties were contributing to the sustenance and the revenues of the inhabitants, and that from a thousand hills the voice of domestic animals broke the monotony of woodland and wave. But the most important fact was the establishment of a new society strangely dynamic, individualistic yet cooperative, the very antithesis of the slaveholding society to the eastward, within the bounds of Virginia.

Larger fields and larger families soon added to the ever increasing surplus of farm and other products. Thus markets became necessary to the continued growth of the new society. Because of the mountain barriers separating it from the East these could be had only in the French and Spanish settlements on the Mississippi or in the towns and cities simultaneously springing up on the lower Ohio. Keelboats, flatboats, barges, and even rafts were then used to carry thousands of home seekers to the lower Ohio and even beyond. The natural thing was to adapt their craft to the needs of trade. This was done, and in a few years the upper Ohio valley was exporting annually goods worth thousands of dollars.

The interests thus served and the broadened outlook thus secured together with the growing convictions regarding the future greatness of the United States, quickened interest in diplomacy and the possibilities of territorial expansion. Meanwhile the Spanish continued to

be most selfish in the exercise of their control of the mouth of the Mississippi, and the British long continued to hold posts in American territory north of the Ohio. As a result good patriots of western Virginia came to hate both Spaniards and Britishers. About the time of the Louisiana Purchase they would have attacked the former, and they coveted Canada. They rested only after we had acquired Louisiana and after the interior had waged a successful war for "free trade and sailors rights." Insistence and event threats from the upper Ohio had much to do with banishing the conscientious scruples of Jefferson and others regarding the constitutionality of the Louisiana Purchase. Thus exigencies of trade and hopes for the future, as they developed on the Ohio, were potent factors in converting a society naturally individualistic to the ways of nationalism.

In this connection the subsequent votes of western Virginia on the proposed nationalistic legislation of Clay's American System is significant. Proposed federal appropriations to works of internal improvement had its undivided support, and proposed tariffs received strong backing especially from the counties on the Ohio and the great Kanawha. After the steamboat began to carry salt inland from the West Indies by way of New Orleans, the inland salt producers were insistent in their demands for protection. What is now northern West Virginia cast the only vote from Virginia and one of the few from the whole South for the Tariff of 1824, and a part of Virginia suggestive of the present state of West Virginia in location, size, and shape voted solidly for the Tariff of Abominations, the farther South being almost equally unanimous in its opposition. The friendly attitude of western Virginia to the national bank is also significant.

Meanwhile the Ohio continued a course of empire many settlers finding homes on its banks. In fact one of its chief assets has always been its children who were then said to be as plentiful as the squirrels of the forest and as healthy as hard fare and exercise could make them. Interspersed among those of Virginia origin were many persons from New England and the Middle States. Thus the Ohio valley early became a melting pot for the nation. But it was to be more than that. Later Irish, Germans, and others came in large numbers direct from Europe. As early as 1820 Judge Hall, an English traveler, predicted that it would become the melting pot of Europe. For here he witnessed the novel spectacle of the coming together of the nations of the Old World, each bringing its own language, politics, and religion and all sitting quietly down together to erect states, make institutions, and enact laws without bloodshed and discord. It seemed that some mysterious force was attracting them to a common center and welding them into one great and powerful organism. The offspring has gone forth to practically every part of the far West and has always stood for the highest ideals of Americanism.

But main intercourse continued to be with the towns of the lower Ohio and the lower Mississippi. From the latter came sugar, molasses, tea, coffee, and rice which were exchanged for the numerous farm and other products of the interior. In the forties and the fifties Cincinnati and New Orleans were much better known to the average citizen of the Ohio valley than are Pittsburg and New York today. Many farmers and most merchants had made one or more trips to the lower Mississippi. Wives had frequently gone along to see the sights, help care for cargoes, and cook for the "hands" on the flatboats. Their departure was always a neighborhood affair, friends and relatives gathering from far and near to wish a departing company godspeed on their venture and good luck in a market noted for its vicissitudes.

The uncertainties of these trading trips were indeed almost repelling. The only practicable time for such ventures was the spring. It was then that farmers and merchants could best determine the character and quantity of surpluses and rely upon a "boating stage" of water. These conditions combined to glut the lower markets, force

low prices, and necessitate frequent and great losses. Besides no boatman had any assurance of reaching his destination and returning home. Danger lurked in every bar and shoal and in the numerous snags and other obstructions with which the Ohio and the Mississippi were studded. Moreover, gangs of murderers and river pirates infested strategic points along stream between Louisville and New Orleans. Then, too, the return trip which in the early days was usually overland through the mountains of Tennessee and Kentucky, was hazardous.

This typical school of Americanism developed a product peculiarly its own and peculiarly American. These were the days of the self-styled "half-horse" and "half-alligator" men, some of whom actually bore the marks of the draft horse in the large callouses which appeared on their arms and shoulders from too frequent contact with the "setting-pole" and the "sockett" of the keelboat. Hatless, stripped to the waist, and tanned by the combined effects of water and sun, they resembled Indians more than white men. Accustomed as they were to every sort of exposure and privation they despised ease and luxury. Armed in frontier style they were always ready for a fray. In fact fighting was a favorite pastime. Together with their prototypes on land they constituted a rough and ready element, resourceful beyond precedent, crude beyond description, and independent beyond comparison—the most typical American part of America.

The hero of this frontier society was the notorious "Mike" Fink, "the last of the keelboatmen." He was born in Allegheny county about 1781. As a mere lad he played a prominent part in the Indian wars of his time winning the enviable distinction of being the best shot in the Ohio valley. Like most of the young men of his time and place he answered the call of the river, but unlike most of them he soon became notorious for lawlessness and rowdyism. On the upper Ohio he was "Bang All," the superb marksman, but on the lower Ohio and the Mississippi, where his pilfering, drinking, and fighting had attracted chief attention, he was "The Snag" or the "Snapping Turtle." He seems to have been a veritable Rob Roy without a peer for deviltry and meanness, unless it was in "Colonel Plug," the bad man of the lowlands below Louisville. Good people stood in awe of him; officers avoided him; and the lawless idolized him. For all, the numerous accounts of his exploits made interesting reading. He was accustomed to speak of himself as a "Salt River roarer" who loved the "wimin" and was "full of fight."

Unfortunately for the society of the Ohio valley outlaws of the type of Fink were all too plentiful and were not confined to the river. Conditions on the land were almost as bad as on the water, tough times making tough men. Every town and village boasted its bully. Drinking, gambling, and horse-racing were favorite pastimes; the sacrifice of human life, of human energy, and the accumulated culture of the ages was appalling; and vice and disease meanwhile made huge inroads. It was a day of tremendous effort and of supreme sacrifice. The marks of the struggle are visible even today. To those familiar with conditions it would be needless to specify. Mike Fink was only a somewhat exaggerated prototype of the worst of a society in transition along the main course of empire to the westward.

By 1820 Wheeling was an important and characteristic river town. Its location at the junction of the Cumberland Road, or the National Pike, with the Ohio river had early brought it into prominence. As an embarkation point to the West it was, for years, a formidable rival of Pittsburg. Writing in 1806 Thomas Ashe said: "The town of Wheeling is well known as one of the most considerable places of embarkation on the western waters. It is a port town, healthfully and pleasantly situated on a very high bank of the river, and is increasing rapidly. Here quantities of merchandise designed for the Ohio country and the upper Louisiana, are brought in wagons during the dry season; as boats can frequently go from hence, when they can not from places higher up

the river. Besides, as the navigation above Wheeling is more dangerous than all the remainder of the river, persons should undoubtedly give it the preference to Pittsburg."

Like other river towns of these and later days, Wheeling's blessings were not without alloy. Cock fighting, horse racing, gambling, drinking, and other forms of frontier amusement held sway.

The coming of the steamboat was the event of greatest importance in the history of the Ohio valley in the early part of the last century. By 1830 its practicability was assured, and the "Beautiful River" had taken on new importance as a course of empire. Every phase of life was quickened by the steamboat. At once the "boatmen:" flatboatmen, keelboatmen, and raftsmen, ceased to make the return trip from the lower Mississippi by long and dangerous overland routes. Henceforth they were "passengers." It mattered not that they usually rode on "deck" and sometimes paid transportation charges by serving as "deckhands." The best among them soon became firemen, engineers, and pilots, and gave up the occupation of boatmen entirely. Some former rivermen even became steamboat captains, owning their own craft. In fact both capital and labor became more dependent upon the river than ever before. In western Virginia and southern Ohio many families sent every son of a large family to answer its call. In some instances single families supplied as many as seven steamboat pilots.

But the beneficent effects of the Ohio were not confined to the river itself nor to those who "followed" it for a living. Homes were erected from the salvage of lumber rafts, and the lands on which they stood was paid for from the proceeds of the sales of cordwood which, in the early days, was the only fuel used by steamboats. The use of rafts and flatboats converted small streams into lateral lines for the transportation of farm products, timber, and labor. In fact the call of the river for labor came as a real boon to the small farmer and the squatter offering, in some instances, their only means of meeting taxes and store bills. Fortunately the labor demands of the small farm and the river supplemented each other admirably. As a rule the call of the latter came after crops had been harvested, the winter fuel provided, the children started to school, and the zest for squirrel and rabbit hunting had spent itself. It mattered not that wages were only $20 per month with meals and lodging, the former served on deck and in a tin pan and the latter on the soft side of a board placed near a warm boiler. The average small farmer of western Virginia and southern Ohio, where negroes were scarce and little used as deckhands, could not afford to be idle during a whole winter. His wife and family could usually be depended upon to keep the farm going even if their care was sometimes at a sacrifice of the education and the morals of the children. Many a father spent the whole winter "on the river" unable and sometimes unwilling to reach home even at Christmas and generally under conditions that made it impossible for him to return anything to his family except a few dollars. When drink and gambling entered, as they sometimes did, he failed to bring even money and was in time thrown back upon his family, a human derelict.

The coming of the steamboat multipled the educational advantages of the river. Henry Clay, Andrew Jackson, Abraham Lincoln, and scores of others of almost equal prominence went by the Ohio to and from the national capital. Even at wayside landings their arrivals were heralded in advance and were usually occasions for addresses through which the people learned of the proceedings of Congress and of the political plans for the future. But interests were not wholly political. Music and literature received due attention. In the forties and fifties of the last century thousands living on and near the Ohio river had seen and heard Ole Bull, Jenny Lind, and Charles Dickens. Besides "Dan" Rice and his elephants were as popular then as Barnum and Bailey became at a later period. Then, too, the Ohio carried its practical lessons in political economy. Its boys of the fifties knew the advantages of gold

and uniform currency as mediums of exchange. Experience taught them to decline state bank notes as payment for cordwood. As men, these same boys voted for the gold standard in 1896, although many of them refused to leave the democratic party.

One of the most important results of the coming of the steamboat showed itself in increased land and other values. Records of river counties for the period immediately following 1810 disclose marked tendencies in the former direction. Savings and possible savings in transportation costs were simply capitalized, the results being added to values. It was thus that the Ohio valley became a real land of opportunity and that the tide of immigrant home seekers thereto was greatly augmented.

Family records and traditions of those who found homes on the Ohio in the early part of the last century are filled with references to the influence of the steamboat on land values. The story of the coming of the Jenkins family may be taken as typical. It established itself at Round Bottom, a beautiful spot on the Ohio a short distance above what is now Huntington, West Virginia. The lands on which it settled formerly belonged to the Cabells of eastern Virginia, the county in which they are located later receiving its name from Governor Cabell. Before the coming of the steamboat these lands were for sale and at a low price even for that day. Mr. Jenkins, a merchant of Lynchburg, Virginia, and others had visited them with a view to purchasing, but all had returned refusing to buy and expressing disappointment in the difficulties incident to the navigation of the Ohio, especially the upstream navigation which was then maintained by the keelboat. Luckily Mr. Jenkins happened to be in New York City at the time Fulton was making successful experiments with the *Clermont*. Jenkins grasped the possibilities of steam navigation for inland rivers and returned by way of Richmond to close a deal for the purchase of the Cabell lands on the Ohio. Accompanied by his family and negroes he soon set out for the West. The manorial estate which he later carved out of the woods on the Ohio and the splendid establishment which he maintained there found counterparts in numerous other estates similarly conceived.

Despite the beneficent effects of the Ohio and its early advantages as a thoroughfare of commerce the region along its upper course and south of Pittsburg was finally overtaken by an arrested development. After 1830 the Cumberland Road, as an artery of trade and travel, gradually gave way in importance to a system of canals to the north connecting New York City with the Great Lakes and Philadelphia with Pittsburg. The former of these routes was also supplemented by canals connecting northern and southwestern Ohio. Moreover, overland routes led directly from Wheeling into central Ohio and beyond. It is true that palatial steamers plied daily between Pittsburg and Cincinnati, but they made only hurried stops at midway landings even Wheeling. When the railroad finally reached Pittsburg it passed thence westward through central Ohio to Cincinnati. Thus the natural resources of western Virginia and southern Ohio remained undeveloped; river towns languished; and comparative poverty grew apace, the small farm holding its own except on the Ohio and where lands fell into the hands of nonresident owners and squatter occupants. The more prosperous lands of "Yankeedom" to the farther north were regarded meanwhile with envy for having stolen the birthright of the Ohio valley which had less and less in common with the abolitionist Western Reserve.

Under these conditions the completion of the Baltimore and Ohio railroad through western Virginia to Wheeling on the Ohio, in 1852, was, after the coming of the steamboat, the event of greatest importance in history of the upper Ohio valley in the first half of the last century. A large part of that section was thus given a fair opportunity to catch up with the march of civilization. The response was immediate, emanating of course from the river. A line of palatial steamers began to ply daily between Wheeling and Louisville. The names of the

steamers themselves bear testimony to their dependence upon the railroad. Among others there was the *Thomas Swan,* named for the president of the new railroad, and the *Alvin Adams,* named for the president of the Adams Express Company. From Louisville the lower South was reached direct by a railroad, the Louisville and Nashville of today. Thus the plans of John C. Calhoun and others for uniting the South by a transportation system embracing the Ohio river had been attained. Henceforth it was possible to defy the North, especially the agents of underground railways on the Ohio.

Under these changed conditions Wheeling became an important outpost of the slaveholding South. This fact entered into the intense and even bitter rivalry that now grew up between her and Pittsburg. This rivalry attained its bitterest phases in a contest involving the right of the former to construct a suspension bridge across the Ohio river. Despite the fact that Pittsburg had direct communication with Cincinnati by rail through central Ohio and that her large daily packets thence had almost ceased to operate, thus isolating the river towns to the South, she opposed the construction of the proposed suspension bridge at Wheeling. She insisted that it would be an obstruction preventing the free passage of her steamers, the stacks of which were more than sixty feet in height, and finding no sanction in maritime usages. Also, that the sole authority in the matter was the national government. Wheeling answered that she stood at the real head of navigation; that the stacks of descending steamers were needlessly high, and that Virginia was a sovereign state owning the bed of the Ohio river and thus possessed of authority to do as she pleased with her own. Wheeling finally constructed the proposed bridge but not until her rights and powers in the matter had been aired in Congress and the Federal Supreme Court. Meanwhile the contest made its contributions to state and local pride and to the impending struggle between nationalism and particularism. Both in Congress and the Supreme Court, eastern Virginia and the lower South were loyal to the interests of western Virginia. The service was not soon forgotten.

Thus sectional rivalries, the timely construction of the Baltimore and Ohio railroad, and the fact that western Virginia was comparatively speaking an area of arrested development dependent mainly upon agriculture and the Ohio river, operated to preserve the unity and strength of the slaveholding South. It mattered not that the Wheeling and Louisville daily packets ceased to operate after the Panic of 1857. Those were hard times for rivermen everywhere, except possibly on the upper Mississippi and the Missouri. In her struggle for better conditions experience had taught western Virginia to depend little upon Pittsburg and northern Ohio and to confide more and more in the South. Accordingly her vote in the presidential election of 1860 was almost unanimous for Breckenridge and Lane, and she later sent more than ten thousand of her best men to aid the Confederacy. Economic interests thus operated to preserve a balance between nationalism and particularism. But for the old grievances on account of the former, the tariff, internal improvements, and even schools, together with the impossibilities of negro slavery in a land ill suited to agriculture, the account might have been more favorable to the South.

However, the dependence of the upper Ohio valley upon the South, by means of the Ohio river, had only to be broken to be appreciated. Evidences of this fact were numerous and manifested themselves constantly during the Civil War and Reconstruction periods. The reception accorded the *Kenton* in 1867 is appropos. She was the first large packet to reach the upper Ohio direct from New Orleans after the Civil War. Meanwhile the inhabitants of that section had denied themselves sugar, molasses, and other articles of common consumption formerly received from the South by way of the river or they had imported them by rail from the North at high prices and not always for patriotic reasons. The arrival of the *Kenton* seemed to herald a return to "normalcy." Her

coming was advertised and eagerly awaited throughout the whole course of the upper Ohio. Crowds of men, women, and children greeted her at every landing. The inhabitants of Wheeling were especially enthusiastic. While her men and women crowded the wharf to greet old friends and to rejoice over the return of the good old days, her youths, paddles in hand, jostled each other in a wild scramble for the sugar that dripped from the cracks of the swollen hogsheads. As the *Kenton* passed on to that hated city of Pittsburg, the inhabitants of Wheeling continued to rejoice in the material proofs that the Union had been saved and in the assurance that old friends would be friends again.

CHAPTER XVI

EARLY COMMUNITY LIFE, ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL

The early settlers of the region now embraced in West Virginia were of several nationalities, but chiefly English, German and Scotch-Irish. Many of the Scotch-Irish and Germans came into West Virginia by way of Pennsylvania and Maryland, and some of the English from that direction also; but most of the early English settlers moved westward from eastern Virginia. In the decade before 1800 and at subsequent periods, considerable New England blood was diffused through West Virginia. The larger migrations of the later period, however, passed on to Ohio, Kentucky, and farther west, whose lands, laws, and general opportunities were preferred to those of western Virginia.

Many of the old pioneers expected to stop only temporarily in the region. They thought that a family could not be supported very long on the product of the soil alone when the hunters had killed the wild game. They intended to load their pack horses and trek again in a few years, and leave what is now West Virginia an exhausted wilderness. One hunter who killed 2,000 deer in Harrison county doubtless imagined that he had almost exhausted the resources of the region. There were many among the pioneers who took a more hopeful view and who expected to stay in the country, and to leave their children and their children's children in it; but the lightness of heart with which many a man left his cabin and the few stumpy acres where his corn crops grew, and moved on, is silent testimony to the fact that he saw no future for the country. The low price of wild land which continued until very recent years was proof that nobody was looking ahead. In many instances a thousand acres could be bought for less than what the mineral right in one acre is worth now. The men who foresaw and who were willing to wait as well as to labor, were the men who made fortunes among the West Virginia hills.

Development was doubtless retarded by the liberal Virginia land policy under which much of the land fell into the hands of absentee speculators who purchased it at two cents per acre. The wholesale purchase of the large tracts by these speculators forced homeseekers to purchase from them at largely increased prices or to settle as squatters, or to migrate to cheaper lands beyond the Ohio.

The early settler's trip across the Alleghenies, although it may have been interesting, was not easy. In striking contrast to a journey such as would be made across the Alleghenies in a modern Pullman was that made by Nathaniel Cochran and his wife in the eighteenth century. After Cochran had returned from his long captivity among the Indians he journeyed to Hagerstown, Maryland, where in 1789, he married Elizabeth Ford, bringing her and their scanty supply of household goods across the mountains in that same year. Cochran himself walked the entire distance, leading a cow that bore a burden of utensils, including a pot and a skillet; but his wife rode a horse, carrying her spinning wheel in her lap, and having a feather tick hung on her saddle and a bundle of bed clothes fastened at the back.

The earliest settlers were severely tested by many hardships and by hard work, and represented the survival of the fittest. They had experiences which required strength of body and mind, and large powers of initiative in adjusting themselves to their environment.

Many phases of their life are illustrated in the experiences of Mrs. Ann Bailey, a noted pioneer woman of the New river and Kanawha valley. She was a native of Liverpool, England, was probably born about 1742 and had visited London in her childhood. She emigrated to Virginia in 1761, sailed up the James river, and undertook the passage through the wilderness overland to Augusta county. In the region of Staunton she married Richard Trotter in 1765. In Dunmore's war her husband was killed in the battle of Point Pleasant. For eleven years she remained a widow, resolved to avenge her husband's death; and during the Revolutionary war she clad herself in the costume of the border (with buckskin trousers and man's coat and hat) and became prominent in her service in urging enlistments and was widely known for her heroic deeds. After the Revolution she redoubled her energies on foot and on horseback, she bore messages and dispatches from the eastern settlements to the remotest frontiers along the Kanawha—from Staunton and Lewisburg to Point Pleasant on the Ohio. She traveled the lonely defiles of the Alleghenies, crossed the Sewell mountains, the Gauley and the Elk rivers and other streams. She traversed this region and the valley of the Kanawha, which became the scene of many an adventure by her. In 1785 she was married in Greenbrier County to a brave scout named John Bailey who soon afterward became the commandant at Fort Clendenin (Charleston) and took his bride with him to his new post. The heroine of the Shenandoah became the heroine of the Kanawha. From Charleston she often carried messages to Point Pleasant, to Lewisburg or to Staunton. On one occasion as she journeyed from Charleston to Lewisburg, she slept in a hollow tree to save herself from freezing. At the mouth of Thirteen Mile creek she sometimes slept in a cave long known as Ann Bailey's cave. Her famous ride from Charleston to Lewisburg in 1791 to secure a necessary supply of powder for the fort which was besieged by Indians has been preserved in song. It was a trip through an almost trackless wilderness beset with wild beasts. When men in the fort refused to undertake the perilous passage she mounted the fleetest horse, passed through the forest via Kanawha falls, Hawk's Nest and Sewell mountains, arrived safely at Lewisburg, secured a supply of powder, and refusing a return guard, reached Charleston in time to relieve the besieged fort. Few women at 49 could endure such hardships. After the treaty of 1795 which ended Indian depredations on the Kanawha, she spent the remainder of her days chiefly in the region of Point Pleasant and Gallipolis. She was known by the Shawnee women as the "White Squaw of the Kanawha." She was also known as a driver of hogs and cattle from the Shenandoah, and there is a tradition that she first introduced tame geese in the Kanawha Valley, driving them 150 miles. She made her last visit to Charleston in the summer of 1817, walking 75 miles when she was 75 years of age. Her son, William Trotter, the first Virginian who was married in Gallipolis, was a practical business man, and at one time (1814) bought 240 acres of land three miles from the mouth of the Kanawha river, but after residing upon it for three years he sold it and moved to Gallipolis, where his mother became a familiar figure. Ann died on November 22, 1825, and was buried in the "Trotter Graveyard" in an unmarked and nameless grave, but her spirit was long remembered on the Kanawha.

In every valley community were many such early frontiersmen who exhibited a power of endurance which seemed remarkable to later generations. Schooled in the struggle against frontier difficulties they were able to rear large families and to live long lives.

Robert Lilly, who lies buried at the mouth of Bluestone in an old cemetery, begun by the burial of a child of emigrants passing through the country, was the founder of the great generations of Lillys in the counties of Summers, Raleigh, and Mercer, and lived to the age of 114 years. His wife, who was a Moody, lived 111 years. William McKinley later ("Squire" McKinley of Weston) and Uriah McKinley, both of whom located on Freeman's creek near the site of Freemansburg by 1810, reared large families whose descendants constituted a large percentage of the population of that community a century later. These cases simply illustrate the prolific tendency of the older families in every settlement.

Concerning a resident on the present site of Sistersville, a Pittsburgher, wrote as follows: "Mr. Charles Wells, Sen., resident on the Ohio, fifty miles below Wheeling, related to me while at his home in October, 1812, the following circumstances: 'That he has had two wives (the last of which still lives and is a hale, smart young-looking woman), and twenty-two children, sixteen of whom are living, healthy, and many of them married and have already pretty large families; that a tenant of his, a Mr. Scott, a Marylander, is also the father of twenty-two, the last being still an infant and its mother a lively and gay Irish woman, being Scott's second wife; that a Mr. Gordon, an American-German, formerly a neighbor of Mr. Wells, now residing on Little

Muskingum, state of Ohio, has by two wives twenty-eight children.' Thus these three worthy families have had born to them seventy-two children, a number unexampled, perhaps, in any other part of the world."

The early life of the frontier settlements was very simple. The settlers who walked across the mountains, transporting all their goods on pack horses could bring only the simplest tools—only those which were indispensable or most important, including the axe, the mattock, the hoe, the frow, the auger, a few pots and pans, a skillet, a pair of wool cards and a spinning wheel. With them they also brought a bag of corn meal, some salt, some gun powder and lead, and some garden seeds, and a small supply of seed corn.

After locating his claim the settler built a rude log cabin—usually on a site near a spring of water. Until the danger of Indian attack had passed he bui t the chimney on the inside of the logs and made the cabin door very strong. In the earliest period iron nails were seldom used. The windows, with greased paper instead of glass, were protected by heavy shutters.

Even before his cabin was completed the settler began to clear a small tract of land upon which he raised some vegetables and a crop of corn to supplement and balance the supply of wild meat which he easily obtained by use of his gun in the woods. Usually his only plow was constructed by himself from a forked sapling to which he attached crude handles by wooden pins and to which he may have attached a small piece of iron for a point. The horse, provided with home-made harness, was often hitched to the plow by grape vine tugs.

The early dress of the pioneers was simple and unadorned. The men, for convenience under conditions of life in the woods, adopted the most characteristic portions of the Indian dress. They discarded breeches for leggings which were extended far up the thigh and fastened to the belt by strings. The women wore linsey dresses with short skirts and numerous petticoats.

House furniture was also simple. Blocks of wood were in common use for chairs. The floor or a platform in the corner served for a bed. Slabs inserted in cracks in the wall were used for tables. Lighting, beyond that furnished by the fuel in the "fire place" was by "grease dip" or by tallow candle. The kitchen furniture of the early pioneers, consisted of only a few pots and pans and spoons, a skillet or two, and an oven. The earlier dishes were pewter or wooden but these were gradually replaced by china or ironstone and finally disappeared forever. Pewter was retained beyond its proper period by prejudice and custom in its favor because the knife and fork slipped more easily upon the hard smooth surface of china plates.

Every family had its washer-woman who operated without modern laundry appliances. Soap was made by boiling "soap grease" with lye extracted from ashes in the "ash hopper." One of the settlers in describing frontier life said:

> "The houses were of logs; no nails to put on the roof with; we made our furniture in the woods we raised our flax and wool and made our own hunting shirts and short frocks; our shoes were moccasins; we had a big and a little kettle, an oven, a frying pan and a pot; we had no table ware that would break and but little of that; sharp sticks were used for forks and the butcher knife answered for all. We raised corn and hogs for these were the surest and most rapid producers of bread and meat. There were no mills, no stores, no doctors. Thrown upon our own resources, we learned to do without many things and to make others, and to carefully take care of such as we had to have and which was difficult to procure, some of which were powder and lead and medicines."

One of the first settlers of the trans-Allegheny country was Adam O'Brien, if his roving disposition and movements would entitle him to the name of settler. He had a cabin on Elk river at the mouth of Holly river. For a long time he owned two tracts of land, held by patents, in Randolph county. He lived on the Little Kanawha for awhile, and

he also lived (in 1836) on the Big Sandy of Elk in Kanawha county, and at the latter place he died in 1836. He seems to have been engaged in making settlements on good lands for others. When asked how he came to seek the wilderness and encounter the perils and sufferings of frontier life, he answered that he "liked it and did not mind it a bit" and in further explanation said, "that he was a poor man and had got behind hand and when that's the case, there is no staying in the settlements for those varments, the sheriffs and constables, who were worse than Indians, because you could kill Indians, and you dare not kill the sheriffs."

He said "that they lived quite happy before the Revolution, for then there was no law, no courts and no sheriffs and they all agreed pretty well, but after awhile the people began to come and make settlements and then there was need for law; and then came the lawyers and next the preachers and from that time they never had any peace any more, that the lawyers persuaded them to sue when they were not paid, and the preachers converted one half and they began to quarrel with the other half because they would not take care of their own souls, and from that time, they never had any peace for body or soul, and that the sheriffs were worse than the wild cats and painters and would take the last coverlit from your wife's straw bed or turn you out in a storm, and I tell you, mister, I would rather take my chances and live among savages than live among justices and lawyers and sheriffs, who with all their civility, have no natural feeling in them."

Doubtless there were many homes which represented considerable improvement in conditions of living. Peddlers soon learned the way to the frontier settlements, and enterprising merchants soon followed. According to an inventory of the Joseph Kinnan estate placed on record in Randolph county clerk's office, June 21, 1793, with Edward Hart as administrator, the personal property was valued at $517 and included the following:

"9 horses, wheat and rye, two curtains, 2 pairs pillows and cases, 1 towel, 1 fine shirt, 1 lawn apron, 1 black apron, 1 cambriek apron, fine trumpery, 1 silk-gause apron, 2 handkerchiefs, children's clothing, 1 coat, 1 jacket, 5 long gowns, 1 pair of shoes and silver buckles, 3 pettycoats, 2 check aprons, 4 short gowns, 2 beds and bed-clothing, 1 pair of pockets, 4 platters, 6 basins, 2 plates, 2 kegs, 1 pail, 1 pot tramble, 1 iron kettle, 2 scythes, 1 set of hangings, 1 gun, 1 pan, 2 bridles, 36 hogs, 16 cattle, 3 sheep, 1 grubbing hoe, two pairs plow irons and clevices, 2 pots, 1 jug, 1 candlestick, 2 flat irons, 1 pair of shears, 9 spoons, steelyards, 1 brush, 2 collars, 1 ax."

In 1844 in most parts of western Virginia bread was still baked in Dutch ovens buried in embers in the large fireplace. Turkeys were cooked suspended by the legs above the open fire. There were few stoves. Furniture in most homes was still extremely simple. Pianos in the home were rare. The first piano in Weston arrived over the Staunton and Parkersburg turnpike from Parkersburg in the summer of 1844 and was purchased by Mrs. Mary Wilson for her daughters who had studied music in a school at Canonsburg, Pennsylvania, and who in 1844 joined their mother in establishing at their home in Weston a school for young ladies and small boys. Most of the houses were still built of logs.

Religious interests were not overlooked. Itinerant preachers—usually Baptist, Methodist or Presbyterian—followed the narrow trails to the infant settlements and braved the perils of the wilderness to carry the message of brotherly love to the frontiers. In some instances the establishment of church congregations preceded the organization of orderly government. Rev. Henry Smith, who preached on the Clarksburg circuit in 1784, said of his congregation: "The people came to the meeting in backwoods style, all on foot. I saw an old man who had shoes on his feet. The preacher wore moccasins. All others, men, women and children, were barefooted. The old women had on what we called then short gowns, and the rest had neither short nor long gowns. I soon found if there were no shoes and fine dresses in the congregation there were attentive hearers and feeling hearts."

The old itinerant preachers and the untiring missionaries who in the

pioneer times threaded the mountain paths, swam rivers, slept in the woods, fasted from necessity, preached in cabins or among the trees, baptized children, married the young, and buried the dead, builded far greater than their critics expected. Their works lived after them. The churches which they planted in adversity grew—perhaps not in righteousness—but in power and influence.

From primitive beginnings, a larger life slowly and gradually evolved by the processes of change and growth. The earlier farmers while farming in primitive fashion were stimulated by necessity to do many things now done by artisans. They were jacks-of-all-trades. Many, in addition to tilling their few acres, tanned leather for the winter shoes, learned to make and repair shoes, and even manufactured the shoe thread which they used for sewing. Men raised their own sheep, from which they sheared the wool. Their wives prepared the flaxen wool for the loom, and frequently wove the cloth. Many farmers did simple blacksmithing and rude carpentering. Although culture was limited, versatility in ordinary affairs was common.

Horse rakes with teeth of stout hickory began to appear soon after the War of 1812. Perhaps the grape vine was used for transporting hayshocks from the earliest times. The grain cradle appeared as early as 1818 and was not supplanted until long after the Civil war, although the reaper began to take its place in favored localities in the later forties or the early fifties. The old fashioned flail was the tool used for threshing wheat in many communities long after the appearance of the threshing machine elsewhere. Apparently brooms from broomcorn did not begin to replace the old spilt broom until after 1822. Every home had its spinning wheel, either small or large, and sometimes both. Every neighborhood had several looms, which were probably more common then than pianos and organs are now. The churn with perpendicular dash was in nearly universal use before 1860. It was made "Big at the bottom and little at the top" so that when it was set by the fire the hoops would not drop.

Although apple trees were introduced in the eastern Panhandle quite early, and were probably introduced in the Monongahela valley before the Revolution, the fruit was usually poor. Cider mills appeared much later.

In 1838, James Hall, in his Notes on Western States, wrote as follows concerning changes in trans-Appalachian Virginia: "In western Pennsylvania and Virginia, the toils of the pioneers have in a great measure ceased, the log hut has disappeared, and commodious farm houses of framed wood, or stone, have been reared. Agriculture has assumed a permanent character, and is prosecuted with steadiness and method."

While responsive to the new environment, the old settlers still clung to many old ideas which they had brought from the East. Old habits are hard to break in places isolated from large commercial centers. At Point Pleasant the old account books of fur traders show that the English money system was still used in 1803. In Pendleton county and other interior counties the English system of pounds and shillings was used almost exclusively until 1800. It then began to yield, though very slowly. An appraisement at a sale would be reckoned by one method, and the result of the sale by another. By 1830 the word pound had fallen into disuse, but smaller sums were still reckoned in terms of shillings and pence. There were as yet no nickels, dimes, and quarters of Federal coinage, but there were Spanish coins in general circulation. It was not until the upheaval of 1861 that the last vestiges of the old system were driven out of use.

The problems of sheltering cabin and rude agricultural clearings were soon followed by larger problems of better communication through the almost fathomless depths of almost trackless regions and of improvements in transportation. At first, following mere trails along the streams or across the bends of the streams or the divides, they opened

A Mountain Home in Southeastern Clay County
(Courtesy of West Virginia Geological Survey)

wider avenues of travel as thickening settlements and multiplying population dictated the formation of new counties and the incorporations of new towns. From 1800 to 1830 the number of counties increased from thirteen to twenty-three.

In everything the frontier settlers were bound together by a community interest—fasting, feasting, fighting, praying and cursing with one common mind. Although always influenced by traditions and customs and laws of Anglo-Saxon civilization, they often became in their isolated communities a law unto themselves. Banded together by neighborly ties and co-operation, and isolated from the touch of orderly law and the refinements of culture, they forged a set of customs which were transmitted like law forming the basis of an unwritten law.

By visits to the mill and by occasional attendance at the county court, or at militia musters, the people kept in touch with some of the larger life beyond their narrow horizon. The chief community interest of the early period found expression in warding off Indian attacks, and in co-operative neighborhood work such as house raisings and log rollings. Later there were other diversions, such as corn huskings, which were occasions of neighborhood gayety, especially for the young. The occasional visit of a traveler from the older communities furnished an opportunity for hospitality which was gladly accepted. The greatest social occasions were the weddings, which always attracted general interest. The following description of early weddings in Berkeley county was probably largely applicable to many transmontane communities:

> For a long time after the first settlement of this locality, the inhabitants in general married very young. There was no distinction of rank and very little of fortune. On these accounts the first impressions of love resulted in marriage, and a family establishment cost nothing more than a little labor. The practice of celebrating the marriage at the house of the bride began at an early period, and it should seem with great propriety. She was also given the choice to make the selection as to who should perform the ceremony. In those days a wedding engaged the attention of a whole neighborhood, and both old and young engaged in the frolic with eager anticipation. This is not to be wondered at, when it is told that a wedding was almost the only gathering which was not accompanied with the labor of reaping, log rolling, building a cabin, or planning some scout or campaign.
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> On the morning of the wedding day, the groom and his attendants assembled at the house of his father, for the purpose of reaching the mansion of his bride by noon, which was the usual time for celebrating the nuptials, and which for certain must take place before dinner. * * * The gentlemen dressed in shoepacks, moccasins, leather breeches, leggins, and linsey hunting shirts, all homemade. The ladies dressed in linsey petticoats and linsey or linen bed gowns, coarse shoes, stockings, handkerchiefs, and buckskin gloves, if any; if there were any buckles, rings, buttons or ruffles, they were relics of old times, family pieces from parents or grandparents. The horses were caparisoned with old saddles, bridles or halters, and packsaddles, with a bag or blanket thrown over them—a rope or string as often constituted the girth as a piece of leather.
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> Another ceremony commonly took place before the party reached their destination. When the party were within about a mile of the bride's house, two young men would single out to run for the bottle. The worse the path, the more logs, bush and deep hollows, the better, as these obstacles afforded an opportunity for the greater display of intrepidity and horsemanship. * * * The bottle was always filled for the occasion and there was no need of judges. The first that reached the door was handed the prize, and returned in triumph announcing his victory over his rival by a shrill whoop. The bottle was given the groom and his attendants at the head of the troop, and then to each pair in succession, to the rear of the line. After giving each a dram, he placed the bottle in his bosom and took his station in the company. The ceremony preceded the dinner, which was a substantial backwoods feast of beef, pork, fowls and sometimes venison and bear meat, with plenty of cabbage, potatoes and other vegetables.
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> After dinner dancing commenced with four handed reels or square sets and jigs, and generally lasted until the next morning. About 9 or 10 o'clock a deputation of the young ladies stole off the bride and put her to bed. This would be unnoticed by the hilarious crowd, and as soon as discovered a deputation of young men in like manner would steal off the groom and place him snugly by the side of his bride. The dance still continued, and when seats happened to be scarce, which was often the case, every young man, when not engaged in the dance, was obliged to offer his lap as a seat for one of the girls, which was sure to be accepted. The younger guests usually danced until the following morning, keeping time to the music of the frontier fiddler and from time to time renewing their spirits from the bottle called "Black Betty."

As late as 1822, after the passage of the act of 1819, to regulate marriages and to prevent forcible and stolen marriages, there were complaints that the inhabitants in some localities labored under great inconvenience from lack of persons duly authorized to officiate in performing the rites of matrimony. To remedy this condition in Cabell, Kanawha and Monongalia, the Assembly authorized the county courts to appoint persons who could legally officiate after they took the oath of allegiance.

In the earlier periods of settlement it was customary every autumn for each little neighborhood of a few families to send a caravan of pack horses heavily laden with peltries, ginseng and bears' grease, to the older settlements east of the mountains to barter for salt, iron, utensils and implements. The difficult journey by bridle paths required several days. Two men often managed a caravan of ten to fifteen horses, each carrying about 200 pounds burden. At night they encamped and sank to sleep on wooden pack-saddle pillows, often amidst the sound of howling wolves and screaming panthers. For many parts of northwestern Virginia the place of exchange first by pack horse and later by pack horse and wagons was in succession, Baltimore, Frederick, Hagerstown, Oldtown and Fort Cumberland. For others the place of exchange was Winchester. One route to Winchester led via Clarksburg, Belington and Elkins. The trip by this route required from five to seven days in going and a longer time in returning. A camp in the Laurel Mountains near the site of Elkins became a regular stopping place on the journey. The trip was a dangerous one, full of adventures and hardships, and the men usually formed parties to go on the expedition, each man having two horses. The early trails were only wide enough for a horse to walk without danger of scraping off the packs against trees. There were no hotels on the way at which the pioneer could stop and procure food for himself and forage for his horses. The traveler was sometimes at the mercy of storms or wild beasts. John Hacker was caught one night in a terrific snowstorm high in the Alleghenies. He tried to make a fire from the flint and tinder he carried, but could not on account of the increasing numbness of his hands and arms. He probably would have perished but for the fact that he lashed his two horses together so that he could lie between their backs.

Ginseng was at first practically the only article of trade the settlers had to take to Winchester. * * * In order to keep from being molested by the thieves who infested the woods on the way to and from Virginia, the settlers posed as "sang diggers" long after they had other articles to barter. When these first traders appeared in Winchester the people there could hardly believe that the strangers were from the other side of the mountains. The first member of the Ice family who settled in Marion county has left an interesting account of his first eastern trip—a trip which he made with his father. During the trip they lost count of the days and at Winchester could only tell the curious people who crowded around them that they had "started in the morning."

The difficulties of transportation across the mountains were so great that the western settlers usually purchased only the barest necessities of life, even if their stock of furs had been sufficient to purchase luxuries. When John Reger married Elizabeth West at West's fort in 1788, the bride attracted much attention by a store gown of calico which the groom had brought from Winchester on foot.

The absolute necessity of the eastern trade to secure salt and iron made imperative the construction of the first roads over the mountains. Some traders bought their salt at Pittsburgh, and after the settlement at Wheeling was well established the settlers eastward as far as Glover's Gap brought their supplies from that place. After the discovery of the Bulltown salt springs on the Little Kanawha, the manufacture of salt at that place for several years largely supplied the needs of that locality and eastward as far as Buckhannon. Farther south the manufacture

of salt especially began to emancipate the West from the East. In 1797 the first salt furnace on the Great Kanawha was set up. In 1807 the method of manufacture improved by the Ruffner brothers increased the quantity of the product and soon made the "Kanawha Salines" widely known. The industry furnished an occupation for many people, some of whom built keel boats and distributed the manufactured products along the Ohio and its tributaries. In 1814, 600,000 bushels were produced. The importance of the industry was increased by the application of steam to water navigation. When salt began to be made in quantities greater than the neighborhood demanded, it was shipped to the new settlements down the river by canoes. The first shipment on a more pretentious scale was in 1808, when a lograft was formed by fastening the logs together by hickory poles, when a lot of salt was packed in empty bacon hogsheads and barrels and placed on it and floated down to the new settlements.

In 1838, James Hall in his "Notes on Western States" wrote: At a distance of about 60 miles from the mouth (of the Kanawha), by the meanders of the river, commences the richest salt region in the U. S. It extends about 10 miles along the river; and within that distance there are 80 or 90 separate establishments for the manufacture of salt, thickly scattered along the shore on either side of the stream. A large portion of the salt used in the West, has been furnished from these furnaces, which have proved extremely lucrative to the proprietors. Altho they have been in operation for many years, the supply of brine remains undiminished, and the neighboring hills furnish an inexhaustible supply of bituminous coal, lying in thick, horizontal strata, in sight of the furnaces, and in positions elevated a few feet above them.

The salt industry led to the first discovery of natural gas in western Virginia. The first flow of gas was obtained from a well drilled for brine, by Capt. James Wilson, within the limits of Charleston, in 1815. Later it was found in great quantities in the salt wells of the Great Kanawha valley. In 1841, William Tompkins, in boring a salt well a short distance above the "Burning Spring" struck a large flow of gas, which he at once turned to account by using it as a fuel for "boiling his furnace" and thereby greatly reduced the cost of salt.

In 1843, Dickinson and Shrewsbury, enterprising salt makers, while boring a well for brine a few rods distant from the Tompkins well, tapped, at a depth of 1,000 feet, nature's great gas reservoir in this region. "So great was the pressure of this gas and the force with which it was vented through this bore-hole that the auger, consisting of a heavy iron sinker weighing some 500 pounds, and several hundred feet more of auger poles, weighing in all perhaps 1,000 pounds, was shot up out of the well like an arrow out of a cross-bow. * * * For many years the natural flow of gas lifted the salt water 1,000 feet from the bottom of the well, forced it a mile or more through the pipes to a salt furnace, raised it into a reservoir, boiled it in a furnace, and lighted the premises all around at night."

Thenceforth gas was the principal fuel used in the Kanawha Salines.

The salt makers on the Kanawha river invented drilling tools for boring oil wells and they contributed to the later great development of the oil fields in West Virginia and adjoining states. The invention first spread from the Kanawha valley to Ohio, and later to distant regions in all parts of the world where oil wells have been bored.

In the interior region in the earlier period, before there was much grass for cattle, hog raising was the chief live stock industry. The hogs were fattened on mast and corn and driven on foot to Richmond for slaughter there. This industry was later stimulated by the construction of the Staunton and Parkersburg pike. Later, after larger cleared acres had been "set to grass," the cattle industry became important. The cattle, before the construction of the Baltimore and Ohio railway, were usually driven to Baltimore or to Philadelphia, and sometimes to New York.

After the construction of the Northwestern and the Staunton and Parkersburg turnpike considerable wagon trade of the interior region,

as far as Buckhannon, was established with Parkersburg, from which salt, iron, steel and dry goods were obtained. Joseph S. Reger states that the round trip from Buckhannon required about two weeks.

The treaty with Spain in 1795 and the later opening of steam navigation, stimulated the activity of commerce on the Ohio and encouraged many to plant on a larger scale and participate in a larger and more convenient commerce. Small farms on the Monongahela and upper Ohio early became the source of supply to the New Orleans markets for flour, potatoes, apples and pork.

Cattle raising also became an important industry along the Ohio from whence they were driven to the Glades for a brief period of pasture and then to the Baltimore and Philadelphia markets.

Wool growing also became important in a few sections. Sheep raising grew to a profitable industry in the counties on the upper Ohio and on the Monongahela. Wheeling became a town of woolen mills. Later the war of 1812 emphasized the need of internal improvements. The commercial restrictions of the period were a factor in causing trade and immigration across the Alleghenies by an overland route. In 1815, wheat and cotton were carried in wagons from Wheeling to the East, and after the opening of the Cumberland road to Wheeling in 1818 there was a larger traffic across the mountains from the neighboring region.

Finally, through the fertility of the soil and frugal industry, and the eastern demand for surplus products, the problems of the primitive life of frugal economy and mere subsistence were merged into the new problems of improved industry and better houses and new conditions and standards of life. The surplus product of energy and labor, through the law of supply and demand, found a sale in the older communities of the East—furnishing them a money commodity of exchange, the means to increase their wants and to improve their homes and farms, and the stimulus to facilitate communication between East and West. With these improvements came the accumulation of wealth and the increase of refinement and culture.

New influences appeared with the arrival of a new class of settlers such as those who formed the German settlement in Preston near Mt. Carmel and the New Englanders who made their largest settlement at French creek in Upshur county and in Lewis. Several colonies of Germans also found homes along the Little Kanawha in the upper panhandle and in Doddridge and Randolph counties.

The early wooden farm implements gradually gave way to iron implements which later were gradually improved or supplanted. The old hominy block with wooden pestle was succeeded by the handmill of stone, which later gave way to the water-propelled tub-mill which first utilized the water power along the rapid streams around the sources of the South Branch, the Cheat, the Monongahela, the Elk, the Gauley, the New and the Tug. The early sickle and flail gradually gave way to the reaping cradle and thresher by a natural process of evolution. About 1840 the first rude "chaff-piler" threshing machine made its appearance. In 1850 the Downs' "Separator" thresher was introduced, followed soon thereafter by its rival, Ralston's "patent threshing and cleaning machine." Delanoe's "patent independent" horse rakes, and Ketcham's mowers, first introduced in the vicinity of Wheeling in 1854 by R. H. Hubbard (the first dealer in agricultural implements in the western part of the state) were not generally used until about 1865. The cultivation of sorghum cane, introduced into the territory of western Virginia in 1857, rapidly spread to almost every county.

The first county fair in the territory of West Virginia was held at Mecklenburg (now Shepherdstown) by authority granted by the Virginia house of burgesses in 1766. The first encouragement or concentrated action for the improvement of agriculture in western Virginia, attempted in 1841 by the creation of a board of agriculture by an act which was repealed the following year, was accomplished through

the Marshall County Agricultural Association, which was incorporated in 1850, and similar associations organized in Monongalia, Jefferson and Cabell counties. The Northwestern Virginia Agriculture Society, which purchased and equipped the Wheeling fairgrounds, was incorporated in 1858.

Between 1830 and 1850 western Virginia increased rapidly in population and in wealth. This was due in part to the construction of turnpikes which attracted emigrants and aroused the interest of speculators in the cheap lands and the rich natural resources. So intense was the land craze at times that associations were formed to prevent land buyers from overbidding each other and to treat those who offended to railrides and tar and feathers. At the same time many factories were established by capitalists from New England and the Middle States who brought emigrants with them.

The material advance of the settlements before the era of railroads may be measured by the evolution of mills, by the increase in the number and size of stores and by the evolution and development of roads

Old Mill at Grassy Creek, Over Lower Guyandot Sandstone, One Mile North of Leivasy, Nicholas County

and ferries and methods of transportation—as well as by the changes in farm implements and machines and the general development of agriculture. Before 1807 there was a greater demand for the construction of mill dams, ferries, and smelting furnaces than for internal communication with the East.

Quite early, the grist mill was introduced and became the social center of the neighborhood, or rather the news center to which men or their boys brought their grist on horseback.

The earliest mills, the "tub mills," which were built in the oldest trans-Allegheny settlements about 1779 or 1780, began to be superseded between 1795 and 1800 by the better water grist mill (equipped with country stones), which in time retreated before the steam mills. Before 1807 the construction of dams across the Monongahela was first regulated by the Virginia legislature by an act of December 5, 1793, and later by act of February 3, 1806. Many such dams were found along the streams of the settled regions by 1820. When the first official examination and partial survey of the Monongahela river was made in 1820, under the direction of the Virginia Board of Public Works, beginning a mile below the Lewis county court house and continuing to the Pennsylvania line, there were between these points (nearly 107 miles) ten dams—usually mill dams.

Forest industries were begun with the earliest settlements. The first

saw mills in the present territory of West Virginia appeared (probably by 1755) on the Potomac and its tributaries. Probably there were a dozen crude water saw mills in that region (including the South Branch country) by 1775, and possibly five times that number by 1800. There were about fifty such mills in Berkeley county alone in 1810.

The first saw mill west of the mountains is said to have been built near the town of St. George, in Tucker county by John Minear in the year 1776. This was a sash saw mill and stood on Mill run, a small tributary of Cheat river. Another was built by the McNeals some years after their settlement in southern Pocahontas county in 1765, and another by Valentine Cackley at Millpoint, in the same county, in 1778. The Gazetter of Virginia and the District of Columbia, written by Joseph Martin, contains one of the first available lists of saw mills in what is now West Virginia. According to this list there were forty or more water mills running in 1835. Probably the most extensive water saw mill operations in the state were conducted on Middle Island creek and its tributaries in Pleasants, Tyler, and Doddridge counties. In Tyler county alone not fewer than twenty-four sash mills were running in this vicinity between the years 1840 and 1880. Some of the mills were in operation day and night in winter, and all sawed choice white and yellow pines for southern markets.

As late as 1863, when West Virginia had its birth as a state, seven-eighths of the lumber consumed here and exported was manufactured by water power on the primitive types of saw mills.

The next step in the evolution of sawing devices was the introduction of steam-propelled rotary saw mills that were capable of being hauled from place to place. This type of mill, which is still in use in the state,—numbering over fifteen hundred in present operation—is too familiar to require description. Little is known of the first years of the steam saw mill industry. It would be impossible at this time to obtain full data as to their number and location. Local historians, with one or two exceptions, have remained silent regarding it, and all that can now be learned of the early stages of steam saw milling must be laboriously secured from a few imperfect records and from the older citizens of the state who were lumbermen many years ago. According to Martin's list there were fifteen steam saw mills in operation in the counties that now constitute West Virginia, in 1835. The increase in number of portable mills was not rapid during the first thirty or forty years after their introduction. With the coming of the railroads, however, mills of this kind began to multiply rapidly. New towns that grew up along these roads required a large amount of rough lumber for the hastily-built houses, and it was usually possible to locate mills near by. In 1870 J. H. Diss Bebar wrote: "Along both branches of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad, from twenty to thirty first-class mills are cutting on an average 3,000 feet of lumber a day." And so it was along practically all other railroads as they were built from time to time. A few came at first and these were soon followed by many others, as mentioned in the quotation above. Just as the old water mills followed closely the first settlements, supplying lumber for floors and ceiling in the log houses and for the construction of the first frame dwellings, so the portable mills followed the later settlements as they were begun along the lines of the railroads.

During the years when the more primitive types of saw mills were running and continuing in some cases to the present time, were other forest industries of considerable importance. The list of these industries includes the making and floating of flat-boats, the rafting of logs and other timber products, the manufacture of cooperage stock, the hoop pole industry, shingle-making, cross-tie industries, tanning, and others of less importance.

Rafting has been conducted on all the principal rivers of the state except those that are too rough to admit of it. On the Ohio river rafts of logs could be seen as early as 1830; and not far from the same time flat-boats were being made on the Kanawha, the Coal, and the Elk rivers. Most of the flat-boats were loaded with staves and taken to the salt works near Charleston where they were sold. For the past seventy-five years log rafts and single logs have been taken in large numbers from the forests that border the Guyandotte, the Big Sandy, the Little Kanawha, and other rivers. The hoop pole industry was enormous during the years of the early life of the state.

The forest and timber industries—beginning in a small way with the earliest settlements of the state, and increasing to their present large proportions—have meant more in the way of benefits to the citizens of West Virginia than any other industry except that of farming. All classes of people have been, and still continue to be, the beneficiaries of these forest industries. The forest industries not only brought capital into the region, but also furnished employment for thousands of citizens and also was the means of establishing social centers and developing wholesome social customs. Hundreds of small villages and flourishing larger towns of today stand where lumber camps formerly stood, built long ago in dense wooded regions. In these camps a rough but large-hearted, robust, and justice-loving company of young lumbermen—some from the rural homes of the state and others from outside our borders—constituted the first temporary and shifting population of these centers,—a few lingering behind as the first permanent residents.

In the pioneer era of West Virginia, following the earliest period of

settlement, there were a number of iron furnaces which supplied iron for local needs. In Monongalia and Preston counties were several iron furnaces at an early date—possibly by 1790 or earlier. One on Decker's creek above Morgantown was working in 1798. Another, the old Cheat river furnace, seven miles from Morgantown, near Ice's Ferry, was standing in that year. More than a dozen furnaces were in operation in the vicinity in the half century before the Civil war. Some of them were operated ten or fifteen years after the war. The manufacture of iron on Cheat, near Ice's Ferry, became an important industry by 1849. Early in the nineteenth century, possibly by 1810, iron from Hampshire county was transported in boats down the Capon river, and thence down the Potomac to Georgetown. In Hardy county, near Wardensville and Moorefield were other furnaces, some of which operated until after the Civil war. Near Greenland Gap in Grant county was another, the Fanny furnace, which was well known in its day for

Cacapon Furnace Stack Near Wardensville, Hardy County
(Courtesy of West Virginia Geological Survey)

the fine quality of cook stoves manufactured. A furnace on Brushy-fork, Barbour county, which was built in 1848, made 9,000 pounds of iron a day. It was worked for six years. In the smelting, charcoal was used as fuel, although the furnace stood on a vein of coal. The iron was hauled by mule teams fifty miles to the Monongahela river near Fairmont for shipment by boat to the down-river market. The blast was operated first by water power and afterwards by an engine (believed to have been the first in Barbour county), about 1850. It was thirty-nine feet high when built. The last furnace which was operated in West Virginia was the old Capon furnace, six miles south of Wardensville, Hardy county, which was built in 1822 and was finally closed in 1880. It was worth about $15,000 in 1832, exclusive of real estate. In the later period of its operation the cost of hauling the iron across the mountains to the railroad was ten dollars a ton, which, added to the expense of production, made the cost of the iron at the railroad $25 a ton. During the prosperous years of the furnace, prices for the product ranged from $40 to $60 a ton. In 1855 the plant produced 220 tons of iron. The doom of the old style furnaces resulted in part from the opening of the St. Mary canal in 1855, furnishing cheap transportation for vast quantities of cheap iron ore on Lake Superior which

began to move eastward. The final decline followed Bessemer's process of making steel which drove much of the old wrought iron from the field. Competition became too severe for the costly methods necessary in mining and in reducing low grade ores. One by one the old stacks were abandoned and the furnaces speedily went to ruins. A number of dilapidated chimneys remain, mute witnesses of former industry, and of small fortunes made or lost.

Nails were made at Morgantown by machinery soon after 1800. At Wheeling the manufacture of nails was commenced in 1834—and through this industry Wheeling became known as the "nail city."

The development of transportation, confronted with many obstacles, was determined largely by the pressing needs of the growing communities. After the Braddock and Forbes roads, the first road affecting the Monongahela region was cleared from the South Branch to Fort Pitt along the general route of the Braddock road by commissioners appointed by the general assembly in 1766.

It was not until 1782 that Lewisburg secured a wagon road across the Allegheny to Warm Springs. Over this road loads of 2,500 pounds were hauled in 1785.

The first road connecting directly with the Virginia-Monongahela region was the "state road" from Winchester via Romney to Morgantown, authorized by the legislature previous to 1786, when a branch wagon road was authorized to be opened from a point on this road near Cheat to Clarksburg. Over this route there was probably no wagon traffic for many years. A wagon was driven from Alexandria over the road to Morgantown as early as 1796. In 1786 the legislature also authorized the opening of roads from Morgantown to the mouth of Fishing creek, and from the state road in Harrison county to the mouth of the Little Kanawha. Among the other earlier authorized roads which at first were little more than trails, were one from Morgantown to the mouth of Graves creek in 1795, one from Clarksburg to Point Pleasant in 1806, one from the Monongahela Glades to the mouth of Buffalo and to the Ohio in 1812, one from Beverly via Clarksburg and Middlebourne to Sistersville in 1817, and a turnpike from Staunton (via Jackson river, Huttonsville and Beverly) to Booth's Ferry on Tygart's valley in 1818. The first post roads were opened to Morgantown and Wheeling, at which the first post offices were established in 1794. Morgantown and Clarksburg advertisements and news, which before 1797, found their only avenue of newspaper publication in the Pittsburg Gazette, appeared in the Fayette Gazette from 1797 to 1804, at which date a paper was established at Morgantown.

About 1783 (the exact date is not certain), a wagon was taken from Hampshire county to the Horse Shoe, in Tucker county, by Thomas Parsons, when there was no pretense of a wagon road for the fifty miles crossing the Alleghenies. The wagon was empty and drawn by four horses. Probably that was the first wagon to cross the Alleghenies in western Virginia and anyhow the first north of Greenbrier county. Very soon after 1783, Jacob Warwick took a wagon to Pocahontas county. Probably home-made wagons were in use in Randolph county and in Monongalia county as early as 1783, but none had yet been seen at Clarksburg.

As early as 1788 the old Indian trail leading from Clarksburg to Winchester, passing through Barbour, crossing Tucker at the head of Clover Run and crossing Cheat river at St. George, was spoken of in the records as the "State Road." If one mile of it at that time had ever known a wheel, certainly it was not in Barbour or Tucker, and probably not in Harrison. Still it was called a road, and was sometimes distinguished as the "Pringle Packroad," because it was probably marked out (or, at least, followed) by the Pringles and other early settlers on the Buckhannon river. * * * It was the highway from the East to the West, through Barbour and Tucker. Very little of it

ever became a wagon road. As early as 1803 wagons could pass from Philippi to Clarksburg over a road on the west side of the river.

The first wagon road on the east side of the river, in Barbour county, was made by William F. Wilson in 1800. It was seven miles long and led from the site of Philippi to Bill's creek, where Mr. Wilson then lived. He built for seventy-five cents a rod, and it went up the points of hills and followed the tops of ridges, over the tops of knobs, rather than to grade around them, to save digging. In 1806, Virginia gave aid to repair a post road in Randolph county. Ferries, which began to appear by 1776, were established in 1785, at other points and by 1803 were operated over the Ohio and Little Kanawha at Parkersburg (over the mouth of Fishing creek and the Guyandotte, and over the Great Kanawha at the mouth of Coal and at other places). Toll bridges, which began to appear by 1807, were considerably increased in number from 1816 to 1819. The completion of the National Road from Cumberland to the Ohio at Wheeling in 1818, stimulated progress in its vicinity for branch roads to intersect it, and further south for competing roads between Virginia towns and the Ohio. Wagons were long scarce in many parts of western Virginia. Until about 1840 there were only two light wagons in Pendleton county. When Zebulon Dyer drove from his home to Franklin in his carryall, people came to look at the strange sight with wonder.

Considerable factors in the prosperity of the time, and in the formation of new community tastes and customs, were the new turnpikes between East and West and the stage line established thereon. They brought not only business and traffic but also brought to the homes a standard of better living as evidenced by the first improved furniture, pianos and other instruments of music.

In 1830 the assembly was flooded by petitions from the West, urging the incorporation of internal improvement companies and appropriations for turnpikes or for permission to raise money by lotteries. In the decade after 1830, the question of roads, which had already become prominent, assumed a position of dominating importance. The construction of the Northwestern turnpike and the Staunton and Parkersburg turnpike, stimulated the construction of intersecting roads—and in various ways exerted on the social and economic development, in almost every part of the Monongahela region, an influence which continued until the greater changes wrought by the advent of the railroad. About 1852, many bridges were built across streams at important crossings.

The need of river improvement was felt early. In 1785, a portion of the Potomac was cleared of rocks at Harper's Ferry.

River transportation to Pittsburg or to nearer points began at a very early period. In 1793, the Virginia legislature passed the first act for clearing and extending the navigation of the Monongahela and West Fork rivers for the convenient passage of canoes and flat boats. In January, 1800, it declared the Monongahela a public highway. Soon thereafter both through private individual initiative, and possibly in part through the report of Secretary Gallatin on internal navigation, the question of river improvements to secure better navigation was seriously considered early in the century. The subject received new significance from the development of steam navigation on the Ohio, following the trial trip of 1811-12. In January, 1817, the Monongahela Navigation Company was incorporated by the legislature to make the West Fork and Monongahela rivers navigable for flatboats, rafts and lumber, and with authority to cut a canal to divert the waters of the Buckhannon to the waters of the West Fork in order to secure an additional supply of water. A survey from Weston to the Pennsylvania line was made in 1820. The company, under the energetic lead of John G. Jackson, began its work on West Fork even before the survey was made, but soon abandoned the enterprise after the destruction of some of its dams by a river freshet, and finally forfeited its rights and franchises. Steamboats from Pittsburg began to make regular trips to

Morgantown about 1826, but the ascent to Fairmont, first made in 1850, was more difficult, although in 1854 and thereafter, regular trips were made at periods of high water. Improvement of the river above the Pennsylvania line, strongly urged in the ante bellum decade, was postponed until the beginning of Congressional appropriations for the work in 1872.

Propositions to improve the two Kanawhas by slack water navigation were urged in 1820, resulting in the first legislation for improvement on the Great Kanawha. Before that date the Kanawha valley received considerable up stream traffic in family supplies purchased from the new towns of Cincinnati and Limestone (now Maysville) and transported in ribbed-keel bottomed boats called batteaux. In 1819, the first steamboat on the Kanawha, the "Robert Thompson," ascended to Red House. By its inability to ascend above that point Virginia was induced to direct the James River and Kanawha Company to improve the navigation of the river so that three feet of water could be secured all the year to the Kanawha Falls to which the company was also directed to construct a turnpike across the mountains. In 1820, the "Albert Donnally," built for salt manufacturers on the Kanawha, ascended to Charleston and the traffic by river thereafter steadily increased. In 1825, a system of sluices and wing dams was begun, but they were not sufficient.

In 1838, the "James River and Kanawha Company" ordered a thorough survey of the river with a view to securing three and one-half feet of navigable water at all seasons. This survey was made by Mr. Edward H. Gill, engineer, under Col. Charles Ellett, Jr., chief engineer of the company; but no further steps were taken at the time. About 1855-6 there were commenced large shipments of cannel coal from Cannelton and from Elk river; Splint coal from Field's creek from about Paint creek and Armstrong's creek; also large shipments of cannel coal oil, manufactured at Cannelton, on Field's creek, Paint creek and Elk river. The large shipment of coal after 1855 resulted in urgent demands for better navigation facilities. In 1860 steps were taken to extend the old sluice and wing dam systems, but they were suspended by the war. Packets between Charleston and Gallipolis, which at first ran weekly and later triweekly, in 1845, began a daily service which continued until the Civil war. After the separation of the state in 1863, West Virginia took charge of the Kanawha river, and created a Kanawha board to carry on this improvement, collect tolls, etc., as the James River and Kanawha Company had been doing. About 1820, Dr. David Creel, who then represented Wood county in the Virginia legislature, made an unsuccessful effort to induce the state to improve the Little Kanawha by slack water navigation. In 1839, a survey of the Little Kanawha was made from its mouth to Bulltown salt works above Elizabethtown, but the work of river improvement was delayed until work was begun in 1870, under action of Congress. On the Guyandotte, the dams for slack water navigation were built before the war, but during the war became useless by neglect.

Life along the Ohio was greatly influenced by local traffic and travel on the river. Many communities in western Virginia also felt the influence of the trade between the Ohio and New Orleans which was begun in the period of the Revolution. The craft most extensively employed was the flatboat. Commercial relations between northwestern Virginia and the lower Mississippi steadily increased in importance following pioneer trading expeditions such as that of Jacob Yoder, who, in 1782, left Redstone on the Monongahela with a load of flour, sold it at New Orleans, invested the proceeds in furs, sold the furs in Havana, bought sugar and sold the sugar in Philadelphia.

Similar in character to the flatboat was the ark, employed for passenger travel, and the principal reliance of the emigrant.

Sailing vessels built in the Ohio valley during the last decade of the eighteenth century and grew in importance. They were exclusively

down stream crafts, and the export carriers for these sections. These ships were sometimes built of a 400-ton capacity. They could, however, never attain any permanent place in the commerce of this section because they were one-way carriers only, because the narrowness of the rivers restricted their freedom of movement, and because the irregularity of water supply and the dangers of navigation made boats of deep draft impracticable.

The difficulties of navigation at this time can hardly be overestimated.

The commerce floated on the lower Mississippi and the Ohio in these first decades of the nineteenth century was of various origins. Besides that which came from the settlements along the river banks, much traffic came down the tributary streams to be collected and transported on the main river streams. Manufactured articles from the Atlantic seaboard destined for New Orleans and upriver points came to Pittsburg across the mountains, or to New Orleans by coasting vessel and then upstream by barge. The principal upstream traffic of the barges consisted in sugar and molasses, although groceries and other articles needed in the Northwest territory were transported by this means. Down stream trade was largely in flour and whiskey, but a more miscellaneous traffic was also common.

In 1794 a regular keel-boat passenger travel was established between Pittsburg and Cincinnati. By 1810, about twenty-five or thirty barges were carrying barrels of coffee and hogsheads of New Orleans sugar on the Ohio. The trip down stream from Pittsburg to New Orleans required a month. In 1810, about 150 of the 300 or 400 keel boats, which were then plying on the Ohio, made three voyages between Pittsburg and Louisville each season. Their peculiar advantage was in their narrow build, which permitted them to ascend the tributaries of the main rivers for long distances and to provide the necessary means of communication for the settlers of the interior. They distributed necessaries, such as salt and flour, and did the carrying trade of the portages. As their operators acquired knowledge of the danger points in the streams their prestige grew and their patronage developed. This form of craft was adapted for passenger travel by providing it with a covered deck.

It is not surprising that the number of flat and keel boats and barges steadily increased during this period of steamboat beginnings. The country was settling rapidly, traffic was growing, and flatboats could carry heavier loads than the first steamboats, their operators were experienced pilots, who had acquired custom and good will, and though slow moving, they ranged farther in these early days than their steam-propelled competitors.

The appearance of the first steamboat in 1811 under the management of Nicholas Roosevelt, who was accompanied by his wife on his first trip (regarded by many as a perilous one), was the sign of a new era. Not until 1817, however, did steamboat navigation pass from the experimental stage into regular useful service. By 1818 fifteen steamers had been built at various points on the river and after 1824 the number of steamers rapidly increased.

As late as 1816 the practicability of navigating the Ohio with steamboats was esteemed doubtful; none but the most sanguine augered favorably. James Hall, writing in 1838, recalled observing in 1816, in company with a number of gentlemen, the long struggles of a stern wheel boat to ascend Horse-tail ripple (five miles below Pittsburg). He states it was the unanimous opinion that "such a contrivance" might conquer the difficulties of the Mississippi as high as Natchez, but that the Ohio must wait for some "more happy century of invention."

Mr. Hall states that Fulton while building his first boat at Pittsburgh traveled across the mountain in a stage in company with several young gentlemen from Kentucky. His mind was teeming with those projects, the successful accomplishment of which has since rendered his name so illustrious—and his conversation turned chiefly upon steam, steamboats and facilities for transportation. At length, in the

course of some conversation on the almost impassable nature of the mountains, over which they were dragged with great toil, upon roads scarcely practicable for wheels, Fulton remarked, "the day will come, gentlemen—I may not live to see it, but some of you who are younger probably will—when carriages will be drawn over these mountains by steam engine at a rate more rapid than that of a stage on the smoothest turnpike." The apparent absurdity of this prediction, together with the gravity with which it was uttered, excited the most obstreperous mirth in this laughter loving company, who roared, shouted, and clapped their hands, in the excess of their merry excitement.

Steamboats carried almost no freight until 1819, and for many years thereafter they met the competition of the more primitive craft.

The flatboats not only persisted but they increased in number and capacity. They finally reached a size of 150 feet by 24, carrying 300 tons of produce. Their traffic grew and flourished until the Civil war practically put on end to it. * * *

Because the traffic was predominantly downstream and because the light traffic upstream could be taken care of by the steamboats, the keel boat found its usefulness at an end and rapidly disappeared. The flatboats on the other hand admirably supplemented the steamboats by carrying downstream the products which the steamboats were not able to handle, by navigating streams where the risks of snags and bars were too great for the more valuable vessels, and where the settlements were sparse and the business light, and by converting themselves into lumber at New Orleans and thus removing themselves from the field of competition for the meager upstream traffic. As late as 1840 nearly one-fifth of the freight handled on the lower Mississippi went by flatboats, keel or barge, principally by flatboat. Steam towing of flatboats was tried as early as 1829, but was not successful, owing apparently to the lack of proper organization and to the prejudices of the flatboat owners. There was a steady decline in flatboat business to 1860.

There were no typical freight rates during the era of steamboating. Rates varied widely with the supply and demand of boats, the stage of water, and the quantities of freight offered, and it is difficult to give any idea of them at all. In seasons when a good stage of water prevailed, between 1850 and 1860, freight was carried from Pittsburg to St. Louis and Nashville at forty-three mills per ton weight, and from Pittsburg to New Orleans at thirty-six mills per ton weight.

Downstream rates for both passenger and freight traffic were usually lower than those levied on upstream business, because, the time consumed being less, the cost of operation was less in fuel and power extended, and in case of passenger business, the expense of boarding the passengers was reduced. Steamboat captains charged in all cases what the traffic would bear. It was frequently much more advantageous to a prospective passenger to pay the exhorbitant fare demanded than to stay in port and take his chances with the next boat, and a shipper had to get his products to market at any cost.

The days of prosperous steamboating were the days of unregulated monopoly, and the variations in water depth and the uncertainties of travel often so crowded the limited traffic season that in the direction of traffic movement passengers and shippers were wholly at the mercy of steamboat captains. Small wonder that boats were often paid for out of the earnings of a couple of years. Yet they were continuously liable to destruction from bars, snags, collisions, explosions and burning. And even if they survived these terrors, so flimsily were they built and so recklessly were they run that most of them were unfit for service after five years.

Many of the accidents were due to conditions of navigation over which the navigators had no control, but many more were due to reckless steamboating. So long as there was no rail competition, speed was an object. A speed record was a profitable means of advertising, and the desire to attain it led to racing and resulted frequently to collisions and explosions.

In 1838, James Hall gave the following interesting views concerning steamboat travel on the Ohio:

"It may not be useless or uninteresting to give an idea of the mortality of steamboats in a given time. It is not pretended that any decided inference can be drawn from this statement, or that the facts go to establish any fixed rule. But under the present situation of steamboat discipline and regulation a tolerably fair conclusion can be drawn from it. Taking the period for two years, from the fall of 1831 to that of 1833, we have a list of boats gone out of service, of 66: of these 15 were abandoned, as unfit for service; 7 were lost by ice; 15 were burned; 24 snagged; and 5 destroyed by being struck by other boats. Deducting the 15 boats abandoned as unseaworthy, we have 51 lost by accidents peculiar to the trade. This is over 12% per annum.

"A curious fact was ascertained by a committee of gentlemen, who were appointed a few years ago, by a number of steamboat owners, to investigate the whole subject. They satisfied themselves that altho the benefits conferred on our country, by steam navigation, were incalculable, the stock invested in boats, was, as a general rule, a losing investment.

"A few instances in which large profits were realized, induced a great number of individuals to embark in this business, and the tonnage has been always greater than the trade demanded. The accidents, which are almost wholly the result of bad management, were set down as among the unavoidable changes of navigation, and instead of adopting measures to prevent them, they were deliberately subtracted from the supposed profits, as matters of course. As the boat was not expected to last more than four or five years, at best and would probably be burnt, blown up or sunk, within that period, it was considered good economy to reduce the expenditures, and to make money by any means, during the brief existence of the vessel. Boats were hastily and slightly built, furnished with cheap engines, and placed under the care of wholly incompetent persons; the most inexcusable devices were resorted to, to get freight and passengers, and the most criminal indifference to the safety of the boat and those on board, observable during the trip.

"The writer was once hurried from Louisville to Shippingsport 2 miles below, without his breakfast and in the rain, to get on board a boat which was advertised to start at 8 o'clock on that morning. During the whole day passengers continued to come on board, puffing and blowing, in the most eager haste to secure a passage, each having been assured by the captain or agent that the boat would start in less than an hour. The next day presented the same scene; the rain continued to fall, we were 2 miles from the city, lying against a miry bank which prevented any one from leaving the boat. By and by the captain came—but then we must wait a few minutes for the clerk, and when the clerk came the captain found that he must go up to town. In the meanwhile passengers continued to accumulate, each decoyed alike by the assurance that the boat was about to depart. Thus we were detained until the third day, when the cabin and deck being crowded with a collection nearly as miscellaneous as the crew of Noah's ark, the captain thought proper to proceed on his voyage. It was afterwards understood that when the captain began to collect passengers, a part of his engine was on shore, undergoing repairs which could not be completed in less than two days, yet during the whole of these two days were the fires kept up, and gentlemen and ladies inveigled on board, in the manner related. We mention this to show the kind of deceptions which have been practised.

"The agent or officer who will deliberately kidnap men, by the assurance that he will start to-day, when he knows that he will not start until to-morrow, and the owner who will permit such conduct, will not shrink at any act by which he may think his interests likely to be promoted—and having insured the boat, will risk the lives of the passengers, by running at improper seasons, and other hazards, by which time may be saved, and the expenses of the trip diminished.

"The danger of injury to boats from snags, has now been greatly dimished in the Mississippi, and has almost entirely ceased in the Ohio, in consequence of the measure adopted for the removal of these obstacles.

"The burning of boats must be the result of carelessness; and the dreadful consequences arising from collision, are produced by negligence and design. There is scarcely a conceivable case in which boats may not avoid running against each other in the night; and their are many instances in which the officers of steamboats have been induced by a ferocious spirit of rivalry or some other unworthy motive, to run against weaker boats in such a manner as to sink them instantly."

The Civil war destroyed the greater part of the river trade and arrested the commerce of Cincinnati which until 1860 was chiefly dependent upon the Ohio and its connections.

The earliest towns in western Virginia usually grew around the court house, around some early fort, or near a mill or a tanyard, or as a result of the location of a "store" of goods or a tavern. Some towns, like Union in Mercer county, started by location of the county seat and grew largely because of the establishment of stores. Mrs. Royall, speaking of Union in Mercer county, at the end of its first quarter-century, said the place was "remarkable for nothing but a very elegant brick court house and the residences of the renowned Andrew Beirne and

his famous rival, Caperton, both of whom amassed great wealth as merchants and speculators." She said these two merchants were fleecing the people and reducing them to insolvency and vassalage. Beirne was called the "greasy peddler." He began with ginseng, taking it from people's doors, thus saving them the trouble of taking it to Staunton. He covered several counties in peddling goods brought from Philadelphia.

Springfield (in Hampshire county), whose chief early industry was a tanyard owned by an Irishman, was a town of forty log houses by 1820.

Wheeling was largely stimulated from the vast migration into Ohio—a migration which in 1805 was represented at Wheeling by 800 families in three months and in 1807 was referred to by the *Wheeling Repository* as "one continued drama—a moving frolic." Wheeling became the head of navigation for a large number of emigrants who drove their wagons and stock overland.

Cameron, which was begun by an Irish merchant who settled there in 1846, grew because of its favorable location as a business point for trade of a considerable part of Wetzel county and of Greene county, Pennsylvania.

Some of the early regulations for mere villages seem curious to a later generation. By an act, dated Christmas day, 1800, the trustees of Franklin (Pendleton county), which became a town by act of 1788, were authorized to make and establish legal regulations for protecting property from fire, for keeping hogs from running at large, to prohibit the galloping and racing of horses in streets and alleys, and for preserving good order generally. The population was then only about 100. In 1820 an ordinance attempted to prevent the people of Union from allowing sheep and hogs to run at large. In 1827 a petition for the repeal of this law was submitted on the ground that such a law was not suitable for such a small town.

By 1830 there were many little towns in which merchants kept a stock of merchandise. Here were the homes of lawyers, physicians and ministers, and in each class were men of brilliant intellects. In the river valleys and on the rich uplands dwelt by far the larger part of the population; farmers who, in addition to producing corn, wheat, buckwheat, potatoes and fruits for their own use, generally had a surplus to sell to others; they also raised good horses, cattle, sheep and hogs. Still another class dwelt in the "hill country" where they built their cabin homes and cleared a few acres of land on which they produced grains and vegetables sufficient for their own needs from year to year; they had but few domestic animals, and for other food they depended largely on wild game and fish. Periodically they visited the towns, there to barter venison, skins, furs, maple sugar and ginseng, for clothing, coffee, medicines, ammunition and other necessities, and then returned to their homes to follow the same routine to the end of their lives.

Stores at first kept only a few goods which had been carried over the mountain on a pack horse. At a later period they were supplied with larger stock brought by wagon from eastern markets or (first by wagon and later by boat) from Pittsburg. With the stores developed villages and towns some of which showed considerable economic and social development by 1830 and thereafter.

In 1797, of the 510 post offices in the United States, eight were within the present territory of West Virginia, as follows: Greenbrier Court House, Martinsburg, Moorefield, Romney, Shepherdstown, Wheeling, West Liberty and Morgantown. Four were east and four west of the Alleghenies. According to the first Post Office Directory obtainable, that of 1841 included in the report of the postmaster-general for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1841, there were 206 post offices within the limits of the present state of West Virginia, embraced in twenty-eight counties, as follows:

Berkeley, 7; Braxton, 4; Brooke, 4; Greenbrier, 10; Hampshire, 16;

Hardy, 6; Harrison, 14; Jefferson, 7; Kanawha, 13; Logan, 4; Marshall, 6; Mason, 5; Nicholas, 3; Ohio, 3; Pendleton, 7; Pocahontas, 5; Preston, 5; Randolph, 6; Tyler, 7; Wood, 13.

Hampshire headed the list with sixteen offices while Mercer had but one, Princeton, the county seat. Jefferson paid her postmasters $1,584.96, and afforded $3,818.49 revenue to the department. Ohio county came next paying postmasters $2,162.49, leaving but $2,589.30 "nett proceeds." The salary of the postmaster at Wheeling was $2,000.

The following is a list of 126 "towns" incorporated within the present limits of West Virginia by acts of the Virginia legislature in the century before 1861, with names arranged in the order of the dates of the acts of incorporation, and with geographic section indicated in each case:

Year	Town	County	Region of State
1762	Romney	Hampshire	Potomac and S. Branch
1762	Shepherdstown	Jefferson	Potomac and S. Branch
1776	Berkeley Springs	Morgan	Potomac and S. Branch
1777	Moorefield	Hardy	Potomac and S. Branch
1778	Martinsburg	Berkeley	Potomac and S. Branch
1782	Lewisburg	Greenbrier	Kanawha Valley
1785	Clarksburg	Harrison	Monongahela Valley
1785	Morgantown	Monongalia	Monongahela Valley
1786	Charlestown	Jefferson	Potomac and S. Branch
1787	Frankfort	Mineral	Potomac and S. Branch
1787	Middletown	Berkeley	Potomac and S. Branch
1787	West Liberty	Ohio	Ohio Valley
1787	Watson	Hampshire	Potomac and S. Branch
1790	Beverly	Randolph	Monongahela Valley
1790	Springfield	Hampshire	Potomac and S. Branch
1791	Wellsburg	Brooke	Ohio Valley
1791	Darkesville	Berkeley	Potomac and S. Branch
1794	Charleston	Kanawha	Kanawha Valley
1794	Point Pleasant	Mason	Kanawha Valley
1794	Franklin	Pendleton	Potomac and S. Branch
1795	Vienna	Wood	Ohio Valley
1795	Wheeling	Ohio	Ohio Valley
1796	Pleasantville	Monongalia	Monongahela Valley
1798	Smithfield	Berkeley	Potomac and S. Branch
1800	Union	Monroe	Kanawha Valley
1800	Newport	Wood	Ohio Valley
1800	Franklin	Pendleton	Potomac and S. Branch
1801	Pruntytown	Taylor	Monongahela Valley
1803	Elizabethtown	Marshall	Ohio Valley
1803	Peterstown	Monroe	Kanawha Valley
1807	Mount Pleasant	Monongalia	Monongahela Valley
1810	Guyandotte	Cabell	Ohio Valley
1813	Manchester	Hancock	Ohio Valley
1813	Middlebourne	Tyler	Ohio Valley
1813	Barboursville	Cabell	Ohio Valley
1814	Grandville	Monongalia	Monongahela Valley
1814	Miles End	Harrison	Monongahela Valley
1816	West Union	Ohio	Ohio Valley
1816	Bridgeport	Harrison	Monongahela Valley
1816	Buckhannon	Upshur	Monongahela Valley
1816	Morgantown	Monongalia	Monongahela Valley
1817	Westfield	Lewis	Monongahela Valley
1819	Stebbensville	Lewis	Monongahela Valley
1819	Preston	Lewis	Monongahela Valley
1820	Middleville	Nicholas	Kanawha Valley
1820	Summerville	Nicholas	Kanawha Valley
1820	Middletown	Monongalia	Monongahela Valley
1821	Milford	Harrison	Monongahela Valley
1821	Williamsville	Wood	Ohio Valley
1822	Harrisville	Ritchie	Ohio Valley
1822	Elizabeth	Wirt	Ohio Valley
1822	Huntersville	Pocahontas	Kanawha Valley
1822	Shepherdsville	Ohio	Ohio Valley
1823	Frankfort	Greenbrier	Kanawha Valley
1825	Bolivar	Jefferson	Potomac and S. Branch
1826	Lewisport	Harrison	Monongahela Valley
1826	Suttonville	Braxton	Kanawha Valley
1826	Fairfield	Harrison	Monongahela Valley
1827	Mixville	Ohio	Ohio Valley
1827	Virginius	Jefferson	Potomac and S. Branch
1827	Brandonville	Preston	Monongahela Valley

Year	Town	County	Region of State
1828	Mount Carmel	Preston	Monongahela Valley
1828	Middle Wheeling	Ohio	Ohio Valley
1828	South Wheeling	Ohio	Ohio Valley
1829	Triadelphia	Ohio	Ohio Valley
1829	Lawnsville	Logan	Guyandotte and Big Sandy Valley
1830	New Haven	Nicholas	Kanawha Valley
1830	Blacksburg	Monongalia	Monongahela Valley
1832	Moundsville	Marshall	Ohio Valley
1832	Starksville	Harrison	Monongahela Valley
1832	Valleyton	Randolph	Monongahela Valley
1832	Brownsville	Cabell	Guyandotte and Big Sandy Valley
1832	Wardensville	Hardy	Potomac and S. Branch
1832	Ripley	Jackson	Ohio Valley
1834	Evansville	Preston	Monongahela Valley
1834	Smootsville	Logan	Guyandotte and Big Sandy Valley
1834	Santerville	Tyler	Ohio Valley
1836	Hedgesville	Berkeley	Potomac and S. Branch
1836	Meadowville	Greenbrier	Kanawha Valley
1837	Greensburg	Ohio	Ohio Valley
1837	Harmansville	Cabell	Guyandotte and Big Sandy Valley
1837	Marshall	Marshall	Ohio Valley
1837	Newport	Monongalia	Monongahela Valley
1837	Beckley	Raleigh	Guyandotte and Big Sandy Valley
1837	Princeton	Mercer	Kanawha Valley
1838	Damascus	Marshall	Ohio Valley
1838	Martinsville	Wetzel	Ohio Valley
1838	Lumberport	Harrison	Monongahela Valley
1839	Sistersville	Tyler	Ohio Valley
1839	Democratic-Republic	Lewis	Monongahela Valley
1839	Buffalo	Putnam	Kanawha Valley
1840	Boothsville	Marion	Monongahela Valley
1842	Hartford	Lewis	Monongahela Valley
1842	Smithville	Ritchie	Ohio Valley
1842	Brownsville	Preston	Monongahela Valley
1843	Fairmount	Marion	Monongahela Valley
1844	Philippi	Barbour	Monongahela Valley
1851	Claysville	Wood	Ohio Valley
1851	St. Mary's	Pleasants	Ohio Valley
1852	Ravenswood	Jackson	Ohio Valley
1852	West Columbia	Mason	Ohio Valley
1852	Shinnston	Harrison	Monongahela Valley
1852	Harpers Ferry	Jefferson	Potomac and S. Branch
1852	Cassville	Wayne	Guyandotte and Big Sandy Valley
1853	Oceana	Wyoming	Guyandotte and Big Sandy Valley
1853	Aracome	Logan	Guyandotte and Big Sandy Valley
1853	Benwood	Marshall	Ohio Valley
1853	Hamlin	Lincoln	Guyandotte and Big Sandy Valley
1853	Kingwood	Preston	Monongahela Valley
1853	Bruceton	Preston	Monongahela Valley
1853	Bethany	Brooke	Ohio Valley
1853	Fellowsville	Preston	Monongahela Valley
1854	Fetterman	Taylor	Monongahela Valley
1856	Piedmont	Mineral	Potomac and S. Branch
1856	Mason City	Mason	Ohio Valley
1856	Mannington	Marion	Monongahela Valley
1856	Glenville	Gilmer	Ohio Valley
1856	Grafton	Taylor	Monongahela Valley
1858	Brandonville	Preston	Monongahela Valley
1858	Rowlesburg	Preston	Monongahela Valley
1858	Spencer	Roane	Ohio Valley

In the region of the Greenbrier and in Monroe county were several old health resorts which became famous by 1830 or 1840 as social centers and were visited by many persons of national prominence. Red Sulphur Springs in Monroe county was first opened as a resort in 1832, and became more important in 1837 when the ownership passed to an incorporated company with William Burk as manager.

More widely known were the White Sulphur Springs whose old traditions and social life have recently been so well portrayed by Hon. William Alexander MacCorkle, a true son of the Virginias, and formerly governor of West Virginia. These famous springs located east of Lewisburg on the old Indian trail (probably once a buffalo trail) early became well-known for the medicinal value of their waters. From 1779 to 1784 many tents were erected there by neighboring settlers who sought

to cure rheumatism and other diseases of the frontier. In 1785-86 many log cabins appeared. The first hotel there was built in 1808 by James Caldwell, a Baltimore sea-merchant who had moved to the neighborhood in 1795 and had married a daughter of Michael Bowyer, an earlier owner of the Springs. The real development of the Springs began in 1816 when Caldwell became sole proprietor and were continued throughout his period of ownership which was terminated only by death (in 1851). The most prominent expansion of buildings occurred after 1830 —and especially in 1837-1849. In 1854 the White Sulphur Springs Company began the large brick building known as the main building which was completed in 1858 and was reputed to have the largest dining room in the United States at that time. In the basement of this building was located the old bar-room where was created the mint julep and the Virginia toddy which made the place famous. Here also, according to the narrative of Governor MacCorkle of West Virginia, was uttered the famous remark of the governor of North Carolina to the governor of South Carolina, "It is a long time between drinks."

David Hunter Strother, author and artist, who was born at Martinsburg, Virginia, in 1816 and had spent five years as a student in Europe, contributed to Harper's Magazine in the fifties under the nom de plume "Porte Crayon" a series of illustrated articles on isolated community life in western Virginia. His sketches, although somewhat exaggerated, revealed a people primitive in their habits and aspirations. The following extracts describe conditions in the neighborhood around Adamson's store, located at the mouth of Seneca, Pendleton county, and for years the emporium for a district which long retained pioneer customs:

"The junction of the North Fork Turnpike and the Pack Horse Road, across the Alleghanies from Beverly, has grown up a little settlement at this place, consisting of a half dozen families, with the conveniences of a store, postoffice, blacksmith shop, a schoolhouse and I believe a meeting house and apple-jack distillery. There was no tavern or regular place of entertainment, but to atone for this deficiency, any of the householders were ready to take in travelers as a special favor.

"The place retains many of the characteristics of those frontier trading posts, which we read of in the days when the United States had frontiers and they skinned the aboriginees as well as bears.

"All sorts of queer people congregated here, bringing in peltries, ginseng, venison, yarn stockings, maple sugar, homemade cloth, oats, corn, potatoes, butter and eggs to exchange for gay colored dry goods, crockery, tin and hardware, gunpowder, tobacco, snuff, infinitesimal packages of coffee, and corpulent jugs of whiskey. Some came on foot, others in sleds, most on horseback, and very few in wheeled vehicles, the country in general not being addicted to this mode of transportation. Adamson's fancy salesman is the model of a mountain beau, in his own conceit at least."

Porte Crayon, in this chapter, narrates incidents and experiences of customs long since obsolete. Goose-picking or any form of labor which would be a tedious task for one person in that day, was interchanged and a frolic and a dance was the result.

"At Soldier White's we found a regular two-storied log house, containing half a dozen rooms, which serves as a place of entertainment to drovers who come from below to summer their cattle on the Fork, and to the occasional traveler who ventures to cross the wilderness by pack horse road from Seneca to Beverly, the county seat of Randolph. Here is also a tub mill, driven by a pretty stream of water, which had been caught and utilized before being swallowed by the dry river. This combination of circumstances makes Soldier White's rather a notable place in the Dry Fork community.

"The cabin was so small and the flaring pine knots revealed such a multitude of good humored faces, that we began to entertain some doubts whether we should not have done better to have remained and enlivened the bachelor's lonely hall and helped him cook his solitary supper. Still everybody, young and old, seemed glad to see us, and there was no hint of crowding or inconvenience. The family consisted of husband and wife, four sons, two grown to manhood, and a daughter between ten and eleven years old, a grandson, and a hired boy. The other domestics were three hounds and a cat with kittens.

"The cabin was eighteen by fifteen feet in the clear, divided into two rooms. Although limited in space, all the sanitary arrangements in regard to ventilation had been especially attended to. The cabin built of logs, turkey-pen fashion, were only partially chinked with moss and still more imperfectly tapestried with male and female garments, bunches of dried herbs with deer and fox skins stretched on the outside. This open space did away with the necessity and expense of glass and had several other advantages, as we afterward ascertained. We

could study the planets at ease, and tell the character of the weather without the inconvenience and awkwardness of getting up to look out of the windows. Jess also informed us that of nights when he wasn't sleepy, he could chaw tobacco and spit through the cracks without spilling the old man's floor, which was a pleasing indication of filial consideration. We experienced the fact that a family of nine persons with four guests could be comfortably fed, entertained, and lodged in such apartments, but during our sojourn of several days, we never understood how it was done."

Much of the wider social life centered around the county court house. Court days were the occasions of much amusement and excitement.

The county court was composed of all the justices of the peace in the county, who were appointed by the governor. No new justices were appointed without the recommendation of the justices already sitting, and the body thus became self-perpetuating and all-powerful. The important office of sheriff was filled by appointment by the governor, but the justices recommended three free holders for the office from among whom the appointment was made. It was the custom of the county court to recommend three of their own number, and the office was handed around among them according to seniority. With the system of fees then in force, one or two years incumbency in the sheriffalty was sufficient to lay the foundations for the fortune of the holder. All the other officers of the county were either recommended by the court for appointment by the governor, or were appointed outright. The only officers elected under this democratic(?) system of local government were overseers of the poor and the delegates to the legislature.

The county court, or justice's court, also possessed real judicial functions. It settled small disputes, punished breaches of the peace and established law and order. It had jurisdiction in many matters which now belong to higher courts. At Parkersburg there was no higher court established until 1819. In many other communities there was no opportunity to come in direct contact with the higher court which sat so far away.

The county courts were a source of much dissatisfaction. In many counties these bodies had become close corporations. The members were appointed by the governor, but only on recommendation of the sheriff, who was himself generally in close personal touch with the court. Persons receiving the appointment as sheriff, were, as a rule, members of the county court, and generally returned to it when their term of office as sheriff had expired.

New families and those long excluded from a participation in public affairs were hostile to this institution and anxious to bring it and the whole official system to an elective basis.

The reformers complained of the abuses which had developed in many of the older localities in the sheriff's office. This office was usually appropriated by members of the county court who accepted it to compensate their gratuitous services as judges. It was passed on from one member of the court to another, and was in each case usually farmed out to a deputy. In some cases the privileges of the office were sold at public auction. The opportunity for peculation and extortion which the office afforded was so great that deputies frequently paid as much for its privileges as the legal fees from it amounted to. In some counties the sheriff's office remained for years in the hands of professional "paper shavers."

As might be expected the administrative functions of the county government were altogether in the hands of the court. It laid out roads, established mills, built bridges, granted licenses, levied and collected taxes, recorded deeds, wills and mortgages, erected public buildings, exercised a general guardianship over orphans and fixed prices at taverns and for ferries, besides other matters too numerous to mention. Its authority over ferries was obtained by action of the general assembly in 1807.

The authority to license establishments presupposes the right to

regulate; and the right to regulate at that time included the right to fix prices.

In 1788 the tavern rate in Randolph county was fixed by the county court in shillings and pence, which translated into modern currency were as follows:

Madeira wine, per half pint	25 cents
Other wines, per half pint	20 5-6 cents
West India rum, per half pint	16 2-3 cents
Other rums, per half pint	12 1-2 cents
Peach brandy, per half pint	11 1-9 cents
Good whiskey, per half pint	11 1-9 cents
Dinner	16 2-3 cents
Breakfast	12 1-2 cents
Supper	12 1-2 cents
Lodging, in clean sheets each night	8 1-3 cents
Corn and oats, per gallon	11 1-9 cents
Horse at Hay, every 12 hours	11 1-9 cents
Pasture, every 24 hours	8 1-3 cents

In 1829 the court again fixed the rates, making an increase in several of the items, but decreasing the price of lodging to 6 1-4 cents. On December 8, 1801, the county court Berkeley county regulated ordinaries as follows:

Dinner	$ .40
Breakfast	.28
Supper	.30
Lodging	.10
One quart of Madeira wine	1.25
One quart of Sherry	1.00
One quart of Lisbon or Port	.75
One quart of Punch	.50
One quart of toddy	.25
One quart of London Porter	.50 1-2
One gill spirits	.12 1-2
One gill of French brandy	.12 1-2
One gill of peach brandy	1.00
One gill of apple brandy	.06 1-4
One gill of whiskey	.06 1-4
One gill of bounce	.06 1-4
Stableage and hay per night	.25
Corn and oats per gallon	.12 1-2
Pasturage, per night	.07
One quart, beer or cider	.08

At Parkersburg in 1800, the court fixed the rate for meals and drink as follows:

Breakfast or supper	21 cents
Dinner	25 cents
Lodging	8 cents
Corn or oats, per gallon	11 cents
Whiskey, half pint	8 cents

Later these rates were changed, but prices were always fixed for man and horse and also, for various drinks, such as whiskey, peach or apple brandies, and such liquors as were freely used. As the market for corn was far away, much of it was made into whiskey, which was more easily transported and was almost considered a necessity at house raisings, log rolling, shooting matches, and such gatherings. The number of early ordinaries or taverns in the trans-Allegheny region, and especially the early date of their appearance is surprising.

On the south bank of the Little Kanawha near the mouth a tavern, known as "The Rest," was licensed in 1789 and, with some improvement, the same building was still in existence as a tavern and storehouse until 1850. Here underneath the swinging sign "Entertainment for man and beast" resorted many of the pioneers to tell stories of bear and Indians, to discuss questions of the day, or to receive the news from passing travelers or from uncertain mails.

The tavern business was pretty much the same all over the state. The leading item in all tavern business of that time in western Virginia was whiskey. Taverns were simply saloons with arrangements to lodge and board customers. A public house without its bar or liquor closet probably did not exist in the whole region. Drunkenness, or at least drinking, was so common that it excited no comment except from travelers from other regions. Such occasionally passed through the country, on business or pleasure, and a number of diaries written by

them have been preserved. The perusal of these records must impress upon the reader the debauchery and drunkenness that existed a century or more ago about public gathering places in western Virginia.

Many of the improved hotels were centers of community life. Here the young people gathered from the neighboring country for balls and other gay festivities. As late as 1830, even in sections favored by good wagon roads there were very few carriages. Even the most prosperous rode on horseback or perhaps occasionally in a jersey wagon without springs.

A glance backward at some of the laws of Old Virginia which were applicable in western Virginia before 1863, furnishes convincing evidence of the progress of civilization since these laws were enacted. Even after the Revolution the people of Virginia tolerated barbarous laws which had already been enacted, and proceeded to enact others which would now be regarded as very severe and unreasonable. In 1792 several of such laws were placed on the statute books. For swearing, cursing and drunkenness the fine was placed at 83 cents for each offense or ten lashes on the bare back were prescribed for those who failed to pay a fine. For working on Sunday the fine was $1.67. For stealing a cask of tobacco lying by the public highway, the punishment was death. The death penalty was also prescribed for forgery, for changing an inspector's stamp on flour or hemp, for stealing land warrants or for knowingly having counterfeit money in possession. For "any person, not a slave," who stole a hog, shoat or pig the penalty for the first offense was 35 lashes on the bare back or a fine of $30 (in addition to $8 for the owner of the animal stolen), for the second offense the penalty was two hours in a pillory on a public court day at the court house, and both ears nailed to the pillory for two hours (and no exception was made for women), for the third offense the penalty was death, a very effectual cure for coveting other people's hogs. The slave who stole hogs was punished more severely for the first and second offenses. Horse stealing was also punishable by death. Negroes, although they might have medicine in their possession with their master's consent, were punishable with death, without benefit of clergy, for preparing, exhibiting or administering medicine to cure the sick.

The ferocity of some of these laws was softened by provision for a possible way of escape from some of the extreme penalties. In some instances a milder punishment could be substituted for the death penalty especially after the establishment of the penitentiary, but in others, such as passing counterfeit money, there was no alternative. In many instances "benefit of clergy" was extended until 1848, when it was abolished. The Virginia law of 1789, however, declared that "benefit of clergy" could not be claimed in cases of first degree murder, burglary, arson, the burning of the court house or the clerk's office, felonious stealing from a church or meeting house, or for robbing a house in the presence of its occupants. It also stipulated that those who received "benefit of clergy" should have their hand burned before other punishment was administered.

Possibly in many instances the law was not strictly enforced, but many instances of the execution of the strict letter of the law are on record. In 1803 a man at Clarksburg was sentenced to be hanged for stealing. At the same place in 1807 a negro woman was tortured by fire for grand larceny and then tied to a post and whipped. In 1808 at the same place another negro woman, accused of grand larceny, was granted "benefit of clergy" after which she was burned and whipped.

Idle gossip and tattling was discouraged by law of 1792. Persons giving expression to false rumors and reports were fined $40 or less and required to give a bond for future good behavior, unless they could produce the author of the false report.

Until about the middle of the nineteenth century, Virginia imprisoned men for debt. In western Virginia there were at nearly all the old county seats "prison bounds" restricting the distance allowed

to debtors who were allowed to take walks outside of the prison at certain hours during the day.

Under a law of 1796 the prosecution of suits by men of small means to secure justice before the courts was facilitated by provision for free attorney, free subpoenas and writs, and release from costs of suits lost.

The court records in the latter part of the eighteenth century indicate that frontier justice was rather primitive. In 1788 in Harrison county a female prisoner convicted of felonious taking was given ten lashes on her bare back. In the same year a man was convicted of having stolen an ax, a hat and a pair of stockings. The court ordered "that the sheriff immediately tie the prisoner to the public whipping post and give him thirty lashes well laid on and deliver him to David Hughes, Constable" who shall deliver him to the next constable and so on until he was conveyed out of the county. In 1791 John Jackson was given a verdict by a jury in a slander case, but the damages were fixed by the jury at only seven shillings. Jackson demanded a new trial on the ground that the sheriff had conveyed apple brandy to the jury in a teapot while they were engaged in considering the case, and that the jury drank it. The motion was granted and all twelve of the jurymen were fined twelve shillings each.

In 1795 a prisoner in Harrison county entered the plea of guilty to a charge of felonious assault. While the members of the court were discussing whether the prisoner should be tried by the district court, the prisoner escaped. The sheriff, John Prunty, was ordered by the court to raise the "hue and cry" and command assistance to take him. In the same year Prunty was fined for seven oaths sworn in the presence and hearing of the court 83 cents each oath, also fifteen oaths in the hearing and presence of William Robinson, a justice of the peace, at 83 cents each oath. In the same year Prunty objected to the action of the court in calling a witness without subpoena, thus cheating the sheriff out of his fee. In the old record book is to be found a full account of the proceedings that followed:

"Ordered that the said John Prunty be confined in the stocks for the space of five minutes" * * * for his "Damming the Court and the attorney who was there supporting the client's claim and the whole bunch. The Court and the attorney was D——d fools and a set of d——d scoundrels." After being released he again showed disrespect and was confined for the remainder of the day. The court bound him over to keep the peace. After spending some time in jail bond for his good behavior was obtained. Attempts of the court to oust him later were unsuccessful.

In 1811 Samuel Bingham was indicted in Randolph county "For profanely swearing one oath to wit by God within two months last past."

Tramps and vagrants were discouraged from practicing their profession. As early as July, 1788, the court of Randolph county issued a writ for Grant Lambert to show cause why he did not find lawful employment "and demean himself as required by the laws of this Commonwealth." Eight years the court of the same county ordered all the constables in the county within fifteen days to pass John Gilberts down the line "until he shall be removed beyond the county the way he came." A complaint of Frederick county in 1794 indicates that the court of Hampshire was shifting its vagrants upon other counties.

Although Virginia early passed laws and made regulations requiring freed negroes to leave the state within a short time after their manumission, and forbidding them to return, the county courts had power to grant permission to a freed negro to remain in the county where he had lived as a slave if his case was especially meritorious. In 1827 the county court of Pocahontas county entered the following order:

"Ben, a man of color, who is entitled to his freedom under the last will and testament of Jacob Warwick, deceased, bearing date on the seventh day of March, 1818, of record in the clerk's office of this county, this day motioned the court (the commonwealth's attorney being present) for permission to remain in this county: whereupon, it is the opinion of the court that the said Ben be permitted

to remain and reside for his general good conduct, and also for acts of extraordinary merit, it appearing to their satisfaction that the said Ben hath given reasonable notice of this motion."

Many interesting indictments are recorded in the old records. The largest number was for drunkenness, next many were against road overseers for neglect of duty—especially for failure to remove trees which had blown across the road. Although the overseers were seldom fined by the county courts, they often had heavy fines to pay when they were prosecuted before the circuit courts. Contempt of court was also a common offense. Ten indictments were found in 1827 against horse racers in a western Virginia county and a fine was imposed in each case.

The early sheriff who was paid by fees fixed by law, probably had many difficult problems which required unusual tact, courage and firmness. He was doubtless called often to arrest men whose violence of temper resulted in exhibitions of muscular strength. Early in the nineteenth century following a physical contest between Dr. W. H. Ruffner and Col. Andrew Donnally originating in the double claim of ownership of an interest in the Dickinson Survey, a contest which was afterwards decided by the court, the sheriff of Kanawha county who was sent to arrest Dr. Ruffner was driven ignominiously from the premises, and returned to the court in Charleston to report this defiance of authority. Armed with authority from the court to bring the obstinate belligerent "dead or alive," he went with a posse to renew the attempt to arrest, and after disabling the belligerent, carried him to a boat and delivered him at the court house in a helpless condition.

In some parts of the interior there were prominent examples of lawlessness which threatened the peace of neighboring communities.

Colonel Dewees gives quite a little history of two or three families that figured conspicuously in the wild regions of the West Fork of the Little Kanawha. Daniel McCune then lived on what is now known as McCune's run which empties in the West Fork just below Arnoldsburg, Calhoun county. He was a son of the old original Peter McCune, an Irishman, who served as a soldier in the Revolutionary war, and who married a daughter of Adam O'Brien, famous as a noted character on the frontier border even before the Revolution and a blazer of paths for the region of Calhoun, Braxton and Gilmer counties. McCune with Joseph Parsons, Alexander Turner and Jackson Cottrell was a member of a clan called the Hellfire band that was organized by early settlers on the West Fork waters, a clan whose members roved from place to place, living in camps, seeking to hold the wilderness country of the West Fork for a paradise for hunters, discouraging improvements of every kind, such as clearing of land, making settlements, opening up roads, organizing churches and civilization in general. About the year 1843 they were convicted of the murder of Jonathan Nicholas. They were all sentenced to the penitentiary at Richmond, Virginia, for eighteen years each and all died in prison except Jackson Cottrell who on account of his youth (being only seventeen years old) was pardoned after serving five years, and Alexander Turner who died near the White Sulphur Springs in Greenbrier county en route to the penitentiary.

The following advertisements which appeared in the *Martinsburg Gazette and Public Advertizer* in 1833 illustrate old conditions of labor which long ago ceased to exist:

"Six Cents Reward."

"Ran away from the subscriber on the 16th of April last an indented apprentice boy bound by the Overseer of the Poor for Morgan county, Named John Basore, sometimes called John Blamer, about 14 pears of age, tolerably stout made, has dark hair, squints his eyes very much when spoken to—had on when he ran away a brown linsey roundabout, old dark colored cassinet pantaloons, good shoes and socks, and old wool hat. The above reward will be paid for returning said apprentice, or from harboring him as I am determined to Prosecute every person so found offending to the full extent of the law. William Piper.

Morgan county, August 15, 1833."

"Negro Woman for Sale."

"One that is well acquainted with everykind of housework, sober and honest; sold for no fault, and will not be sold to a trader.
Enquire of the Printer. (Edmund Hunter). July 11, 1833."

Slavery was not a popular institution in most communities of the trans-Allegheny region of Old Virginia. Many of the early settlers had sold their lands farther east in order to retreat from the encroachments of the institution.

No large slave owners lived west of the Alleghenies in western Virginia. The slaves came into the region with their masters one or two at a time, and were fairly evenly dispersed over the region, and slowly increasing in numbers from the first settlement up to 1850, and then declining until 1860. The decrease from 1850 to 1860 exceeded ten per cent. The reason for that sharp decline is not apparent, unless due to selling in large numbers to dealers who carried them south to work in the cottonfields. A comparison of the increase in the white and slave populations in territory now embraced in West Virginia from 1790 to 1860 is shown in per cent, as follows:

From 1790 to 1800	white increase 40, slave 54
From 1800 to 1810	white increase 35, slave 51
From 1810 to 1820	white increase 39, slave 40
From 1820 to 1830	white increase 32, slave 17
From 1830 to 1840	white increase 25, slave 5
From 1840 to 1850	white increase 35, slave 11
From 1850 to 1860	white increase 19, slave decrease 10

Conditions in the west were usually unfavorable to the perpetuations of the institution. Here, slavery was less profitable than in the eastern region of large plantations. It was also opposed by the influence of Scotch-Irish and German elements of the population. In the region near the Ohio river and near Pennsylvania, it probably declined because of the fear of possible loss of migratory property held so near to free territory.

Apparently there was less opposition to slavery in a small portion of the Kanawha valley and in a part of Harrison county. In the state constitutional convention of 1850-51, however, George W. Summers of Kanawha made the greatest and most creditable speech of his life, showing that slavery was not only the foe to progress in the West, but the cause of multiplied ills from which all Virginia was suffering.

Granville Davisson Hall, speaking from personal knowledge, says: "This domestic slave trade was active in western Virginia, though far less important there than in the East. When the writer of these pages was a boy there was, about three miles east of Clarksburg, near the home of a distinguished ex-governor of Virginia, then living, a negro ranch, where young negroes, from mere children upward, were corralled, ranged, and fed for the southern market, almost as if they had been sheep or swine. In summer the younger ones ran about naked, clothing for them being deemed a needless expense. There are people yet living in Harrison who will remember this establishment, though the proprietor, like the Lagrees and all of his kind, has long ago gone. This human stockyard, was the consummate flower of the patriarchal institution which northwestern Virginia was fighting to get away from; which some of her able politicians found it so heartbreaking to give up when the crisis was on us in 1861. The author's mother distinctly remembers, when she was a child of nine or ten [in about 1826 or 1827], seeing a great drove of negroes pass her home on the state road about where Cherry Camp station now is on the Northwestern Virginia line of the Baltimore and Ohio railroad, on their way to the Ohio river, it is presumed for transport down the river by flatboat. There were women and children as well as men, and a few teams probably carrying provisions. The men were chained together."

In 1856, when the republican party put its first ticket into the field,

there was a general purpose in the border states to stamp out all sympathy with it. In Wood county, William E. Stevenson, afterwards governor of West Virginia, was indicted for giving circulation to Hinton Rowen Helpers' book, "The Impending Crisis," a valuable work of statistical and political information, written by a citizen of North Carolina with a political foresight amounting almost to prophecy. But the prosecutors lacked courage to bring the case to trial. In Harrison, William P. Hall and Ira Hart were indicted (though never brought to trial) under instructions of Judge Gideon Draper Camden, of the Clarksburg Circuit, assisted by Benjamin Wilson, prosecuting attorney, for giving circulation to the New York Tribune. Horace Greeley was included in the indictment for publishing the paper which, under the tyrannical statute of Virginia was held by this honorable court to be "incendiary."

The following indictment against Greeley which appeared on the circuit court record of Harrison county in 1857 is interesting whether or not it really represents the feeling of the people in that part of western Virginia.

The Grand Jurors for said County on their oaths present that heretofore, to-wit on the fifth day of July in the year one thousand eight hundred and fifty-six, Horace Greeley did write, print and publish and cause to be written, printed and published in the City of New York and State of New York a book and writing, to-wit a newspaper and public journal and styled and entitled "New York Tribune." The object and purpose of which said New York Tribune was to advise and incite negroes in this state to rebel and make insurrection and to inculcate resistance to the right of property of masters in their slaves in the State of Virginia.

And the Jurors aforesaid do further present that said Horace Greeley afterwards, to-wit on the day of July in the year 1856, did knowingly, wilfully and feloniously transmit to and circulate in and cause and procure to be transmitted to and circulated in the said County of Harrison the said book and writing, to-wit the said "New York Tribune" with the intent to aid the purposes thereof, against the peace and dignity of the Commonwealth.

And the Jurors aforesaid upon their oaths aforesaid do further present that said Horace Greeley on the day of July in the year 1856 did knowingly, wilfully and feloniously circulate and cause and procure to be circulated in said County of Harrison a writing to-wit a newspaper and public journal, which said writing, newspaper and public journal was on the fifth day of July in the year one thousand eight hundred and fifty-six written, printed and published in the City of New York and State of New York and was styled and entitled "New York Tribune" with intent in him, the said Greeley, then and there to advise and incite negroes in the State of Virginia aforesaid to rebel and make insurrection and to inculcate resistance to the right of property of masters in their slaves. Against the peace and dignity of the Commonwealth.

Upon the information of Amaziah Hill and Seymour Johnson, witness sworn in open court and sent to the Grand Jury to testify at the request of the Grand Jury who had the said New York Tribune in the above presentment referred to before them and examined the same. A. L. Garrett, Foreman.

The reversals and changes wrought by the whirligig of time are illustrated by the later appearance of Mr. Greeley at Clarksburg to lecture by invitation of the Harrison County Agricultural Society in 1870.

In matters relating to public health the county court did not interfere. Such matters were left unregulated by law and were usually neglected by the communities. The cure of diseases was largely left to "herb aunties" or to "country doctors" who were allowed to practice without any legal test of qualifications for protection of the public.

Although medicine was seldom needed by many of the earliest frontiersmen, the pioneer physician was usually regarded as a desirable member of the community in which he sought to practice. Although usually without adequate training, he learned much by country practice. He had a pretty hard life. He rode horseback day and night, in all kinds of weather, over bad roads and across dangerous places, along the valleys and over the mountains, and received only a nominal compensation compared with charges to-day. His dangers and hardships were augmented by the sparsely settled condition of the country. Often he responded to a night call which required a trip of thirty or forty miles with only a bridle path.

Because of the distance from the physician, the early settler often had resource to home remedies recommended by old "aunties" or "folk-lore remedies." To "draw out the fire" apple butter or a poultice of corn meal or scraped potatoes was applied to burns and scalds. The juice of roasted onions had the reputation of being a specific for croup. The Virginia snake root, Serpentaria, was the standard remedy to produce perspiration and abort a fever. Other remedies were boneset, horehound, chamomile, wild cherry and prickly ash.

In Randolph county Robert Maxwell was probably the first man who made any pretense to the practice of medicine. The early records of the county show that he did not bear the title "Doctor," yet in 1789 he was appointed coroner and in the same year he was surgeon for the county militia. He was also a preacher and performed many marriage ceremonies in the pioneer period. He resided about one mile below the site of Elkins on Leading creek, and died in 1818. Randolph's first professional physician was Dr. Benjamin Dolbeare. He was a man of education and superior ability in his profession. He came to Randolph from Connecticut and located at Beverly about 1810. He was a brother-in-law to Lorenzo Dow, the eccentric preacher who made many pilgrimages as a missionary through the wilds of America. After practicing a few years at Beverly, perhaps from about 1810 to 1815, he removed to Clarksburg. Dr. Squire Bosworth, a student and successor to Dr. Dolebeare, was born in Hampshire county, Massachusetts, in 1794. He was a fellow student of William Cullen Bryant at Williams College. After his graduation at Williams College he went to Virginia as a volunteer soldier in the War of 1812. On reaching Parkersburg on his way to Norfolk, Virginia, at the close of the war, he decided to remain in Parkersburg as a deputy county clerk under a Mr. Neal for two years. Later he went to Randolph to assume the same duties for Mr. Machibald Earle, then clerk of the circuit court of Randolph county. Soon thereafter, he married Hannah, daughter of Peter Buckey of Beverly and with his bride returned to Parkersburg and opened an academy. A few years later he again became a resident of Beverly and began the study of medicine under Dr. Dolbeare. At a later period he attended lectures in Richmond, Virginia. For many years he was the only physician in Randolph, and frequently made night trips to Tucker, Barbour, or Webster. There is an authentic tradition that he and Dr. Dolbeare successfully performed the operation of tracheotomy. He carried tracts of a religious nature for distribution in the communities in which he was called; and in remote districts he called the settlers together to hold prayer meeting. He was clerk of the circuit court two terms and represented Randolph and Tucker in the Virginia legislature of 1855 and 1856.

Dr. C. A. Wingerter of Wheeling in an article on the development of the medical practice says:

> The half-century that marks the life of the young state of West Virginia witnessed the passing away of this old-time physician.
>
> Simple was his preparation for his work. First of all, before he could think of taking up the study of medicine, he had to be touched by the divine fire of love for his fellow men. Cupidity uttered no call to him. The doctors whom he saw and knew were never anything but poor in this world's goods. Not one of all their number left a competency for his family, and more than one died in dependence and poverty, if not in absolute want.
>
> As was the custom of the time our young altruist and aspirant for the profession became a student under one of the practitioners of his acquaintance in the neighborhood. His time of apprenticeship would extend through a period of years varying from three to seven, dependent on circumstances that were variant in each individual case. During this period the young student would have the advice and direction and example of his preceptor. He would have access to the doctor's scanty library; but the beginner's knowledge of medicine was acquired not so much from reading and study as from association with the doctor. He rode with his preceptor on his rounds, held the basin when the patient was bled, and helped to adjust plasters, bandages and splints. In the office he ground the powders, mixed the pills, made the tinctures and infusions, washed the bottles, served as office-boy, and in addition performed the most menial duties. In this method of teaching the

personal element was so pronounced that everything, in fact, depended upon the preceptor, save what natural talent and industry might accomplish.

The self-reliance, the readiness, the expertness and the knowledge of human nature thus acquired, went far to compensate for the lack of more modern methods of preparing for the actual work of medical practice. Anatomy could be studied only by observation of the living body and by the aids of the doctor's books and plates. Dissection was out of the question, unless the student was one of those fortunate few who could supplement their years of apprenticeship by one or two terms, of four months each, at some medical college in a neighboring state.

Once entered into practice, armed with all the advantages for the acquirement of knowledge that the time afforded, the doctor of this period was yet poorly equipped, if he were to be judged by our modern standards. Modern physiology, the splendid structure built upon the scientific foundations laid in the first half of the nineteenth century by Johannes Mueller and Claude Bernard, was then unknown. Humoral pathology, based on the discarded theory that all diseases are due to the disordered conditions of the humors and fluids of the body, was the only guide to the doctor in the formation of a judgment concerning the malady that afflicted his patient. Rudolph Virchow, the father of the modern cellular pathology that has shed such a brilliant light upon the processes of disease in the human organism, was then teaching and writing. He published the results of his first important studies in 1850, but the ready acceptance of his views had to await the new era that was not yet fully dawned. Medical chemistry, as we know it today, unlocking the secrets of the body fluids in health and diseases, had not yet been developed.

The microscope had been known to mankind for centuries, but its modern use in clinical medicine was as yet unforecasted. Pasteur had already, in the late fifties, made his first illuminating discoveries in bacterial chemistry, but not till the seventies was the knowledge of virulent microbic diseases attained.

Laennec gave the stethoscope to the world in 1819, but for a generation it was looked upon as a medical toy. The treatises upon the practice of medicine used in the colleges to which our prospective practitioner would have gone, gave no inkling of the importance to mankind of this instrument of diagnosis.

Other instruments of precision that aid in the making of accurate diagnoses, instruments that are in constant use by the physician of today, were unappreciated by the old-time doctor in our state. The ophthalmoscope had been given to the world by Helmholtz in 1851, and the laryngoscope by Czermak in 1858, and the common forms of the various specula were being devised; but they were not in the instrumentarium of the general practitioner. The first sphygmograph was not imported to America until 1870. In that same year the usefulness of the hypodermic syringe and of the fever thermometer was urged upon the doctors of the state. They were informed that a good syringe could be obtained for four dollars, and a pocket-sized fever thermometer at a cost of three dollars and a half.

The materia medica of the period was consistent with the old humoral pathology then in vogue. One of the leaders of the profession in our state, who belonged to the new era but was conversant with the old tells us that his predecessors "believed that the patient was nothing if not bilious; and believed that there was practically but one organ in the body, the liver, and that this was to be unlocked at stated intervals, and entered and swept and garnished with mercury; and believed, moreover, that in at least half of the known diseases, salivation and salvation were synonymous terms." Another medical writer, referring to early therapeutics in our state, confirms this, saying: "Calomel was the sheet anchor. In the way of medicine, all other remedies were considered subordinate to this, and its use was usually pushed to salivation." And still another writing in 1879, makes this statement: "Not many years ago Calomel was considered the indispensable drug in practice. Our predecessors, without calomel, were artillerymen without ammunition—Sampsons shorn of their locks. The tongues that were swollen, the teeth that were loosened, the gums that were made tender, will present a horrible array of testimony when doctors get their deserts." Happily there were other remedies in the doctor's saddle-bags.

Fevers of various kinds called for treatment. Along the Ohio river, where the population was densest, intermittent fever was common. It was rare in the tier of counties immediately back of the river, and was almost unknown in the central area. It was treated with the bark of dog-wood, cherry and poplar digested in whiskey, or with a decoction of boneset. Remittent or bilious fever was the summer and fall disease, and on its incursion the patient was generally vomited freely with lobelia, after which he was purged with infusion of white walnut bark, and sweated with copious draughts of warm elder-blossom tea. The value of powdered cinchona bark for malarial disease was known, but the amount required to restore the patient was so great, and the supply so small, that the remedy was all but useless. Quinine, the alkaloid of the bark, was unknown until 1820, and, though obtainable, was still very costly in the late sixties. One of the most dreaded diseases was dysentery. It was treated by the internal use of "oak-ooze," May-apple root and walnut bark, slippery-elm bark tea, and bitter elm bark, regarded as a specific; hot fomentations were applied to the abdomen.

"Lung-fever" was a blanket-term to cover many obscure inflammations of the chest. Without the stethoscope it was difficult to diagnosticate in a clear and definite manner the ailments now known to us as pneumonia, bronchitis, pleuro-pneumonia, pleuritis, empyema, hydro-thorax, and incipient phthisis. Heart troubles

such as pericarditis, endocarditis, and hydro-pericardium, with their attendant disturbance of respiration, made the problem more complex. The diagnosis of "inflammation of the chest" once having been made, however, the patient was steamed with the vapor of whiskey or hot water, and in addition drinks made from herbs were given him and herb-poultices were applied externally. Virginia snake-root was considered a remedy for coughs of all kinds. Rheumatism, which was common then as now, was treated with cohosh, blood root and the bark of leather-wood, and sometimes the patient was given an "Indian sweat." Cupping was the usual external remedy for rheumatic pain as well as for neuralgia, and was freely prescribed. Blood-letting, or "depletion," fell into disuse on the eve of the new era. In its day, however, the lancet was called into use for the most diverse ills. If a person was severely injured he was bled at once; when a damsel fainted a vein was opened. Indiscriminate blood-letting; excessive purgation; mercurialization; starvation; leeching and blistering; all these are mile posts of the past. Such was the armory of the olden practitioner. The mere recital adds graphic touches to the picture of his daily life and practice.

Disease and death, the attendant scourges of humanity, did not relax their hold in favor of the mountains and valleys of western Virginia. About twice in a decade the old doctor was called upon to fight epidemics of measles and of scarlet fever. For neither of these did he have an adequate remedy, and in his experience, as in ours, the scarlet fever proved often fatal. There was no inhabited locality of the State that was entirely free from typhoid fever. It is recorded that the Asiatic Cholera was existent in this region in the fifties, and it is known to have recurred in 1864. In 1857, a noteworthy endemic of diphtheria made its appearance. Many of the more experienced practitioners were of the opinion that they had treated sporadic cases of this form of sore throat many years before under the name of "putrid sore-throat." Be this as it may, there can be no doubt that in 1857 the disease was well-marked and frequent, and often affected whole families with singular fatality. The modern boon of the diphtheria antitoxin was not among the weapons of the doctor of the late fifties, and, because of that fact, he was obliged to stand with heart devoid of hope at many a bedside.

For lack of statistics, it is impossible to tell the exact number of "doctors" practicing in the counties of the present state at the time of its formation. A careful student estimated that West Virginia contained in 1877 "612 physicians and surgeons." In this enumeration it was calculated that there were from 376 to 400 regular physicians the remaining 236 being eclectics, homeopathists, Thompsonians, herb doctors, or cancer doctors. It is surely fair to presume that fifteen years earlier, the number of physicians in the vast extent of the state was considerably less. It would doubtless be more than a generous estimate that would place at 200 the number of regular practitioners in 1862. Concerning the character of their attainments a friendly contemporary writes: "In West Virginia the profession is, at many points, adorned by one or more active, intelligent members, who, by their industry and devotion to science, have made for themselves a name outside of their fields or labor and there are others, too, of modest talent, scattered here and there, who but require the contact of association which a proper organization would so surely affect, to develop latent powers and capabilities of great credit to themselves, individually, and beneficial, in the highest degree, to their patients and the commonwealth of medicine."

When the doctor's saddle-bag, "with its horn balances and its china mortar," was the only drug store within half a hundred miles, other sources of therapeutic aid than his often had to be drawn upon in times of emergency. Then was the hour of the bustling house-wife, or of the crooning dame in the chimney corner. The treasures of domestic medical lore, not unmixed with much alloy of superstition, were then brought forth and sagely estimated. Or the old-fashioned family almanac was taken down from its nail by the window. Following this, the embryo botanists of the household were despatched to ransack the native flora of the neighboring hills and dales for suitable materia medica. If perchance it were the season when mother earth was barren, then recourse was had to the household cupboard, or to the shelves of the village store, where were to be found simple drugs, stowed away among the heaps of shoes, Rohan hats, balls of twine, packages of seeds and flitches of bacon.

In the intervals between these urgent periods of stress and storm when sickness had entered the lowly doorway of the country home a primitive prophylaxis, of the domestic brand, served to keep alive, in the minds of the good folk, the thought of "the ills to which flesh is heir." More medicine was then taken every year by the well than is now taken by the sick. Remedies now in the medicine-box of every farmer were then utterly unknown, but in their stead medicines now quite gone out of fashion, or at most but rarely used, were taken in generous quantities. "Each spring the blood had to be purified, the bowels must be purged, the kidneys must be stimulated, the bile must be removed, and large doses of senna and manna, and loathsome concoctions of rhubarb and molasses were taken daily."

The men and women to whom ministered the doctor of half a century ago were taken by and large, a single-minded, simple-hearted folk, and the mutual relations of the profession and the people were cordial and sincere and, on the whole, satisfactory to both. While the reward and remuneration to the doctor were of little account in the pecuniary sense, while

"Little gold had he gathered, little gear had he won,
His wealth but the mem'ry of noble deeds done,"

there was added recompense, notwithstanding, in the love and reverence which his patients accorded to him, and in the naive awe with which they regarded his calling, shedding a glamor about it that was not all undeserved. Warm tears of gratitude for life preserved and health restored made some amend for sleepless nights spent in anxious watchings over the sick. The modest and loyal doctor was not without his heart-burnings, however. Human nature is ever the same, and here into these mountains and glens, as elsewhere and in every age, the impudent and presuming charlatan found his way, and, by his pleasing address and seductive suggestion, often weaned away from truth and science the devotion of the unsophisticated.

Between the lines of the foregoing sketch of the old-time doctor and his patients, the reader will discern the ready evidences of the spirit of another. Each one pursued in dreary professional isolation the daily routine of his practice, storing up such clinical facts as may have fallen under his observation, relying on his own strength and wisdom and courage as he silently wrestled with the tremendous problems of life and death. This isolation of the doctor is to be noted as one of the salient marks of the profession at that time. The physicians of western Virginia were as well equipped in character and attainments and ideals as were those of like numbers in any part of the country in the early sixties. The individual units of the guild were worthy factors of social service, but there was absolutely no cohesion in the mass. Without proper understanding of one another, most often without acquaintance even, scattered far apart, the only bond of union that held them was the catholic love of their fellowmen and the common inspiration of their noble calling.

The growth of population by decades to 1860 is indicated by counties in the following table:

1790	1800	1810	1820	1830	1840	1850	1860	County	Date Formed
7,346	8,348	9,784	10,889	11,279	12,245	14,036	13,913	Hampshire	1754
19,713	22,006	11,479	11,211	10,518	19,972	11,771	12,525	Berkeley	1772
4,768	8,540	12,793	11,060	14,056	17,368	12,357	13,048	Monongalia	1776
5,212	4,740	8,175	9,182	15,584	13,357	18,006	22,422	Ohio	1776
6,015	4,345	5,914	7,041	9,006	8,695	10,022	12,211	Greenbrier	1777
2,080	4,848	9,958	10,932	14,722	17,669	11,728	13,790	Harrison	1784
7,336	6,627	5,525	5,700	6,798	7,622	9,543	9,864	Hardy	1786
951	1,826	2,854	3,357	5,000	6,208	5,243	4,990	Randolph	1787
2,454	3,962	4,239	4,846	6,271	6,940	5,797	6,164	Pendleton	1788
.....	3,239	3,866	6,399	9,326	13,567	15,353	16,151	Kanawha	1789
.....	4,706	5,843	6,631	7,041	7,948	5,054	5,494	Brooke	1797
.....	1,217	3,036	5,860	6,429	7,923	9,450	11,046	Wood	1799
.....	4,188	5,444	6,580	7,798	8,422	10,204	10,757	Monroe	1799
.....	.....	11,851	13,087	12,927	14,082	15,357	14,535	Jefferson	1801
.....	.....	1,991	4,868	6,534	6,777	7,539	9,173	Mason	1804
.....	.....	2,717	4,789	5,884	8,163	6,299	8,020	Cabell	1809
.....	.....	.....	2,314	4,104	6,954	5,498	6,517	Tyler	1814
.....	.....	.....	4,247	6,241	8,151	10,031	7,999	Lewis	1816
.....	.....	.....	1,853	3,346	2,255	3,963	4,627	Nicholas	1818
.....	.....	.....	3,422	5,144	6,866	11,708	13,312	Preston	1818
.....	.....	.....	2,500	2,694	4,253	3,557	3,732	Morgan	1820
.....	.....	.....	.....	2,542	2,922	3,598	3,958	Pocahontas	1821
.....	.....	.....	.....	3,680	4,309	3,620	4,938	Logan	1824
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	4,890	6,544	8,306	Jackson	1831
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	3,924	3,955	5,997	Fayette	1831
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	6,937	10,138	12,937	Marshall	1835
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2,575	4,212	4,992	Braxton	1836
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2,233	4,222	6,819	Mercer	1837
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	10,552	12,722	Marion	1842
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	4,760	6,747	Wayne	1842
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	9,005	8,958	Barbour	1843
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	3,902	6,847	Ritchie	1843
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	5,357	8,463	Taylor	1844
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2,750	5,203	Doddridge	1845
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	3,475	3,759	Gilmer	1845
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	4,282	6,703	Wetzel	1846
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	3,237	4,840	Boone	1847
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	5,335	6,301	Putnam	1848
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	3,353	3,751	Wirt	1848
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	4,050	4,445	Hancock	1848
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1,765	3,367	Raleigh	1850
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1,645	2,861	Wyoming	1850
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2,945	Pleasants	1851
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	7,292	Upshur	1851
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2,502	Calhoun	1855
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1,787	Clay	1856
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	5,381	Roane	1856
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1,428	Tucker	1856
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1,535	McDowell	1858
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1,555	Webster	1860
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Mineral	1866
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Grant	1866
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Lincoln	1867
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Summers	1871
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Mingo	1895
55,873	78,592	105,469	136,768	176,924	227,227	302,273	376,888		

The composition and condition of the population in 1850 is partially indicated by the following statistics from the census of that year:

Counties	White		Colored		Number of Dwellings (excluding slaves)	Number of Families (excluding slaves)
	Male	Female	Free	Slave		
Barbour	4,380	4,290	222	133	1,467	1,467
Berkeley	4,974	4,592	249	1,956	1,668	1,703
Boone	1,603	1,451	.....	183	495	495
Braxton	2,111	2,012	.....	89	679	679
Brooke	2,490	2,433	100	31	839	839
Cabell	2,974	2,928	8	389	976	976
Doddridge	1,396	1,322	1	31	525	525
Fayette	1,923	1,857	19	156	593	593
Gilmer	1,776	1,627	.....	72	571	571
Greenbrier	4,315	4,234	156	1,317	1,419	1,419
Hampshire	6,251	5,858	224	1,433	2,035	2,035
Hancock	2,124	1,916	7	3	590	590
Hardy	4,085	3,842	356	1,260	1,327	1,340
Harrison	5,674	5,539	27	488	1,866	1,866
Jackson	3,405	3,075	11	53	1,034	1,040
Jefferson	5,453	5,023	540	4,341	1,960	2,000
Kanawha	6,278	5,723	212	3,140	2,110	2,160
Lewis	4,852	4,768	43	368	1,533	1,533
Logan	1,866	1,667	.....	87	572	572
Marion	5,200	5,239	19	94	1,786	1,791
Marshall	5,087	9,963	39	49	1,668	1,678
Mason	3,562	3,279	51	647	1,151	1,173
Mercer	2,051	1,967	27	177	655	655
Monongalia	5,987	6,105	119	176	2,124	2,124
Monroe	4,584	4,477	81	1,061	1,576	1,576
Morgan	1,753	1,678	3	123	606	606
Nicholas	1,974	1,915	1	73	602	602
Ohio	8,981	8,631	230	164	3,097	3,178
Pendleton	2,771	2,672	30	322	891	891
Pocahontas	1,675	1,628	28	267	553	557
Preston	6,943	4,619	59	87	1,664	1,664
Putnam	2,408	2,285	10	632	788	819
Raleigh	899	830	13	23	296	296
Randolph	2,561	2,442	9	201	844	844
Ritchie	1,983	1,903	.....	16	649	649
Taylor	2,697	2,433	69	168	818	823
Tyler	2,778	2,678	4	38	949	948
Wayne	2,450	2,114	7	189	749	790
Wetzel	2,183	2,078	6	17	716	716
Wirt	1,695	1,624	2	32	528	528
Wood	4,664	4,344	69	373	1,554	1,554
Wyoming	811	772	1	61	248	248

The census of 1850 contains the following statistics of towns in the territory later included in West Virginia:

Towns	Counties	White		Colored		Total
		Male	Female	Free	Slave	
Bolivar	Jefferson	479	469	60	46	1,054
Charlestown	Jefferson	515	490	166	386	1,507
Charleston	Kanawha	403	341	54	252	1,050
Clinton	Ohio	159	154	....	....	313
Fairmont	Marion	324	328	4	27	683
Fulton	Ohio	129	137	....	....	266
Harpers Ferry	Jefferson	806	745	87	109	1,747
Martinsburg	Berkeley	995	891	44	260	2,190
New Martinsville	Wetzel	119	104	5	....	228
Parkersburg	Wood	575	577	29	37	1,218
Ritchieton	Ohio	586	481	4	....	1,071
Shepherdstown	Jefferson	619	633	60	249	1,561
Smithfield	Jefferson	173	176	2	95	446
Triadelphia	Ohio	121	1,199	2	....	242
Wheeling	Ohio	5,660	5,519	212	44	11,435
West Liberty	Ohio	105	109	5	....	219

AGRICULTURAL STATISTICS 1850

	Acres of Land in Farms		Value of Farms and Implements		LIVE STOCK								Produce during year ending June 1, 1850			
	Improved	Unimproved	Farms	Implements, Machin'y	Horses	Asses, Mules	Milch Cows	Working Oxen	Other Cattle	Sheep	Swine	Value of	Bushels of Wheat	Bushels of Corn	Bushels of Oats	Pounds of Tobacco
Hampshire	136,288	294,871	$2,984,190	$115,473	4,348	12	4,501	32	11,285	20,731	14,866	$547,773	177,343	292,252	84,118	.....
Berkeley	96,594	44,587	3,618,370	97,245	3,540	28	2,931	10	4,908	11,246	15,174	366,140	356,234	171,686	50,531	.....
Monongalia	58,536	68,047	1,569,392	59,939	2,720	10	2,905	423	5,188	13,015	8,121	253,830	52,370	184,379	111,252	3,750
Ohio	44,311	15,473	1,982,654	43,297	1,519	12	1,464	174	1,629	46,847	6,753	194,662	57,709	214,020	76,767	.....
Greenbrier	97,917	250,631	2,352,596	48,858	4,088	110	4,358	260	11,095	20,971	13,161	500,335	47,778	182,119	24,158	.....
Harrison	87,533	143,613	2,184,971	52,970	3,288	25	4,016	758	12,322	16,203	10,798	430,610	47,662	277,585	87,453	4,473
Hardy	100,861	245,588	2,556,716	71,744	3,249	28	3,164	157	8,781	12,368	11,184	433,064	85,225	327,846	28,272	1,197
Randolph	35,054	291,098	852,238	21,515	1,442	2	1,927	189	6,794	8,667	4,642	219,457	11,740	87,468	44,789	1,844
Pendleton	52,141	170,040	1,031,195	44,916	2,555	6	2,968	14	8,127	14,903	7,324	292,062	44,137	109,838	29,930	.....
Kanawha	32,771	266,317	1,030,917	39,010	1,849	48	2,473	794	4,674	9,180	18,689	195,249	25,074	352,995	58,596	5,627
Brooke	33,811	18,630	1,279,368	37,223	1,278	.....	1,101	104	1,584	59,426	5,984	233,067	65,516	150,571	51,729	.....
Wood	39,206	106,534	1,314,517	37,887	1,724	5	1,873	350	3,306	12,785	8,304	142,967	18,790	251,715	59,584	53,170
Monroe	94,311	174,890	2,039,101	61,233	3,354	44	4,027	211	9,943	21,789	14,307	387,030	51,436	250,456	97,460	4,017
Jefferson	81,087	29,716	5,264,388	128,283	3,378	134	2,546	196	3,227	11,086	16,940	385,308	472,008	287,395	21,236	.....
Mason	40,055	118,803	1,279,937	31,124	1,976	16	1,979	576	4,129	10,428	15,373	189,025	20,545	399,080	45,923	11,100
Cabell	27,326	83,312	744,448	20,053	1,211	23	1,524	868	3,221	6,806	11,007	128,692	11,559	281,826	44,912	8,947
Tyler	24,413	94,762	602,222	18,518	1,122	8	1,453	304	2,503	7,944	5,976	107,630	15,100	130,014	27,544	14,320
Lewis	48,152	126,827	1,133,510	33,233	2,737	7	3,618	482	6,516	13,393	14,977	295,827	31,056	235,675	48,028	8,800
Nicholas	19,335	132,349	361,636	12,939	940	5	1,717	197	3,299	7,501	7,368	108,723	6,209	83,273	31,377	2,670
Preston	63,948	172,477	1,105,218	58,588	2,799	17	3,764	359	6,462	21,781	10,714	279,619	36,769	144,276	153,496	820
Morgan	29,628	66,156	445,877	23,029	930	1	1,127	2	2,045	3,318	3,835	88,228	40,584	45,247	16,389	.....
Pocahontas	40,239	466,159	914,558	32,074	1,782	107	2,255	139	5,471	11,616	4,597	231,155	11,806	51,949	52,998	.....
Logan	12,887	112,853	275,487	7,478	983	.....	1,639	313	6,679	4,793	11,186	120,359	1,588	154,943	20,014	8,353
Jackson	28,384	255,539	836,512	29,745	1,683	25	1,916	288	3,763	11,062	17,905	137,116	16,630	257,242	43,324	7,832
Fayette	19,912	116,293	489,935	16,055	999	5	1,569	174	2,817	6,529	7,269	107,069	8,414	111,064	56,037	170
Marshall	53,478	79,711	1,632,609	62,774	2,721	9	2,835	314	3,246	17,524	2,314	221,690	74,976	302,130	114,345	.....
Braxton	16,111	904,332	1,287,282	28,030	1,130	.....	1,757	248	3,000	7,357	12,162	120,452	9,062	137,120	27,769	3,743
Mercer	20,552	137,333	387,969	12,505	1,127	.....	1,801	56	3,730	6,210	9,138	120,755	12,284	105,946	35,289	.....
Marion	60,641	88,265	1,602,410	44,369	2,743	10	3,147	508	5,877	17,459	8,429	275,448	48,459	167,071	93,095	1,096
Wayne	21,594	140,291	618,023	10,360	1,113	41	1,372	1,256	2,562	6,129	12,517	120,932	2,155	226,800	27,785	1,215
Ritchie	17,993	80,062	450,356	14,078	906	.....	1,240	167	2,054	7,622	5,231	86,374	5,989	101,884	24,336	4,295
Taylor	38,372	54,101	908,329	32,545	1,496	8	1,955	237	3,853	10,617	5,076	176,343	23,995	101,118	41,499	.....
Doddridge	10,343	60,606	271,922	9,691	603	5	705	189	1,498	3,678	2,794	59 706	2,757	59,423	13,398	1,690
Gilmer	10,746	75,440	299,361	10,528	763	8	964	116	2,080	4,333	7,380	80,097	5,652	117,990	22,085	4,961
Wetzel	15,955	61,797	491,991	17,082	886	18	412	262	1,371	6,049	6,847	82,089	12,162	124,198	22,266	3,000
Boone	11,673	127,822	254,250	9,073	720	3	1,112	166	2,845	3,808	7,116	83,450	3,215	134,040	19,185	8,019
Putnam	20,239	31,522	486,425	19,661	1,122	14	1,160	397	2,630	6,159	9,868	95,786	14,373	249,040	50,079	37,122
Wirt	14,217	83,499	400,465	10,701	734	4	945	185	1,725	5,109	4,709	67,858	3,424	98,291	22,910	2,122
Hancock	26,877	22,862	1,148,840	32,672	1,017	2	1,065	124	1,306	24,858	2,695	125,726	52,413	52,392	52,444	.....
Raleigh	7,325	43,178	151,873	5,981	444	1	755	30	1,233	2,845	4,416	49,625	2,893	49,511	19,253	.....
Wyoming	5,930	22,080	115,979	4,841	427	.....	761	20	2,425	1,789	4,092	40,954	1,552	47,506	8,765	2,441

POPULATION OF WESTERN VIRGINIA BY COLOR AND CONDITION, BY COUNTIES, 1860

Formed.	County	WHITE			FREE COLORED						Total Free Colored	Free Total	SLAVE						Total Slave	Aggregate
					Black			Mulatto					Black			Mulatto				
		Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total			Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total		
1754	Hampshire	6,344	6,134	12,478	40	31	71	69	82	151	222	12,700	440	431	871	155	187	342	1,213	13,913
1772	Berkeley	5,299	5,290	10,589	90	104	194	44	48	92	286	10,875	649	701	1,350	117	183	300	1,650	12,525
1776	Monongalia	6,385	6,516	12,901	5	4	9	21	16	37	46	12,947	30	50	80	12	9	21	101	13,048
1776	Ohio	10,990	11,206	22,196	20	32	52	39	35	74	126	22,322	27	42	69	15	16	31	100	22,422
1777	Greenbrier	5,509	4,991	10,500	59	29	88	58	40	98	186	10,686	598	544	1,142	185	198	383	1,525	12,211
1784	Harrison	6,671	6,505	13,176	5	9	14	6	12	18	32	13,208	162	217	397	97	106	203	582	13,790
1786	Hardy	4,304	4,217	8,521	15	23	38	122	110	232	270	8,791	463	413	876	84	113	197	1,073	9,864
1787	Randolph	2,498	2,295	4,793	5	4	9	2	3	5	14	4,807	67	72	139	21	23	44	183	4,990
1788	Pendleton	2,957	2,913	5,870	8	19	27	12	11	23	50	5,920	92	88	180	27	37	64	244	6,164
1789	Kanawha	7,084	6,701	13,785	49	44	93	42	46	88	181	13,966	905	650	1,555	329	300	629	2,184	16,150
1797	Brooke	2,707	2,778	5,425	8	6	14	16	21	37	51	5,476	4	7	11	2	5	7	18	5,494
1799	Wood	5,624	5,167	10,791	15	22	37	21	21	42	79	10,870	49	54	103	36	37	73	176	11,046
1799	Monroe	4,826	4,710	9,536	19	24	43	25	39	64	107	9,643	460	394	854	113	147	260	1,114	10,757
1801	Jefferson	5,061	5,003	10,064	138	167	305	98	108	206	511	10,575	1,826	1,629	3,455	233	282	505	3,960	14,535
1804	Mason	4,556	4,194	8,750	15	6	21	11	15	26	47	8,797	119	165	284	40	52	92	376	9,173
1809	Cabell	3,901	3,790	7,691	7	12	19	2	3	5	24	7,715	94	120	214	43	48	91	305	8,020
1814	Tyler	3,334	3,154	6,488	.....	1	1	4	6	10	11	6,499	6	9	15	1	2	3	18	6,517
1816	Lewis	3,977	3,759	7,736	5	6	11	14	8	22	33	7,769	62	83	145	32	53	85	230	7,999
1818	Nicholas	2,349	2,122	4,471	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	2	4,473	50	52	102	32	20	52	154	4,627
1818	Preston	6,789	6,413	13,200	4	.....	4	24	17	41	45	13,245	29	33	62	2	3	5	67	13,312
1820	Morgan	1,847	1,767	3,614	7	5	12	3	9	12	24	3,638	28	29	57	18	19	37	94	3,732
1821	Pocahontas	1,887	1,799	3,686	8	2	10	6	4	10	20	3,706	119	92	211	18	23	41	252	3,958
1824	Logan	2,501	2,288	4,789	.....	1	1	.....	.....	.....	1	4,790	48	38	86	37	25	62	148	4,938
1831	Jackson	4,237	4,003	8,240	6	.....	6	4	1	5	11	8,251	16	28	44	7	4	11	55	8,306
1831	Fayette	2,995	2,721	5,716	.....	.....	.....	4	6	10	10	5,726	98	97	195	35	41	76	271	5,997
1835	Marshall	6,641	6,270	12,911	6	10	16	15	26	41	57	12,968	15	14	29	.....	.....	.....	29	12,997
1836	Braxton	2,533	2,352	4,885	1	.....	1	2	.....	2	3	4,888	27	32	59	23	22	45	104	4,992
1837	Mercer	3,315	3,113	6,428	3	1	4	12	13	25	29	6,457	151	129	280	31	51	82	362	6,819
1842	Marion	6,350	6,306	12,656	1	2	3	.....	.....	.....	3	12,659	20	25	45	8	10	18	63	12,722
1842	Wayne	3,521	3,083	6,604	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	6,604	42	67	109	16	18	34	143	6,747
1843	Barbour	4,454	4,274	8,728	1	.....	1	73	61	134	135	8,863	37	50	87	4	4	8	95	8,958
1843	Ritchie	3,528	3,281	6,089	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	6,809	11	19	30	2	6	8	38	6,847
1844	Taylor	3,717	3,583	7,300	8	5	13	23	15	38	51	7,351	41	52	93	6	13	19	112	7,463
1845	Doddridge	2,641	2,527	5,168	1	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	1	5,169	5	18	23	5	6	11	34	5,203
1845	Gilmer	1,858	1,827	3,685	.....	.....	.....	10	12	22	22	3,707	20	21	41	5	6	11	52	3,759
1846	Wetzel	3,408	3,283	6,691	1	.....	1	.....	1	1	2	6,693	3	4	7	.....	3	3	10	6,703
1847	Boone	2,448	2,233	4,681	.....	1	1	.....	.....	.....	1	4,682	40	53	93	29	36	65	158	4,840
1848	Putnam	2,875	2,833	5,708	.....	4	4	5	4	9	13	5,721	181	193	374	100	106	206	580	6,301
1848	Wirt	1,921	1,807	3,728	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	3,728	8	14	22	1	.....	1	23	3,751
1848	Hancock	2,253	2,189	4,442	.....	1	1	.....	.....	.....	1	4,443	.....	2	2	.....	.....	.....	2	4,445
1850	Raleigh	1,672	1,619	3,291	.....	1	1	13	5	18	19	3,310	23	26	49	5	3	8	57	3,367
1850	Wyoming	1,446	1,349	2,795	.....	.....	.....	1	1	2	2	2,797	22	22	44	13	7	20	64	2,861
1851	Pleasants	1,503	1,422	2,925	1	1	2	2	1	3	5	2,930	7	6	13	1	1	2	15	2,945
1851	Upshur	3,637	3,427	7,064	6	4	10	3	3	6	16	7,080	80	76	156	23	23	56	212	7,292
1855	Calhoun	1,323	1,169	2,492	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	1	1	2,493	1	2	3	5	1	6	9	2,502
1956	Clay	924	837	1,761	.....	.....	.....	3	2	5	5	1,766	4	10	14	6	1	7	21	1,787
1856	Roane	2,722	2,585	5,307	.....	1	1	.....	1	1	2	5,309	21	29	50	13	9	22	72	5,381
1856	Tucker	718	674	1,392	.....	.....	.....	8	8	16	16	1,408	6	6	12	4	4	8	20	1,428
1858	McDowell	774	761	1,535	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1,535	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1,535
1860	Webster	833	719	1,552	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1,552	1	2	3	.....	.....	.....	3	1,555
1866	Mineral	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1866	Grant	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1867	Lincoln	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1871	Summers	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1895	Mingo	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....

POPULATION OF TOWNS OF WESTERN VIRGINIA, 1860

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Formed	County	Town	WHITE			FREE COLORED			Total Free	SLAVE			Aggregate
			Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total		Male	Female	Total	
1754	Hampshire	Romney	231	216	447	11	17	28	475	38	46	84	559
1772	Berkeley	Martinsburg	1,495	1,519	3,014	45	65	110	3,124	90	150	240	3,364
1776	Monongalia	Morgantown	353	387	740	....	1	1	741	....	*	....	741
1776	Ohio	West Liberty	136	141	277	1	2	3	280	....	*	....	280
		So. Wheeling	1,359	1,272	2,621	5	4	9	2,630	....	*	....	2,630
		Triadelphia	110	148	258	....	....	....	....	....	*	....	258
		Wheeling	6,811	7,175	13,986	46	51	97	14,083	....	*	....	14,083
1777	Greenbrier	Lewisburg	348	341	689	8	6	14	703	128	138	266	969
1784	Harrison	Clarksburg	441	436	877	8	10	18	895	....	*	....	895
1789	Kanawha	Charleston	622	544	1,166	19	15	34	1,200	170	150	320	1,520
1799	Wood	Claysville	65	49	114	....	....	....	....	....	*	....	114
		Parkersburg	1,221	1,212	2,433	28	32	60	2,493	....	*	....	2,493
		Williamstown	109	100	209	....	....	....	....	....	*	....	209
1801	Jefferson	Bolivar	497	532	1,029	33	41	74	1,103	13	14	27	1,130
		Charlestown	496	513	1,009	56	71	127	1,136	88	152	240	1,376
		Harper's Ferry	619	593	1,212	20	19	39	1,251	33	55	88	1,339
		Shepherdstown	418	508	926	12	27	39	965	112	142	254	1,219
1804	Mason	Hartford	492	423	915	....	....	....	915	....	....	....	915
		Pt. Pleasant	257	257	514	3	2	5	519	....	....	....	519
		Mason	565	446	1,011	....	2	2	1,013	2	1	3	1,016
		West Columbia	369	334	703	3	3	6	709	3	2	5	714
1809	Cabell	Barboursville	173	166	339	1	1	2	341	....	*	....	341
		Guyandotte	268	268	536	1	1	2	538	....	*	....	538
1814	Tyler	Middlebourne	118	120	238	4	5	9	247	....	*	....	247
		Sistersville	171	180	351	....	....	....	....	....	*	....	351
1816	Lewis	Weston	455	356	811	6	3	9	820	....	*	....	820
1818	Preston	Brandonville	78	87	165	....	....	....	....	....	*	....	165
1824	Logan	Aracoma	60	44	104	....	....	....	....	....	*	....	104
1835	Marshall	Elizabethtown	275	291	566	1	4	5	571	....	*	....	571
		Moundsville	233	263	496	7	12	19	515	....	*	....	515
1842	Marion	Barrackville	46	45	91	....	....	....	....	....	*	....	91
		Fairmont	343	361	704	....	....	....	....	....	*	....	704
		Johnston	29	26	55	....	....	....	....	....	*	....	55
		Farmington	45	44	89	....	....	....	....	....	*	....	89
		Worthington	65	55	120	....	....	....	....	....	*	....	120
		Mannington	124	117	241	....	....	....	....	....	*	....	241
		Palatine	216	236	452	....	....	....	....	....	*	....	452
		Fairview	37	32	69	....	....	....	....	....	*	....	69
		Rivesville	27	27	54	....	....	....	....	....	*	....	54
		Houltown	24	22	46	....	....	....	....	....	*	....	46
		Newport	37	35	72	....	....	....	....	....	*	....	72
		Winfield	31	32	63	....	....	....	....	....	*	....	63
1844	Taylor	Grafton	466	419	885	5	1	6	891	....	*	....	891
1845	Gilmer	Glenville	209	192	394	1	3	4	398	....	*	....	398
		Stumptown	54	46	100	....	....	....	....	....	*	....	100
1848	Putnam	Buffalo	125	142	267	....	1	1	268	....	*	....	268
1851	Upshur	Buckhannon	219	207	426	1	....	1	427	....	*	....	427
1855	Calhoun	Arnoldsburg	19	20	39	....	....	....	....	....	*	....	39
1856	Roane	Spencer	102	93	195	....	1	1	196	....	*	....	196

*In many of the subdivisions of counties no slave population appears, from the fact that the marshals failed to subdivide the slave population according to the subdivisions as the white and free colored population were returned.

CHAPTER XVII

RELIGION AND CHURCH

(By Greek Sayre)

When the Virginia legislature in 1785 passed the act which extended religious liberty to all inhabitants of the state, the mountains and valleys of western Virginia were already dotted with cabins of many pioneers. These frontiersmen had not been pilgrims seeking religious freedom for themselves, nor zealous missionaries carrying the teachings of Christianity to the Indians. They were hardy men, of many different religious denominations who had taken their families away from the comforts of the civilized communities of the North and East and pushed into the primeval forest infested by hostile Indians, in order to establish homes. In their mutual struggle to drive out the savages, and conquer the wilds, and found homes, they forgot any religious disputes and maybe sometimes even the religion which they may have had in their former homes. Therefore, when religious freedom was established by law, members of many denominations of Protestants were living side by side in the western mountains, although few churches had been erected there.

Until the passage of the act of religious freedom, worship by any denomination except the Church of England, was not permitted in Virginia unless by special permission. Before the Revolution any religious denomination, except the Episcopalian, that wished to establish a place of worship within Virginia, were required to apply for a license from the governor who, if he granted the petition, designated a place of meeting for the congregation. The petitioners were required to declare their loyalty to the king and to promise dutiful submission to the colonial government. While many different denominations established themselves under this law in eastern Virginia, none were established according to law in what is now West Virginia. The necessity of having Indian fighters to defend the western frontier against incursions of the savages, prevented the colonial officials from making too close inquiry into the religious beliefs of the backwoodsmen of the western mountains. With the exception of the few churches established by the state church, the close of the Revolution found few church societies in the mountains of western Virginia, fewer church buildings and a great number of inhabitants who were in dire need of religious instruction.

The Episcopal Church

When the first settlement in Virginia was made, the Episcopal Church became the established church. It was maintained by the support of the colonial government. Parishes were established, vestrymen were appointed, churches were built and kept up, and ministers, who were ordained and appointed by the Bishop of London, were paid by the government. The church pushed westward slowly. It was 1738 before any sort of church organization was undertaken for any part of what is now West Virginia. In that year the territory which included all of Shenandoah, with a part of Page, Warren, Clarke, Frederick, Berkeley, and Hampshire counties was formed into the County and Parish of Frederick; and the remainder of western Virginia was included in West Augusta county and parish. On account of the small

number of inhabitants, the County and Parish of Frederick were not organized until 1744. Under the Parish of Augusta no church was ever organized in West Virginia.

The vestry of Frederick seems to have been very active in starting to build new churches. In 1752 this board was dissolved for misspending £1,500 collected for the completion of churches. Of the five churches of this parish, probably completed and ready for use between 1740 and 1750, two were in territory later included in West Virginia. One of these, called Morgan's Chapel, was at Bunker's Hill, and the other, called Mechlenberg Chapel, was at Shepherdstown.

The church building at Bunker's Hill, the first in West Virginia, was built about 1740 by Morgan Morgan, Sr., who had associated with him Dr. John Briscoe and Mr. Hite. The responsibility of keeping this church alive seems to have devolved largely upon the Morgans. The rector of the parish could only visit the different churches at intervals. Thus the task of sustaining the church fell entirely upon laymen. Morgan Morgan, Sr. was ever active in fulfilling his duties as a churchman. He educated his children to perform their church obligations. Morgan Morgan, Jr. when he was sixteen years old, began to act as lay reader in the church erected by his father. As he grew older he extended his church activity from Morgan's Chapel so as to include Jefferson, Berkeley, Frederick, and Hampshire counties, and the bordering counties of Maryland. His influence for good was so great that when he was an old man, his neighbors petitioned for his ordination as their pastor, notwithstanding his deficiency in learning. On account of his age and infirmities he did not apply for ordination. He died in 1797, and for nearly twenty years thereafter Morgan's Chapel was without regular church services.

The Rev. Mr. Gordon was the first minister of Frederick parish. Nothing much is known of his work. The Rev. Mr. Meldrum served as his successor for several years; but in 1765 he beat the vestry in a lawsuit which resulted in his removal. The Rev. Mr. Sabastian came in 1766 and stayed two years. His successor, the Rev. Mr. Thruston served for nine years. He preached at seven different places, Shepherdstown being one of them. He resigned in 1777 to become a colonel in the Continental army. The parish was without a rector until 1785 when the Rev. Alexander Balmaine, who had been chaplain in the American army in the Revolution, was elected minister.

In 1769 Norbourne parish and Berkeley county were taken from Frederick county and parish. A year earlier, the second church at Shepherdstown was completed by Mr. Van Swearingen. The next church erected in Norbourne parish was a stone church which was built at Charlestown in 1769. For this parish the Rev. Daniel Sturges was licensed in 1771. He seems to have done good work. In 1786 he was succeeded by the faithful Mr. Veasy who in 1795 was followed by the Rev. Bernard Page of the evangelical school, who had very high ministerial standards for that day. Page's successor was Mr. Heath whom John Wesley had sent to America to establish a girls' school in Maryland. The first church at Martinsburg was built about 1814, chiefly at the expense of Mr. Philip Pendleton, whose brother, William, acted as lay reader there when ministers were scarce. In 1801 Berkeley county was divided into Berkeley and Jefferson counties, and Norbourne parish was divided into the parishes of Martinsburg, Bunker's Hill, and Smithfield.

In 1753, Hampshire county and parish was cut off from Frederick. Nearly twenty years later three ministers were ordained in England for the ministry in Hampshire; but only one, the Rev. Mr. Manning, reached the parish. The church was never very successful in this county. No one sought to preach there until the Rev. Norman Nash, a man of little learning but great zeal, applied for ordination and his application was refused by Bishop Moore on the ground that, knowing neither Latin nor Greek, he could not fulfill the scholastic requirements. Mr. Nash

urged his case, stating that he was an old man called by the Holy Ghost to preach, that by the time he had learned the languages he would probably be dead, and that he would have to tell God why he had not obeyed His call. He finally induced the bishop to ordain him for Hampshire. He fit the place and succeeded in building two log churches in his parish. His ministry was followed by that of his nephew, Mr. Sylvester Nash, who built a brick church at Romney.

In 1814 there was a great revival among the churches in Berkeley and Jefferson counties. On Christmas eve of that year Mr. Benjamin Allen, a candidate for orders, walked sixty miles to the home of Bishop Meade to ask employment as lay reader in the valley. On Christmas day he accompanied the bishop to church and was introduced by him to Mr. Beverley Whiting and his sister, Miss Betsey, who had driven fifteen miles, from their home in Jefferson county, to church. He went home with the Whitings and in two weeks had travelled all over Jefferson and Berkeley counties and established twelve places of worship. From that time until 1821 when he was called to St. Paul's Church in Philadelphia, he labored night and day for the churches in those counties and the adjoining county of Maryland. Bishop Meade says of him: "He perhaps rode as great a distance, preached as often, studied his Bible as much, and prepared as many things for the press, as any man of his day. No one had a better opportunity than myself of knowing this, for I had often to go the rounds with him, doing more duty from necessity than I ever did before or have done since. * * * For nine years thus he labored, contracting his sphere, though not his diligence, by introducing one or two ministers into some of the numerous places he had taken in charge." He was a valuable pioneer in establishing churches in the eastern panhandle.

Before the movement of sending missionaries into western Virginia was begun by the Church, four Episcopal churches had been founded in the northern panhandle by Dr. Joseph Doddridge, who began his ministerial career as a Methodist preacher in Hampshire county, Virginia. The death of his father necessitated his presence at his home in Pennsylvania. When the estate was settled he had means with which to complete his education. He accordingly entered Jefferson Academy at Canonsburg, Pennsylvania. While he was in college, the Methodists abolished the use of the prayer-book. When he left college he did not resume his duties as a Methodist minister. In 1792 he was admitted to the order of the deacons of the Episcopal church at Philadelphia, by the Right Rev. Bishop White of Pennsylvania. In the same year he moved into western Pennsylvania and then into western Virginia where he established three Episcopal churches within the next year. He returned to Philadelphia in 1800 and was ordained priest by Bishop White. He preferred to remain under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Pennsylvania, rather than to seek orders from the Bishop of Virginia, partly for convenience and partly because of the poor condition of the church in Virginia.

In 1792-93 the Rev. Mr. Doddridge established three parishes—St. John's and St. Paul's in Brooke county, and West Liberty in Ohio county. St. John's was probably established in 1792. The building, erected in 1793, was a small log structure about three miles east of Steubenville. St. Paul's church, also erected in 1793, was about five miles east of Wellsburg. A congregation was collected at West Liberty in 1792 but no church was built. Church services were held in the courthouse. When the county seat was moved to Wheeling, many of the church people also moved to that place thus greatly weakening the church. In 1800 Dr. Doddridge, who was then living at Wellsburg, also held services at Brooke Academy. His missionary work extended throughout the northern panhandle and as far west in Ohio as Chillicothe. His career as a missionary extended over a period of thirty years. When he was forced to give up his work on account of ill health, the Episcopal

church of Virginia was again on its feet and the missionary movement in behalf of western Virginia had begun.

After the death of Dr. Doddridge in 1826, the Rev. Mr. Armstrong worked faithfully to sustain the congregations already established. Later missionaries were sent to these charges. The Rev. Mr. Skull was the first one. He was followed in succession by Messrs. Harrison, Goodwin, Hyland, Tompkins, and Christian. The congregation at St. John's always seems to have been strong. The original log church was replaced by a frame building which in turn gave way to a brick structure that was consecrated in 1850. A brick church was erected at Wellsburg almost entirely at the expense of John and Danford Brown. The congregation there was always small.

Although the Rev. Doddridge had preached in Wheeling, no organization of the Episcopal church was made there until 1819, when, at the instance of Bishop Chase, the "St. Mathew's Church of Wheeling" was formed and the Rev. John Armstrong was chosen minister. In 1821 Mr. Noah Zane gave the Episcopalians a lot on which they erected a church the same year. The congregation grew so rapidly that a new church, which was consecrated in 1837, was necessary. By 1849 the growth of St. Mathew's had reached such proportions that a new parish was formed and a church was erected in the southern part of the city. The new parish was called St. John's. The first rector was the Rev. James D. McCabe who began his work in 1850. The pews in St. John's were free and the salary of the minister was paid by voluntary subscription from the members. Incidental expenses were met by the collections at the Sunday morning services. In 1855 the congregation built a commodious and convenient rectory.

The work of Rev. Mr. Allen in Jefferson and Berkeley counties not only marked a revival of the Episcopal church in that region, but also marked the beginning of a movement on the part of the diocese of Virginia to send missionaries into the western part of the state. Soon after Allen's arrival, the movement was begun by an association of ministers composed of the Revs. Messrs. Allen, Bryan, B. B. Smith, and Enoch Lowe and Bishop Meade. The Rev. William F. Lee was the first missionary sent. He began his work some time in 1819. He first visited Clarksburg, and later went to Morgantown. He and his successors visited these places repeatedly until churches were established at each. No organization of a church was effected in Morgantown until 1860. In 1834 the Rev. Mr. Ward took up his residence in Clarksburg. He aroused much interest in the church and organized a flourishing Sunday School. He was succeeded in 1840 by the Rev. McMechin who had been a Methodist minister. At his own expense Mr. McMechin provided a house in which he conducted a school for girls during the week and preached on Sunday. He was an able speaker. His preaching of the gospel of salvation attracted large numbers. Many conversions seemed imminent, and the accession of a large class to the Episcopal Church seemed assured when he began a series of doctrinal sermons. What attitude he took is not known, but his congregation began to dwindle, and the ministers of other denominations began an opposition through tracts and bulletins. By the time the series of sermons was completed a mere handful of the congregation remained. When Bishop Meade came to Clarksburg to confirm what promised to be a large class, only one person was brave enough to appear for confirmation, and he was too ill to attend the church service. Mr. McMechin resigned and later returned to the Methodist church. The Rev. Thomas Smith of Parkersburg came to the rescue of the little congregation. He regularly organized the friends of the church, had a vestry elected, and filled the pulpit as often as bad roads and long distance permitted until a regular minister was elected. The Rev. Mr. Kinsolving, who was the next resident minister at Clarksburg, preached both there and at Weston, regularly, and at Morgantown, occasionally. The Rev. Mr. Tompkins succeeding Mr. Kinsolving at Weston and preached probably

once a month at Clarksburg. It was while Mr. Tompkins was at Weston that the first Episcopal church was built at that place. In 1852 the Rev. Robert Castleman arrived at Clarksburg where he was soon joined by the Rev. James Page. These two ministers supplied Clarksburg, Weston, Fairmont, Morgantown, and Buckhannon for a year; then Mr. Castleman limited his services to Clarksburg and Fairmont; and Mr. Page, to Weston and Buckhannon. Under the ministry of Mr. Castleman, a church was built at Clarksburg, and a building for a church was bought and repaired at Fairmont.

After their visits to Clarksburg and Morgantown, the missionaries, Mr. Lee and Mr. Page, turned to the Kanawha valley and ascended the Ohio by the way of Pt. Pleasant to Parkersburg. Mr. Page settled on the Kanawha and preached to the Episcopalians that he found at Charleston, at the mouth of Coal river, and at Point Pleasant. He supplied these places for a number of years. After he left, there was no regular minister until the arrival of Rev. Frederick D. Goodwin whose successors were Craik, Whittle, Ward, Brown, and Smith, successively. Churches were built at Charleston, at the saltworks, and at the mouth of Coal river. Regular preaching places were established at other points, although no church organizations were effected.

While Mr. Goodwin was at Charleston, he succeeded, with the aid of contributions from Mrs. Eliza Bruce, in building Bruce Chapel on Mercer's Bottom about twelve miles below Point Pleasant on the Ohio river. Although he worked faithfully to build a church at Point Pleasant he was unsuccessful.

The Episcopal church at Ravenswood in Jackson county was built at the expense of Mr. Henry Fitzhugh who settled there on land that he had inherited from the estate of George Washington. One of the sons of Mr. Fitzhugh acted as lay reader when there was no minister. The Rev. Wheeler preached at Ravenswood from 1842 to 1844. Ministers from the churches on the Kanawha, from Parkersburg, from Moundsville, and from Wheeling frequently filled the pulpit at Ravenswood, and also held services in the courthouse at Ripley, the county seat of Jackson.

Parkersburg was visited by Mr. Lee and Mr. Page, and later by Mr. McMechin who unsuccessfully tried to establish a church there before he located at Clarksburg. In 1843 a church was regularly organized and the Rev. Thomas Smith was elected rector. He began at once to raise funds for the building of a church which, after some delay, was erected on a lot presented to the vestry by J. F. Snodgrass. The building was largely due to contributions of Gen. J. J. Jackson. The Rev. Perkins succeeded the Rev. Smith, who died in 1847. During his ministry two neighboring churches were built—one at Cow Creek, about fifteen miles above Parkersburg, and the other at Belleville, ten or twelve miles below it. The church at Belleville was built largely at the expense of Mr. Wells on whose land it stood.

Episcopal families residing at Moundsville were early visited by Dr. Armstrong. With the coming of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, the growth of the population necessitated the building of a church; the Rev. Mr. Hyland was the first rector.

The church at New Martinsville was built through the efforts of the Rev. James McCabe and Mr. Hyland.

Thus, by 1860 the Episcopal church was established in the eastern panhandle, in the Monongahela, the Great Kanawha, and the Ohio valleys.

The Baptist Church

Members of the Baptist denomination early found homes in the mountains of western Virginia, although the colonial government regarded that sect as among the most obnoxious of the dissenters from the Established Church. Many Baptist ministers refused to regard

the Toleration Act, which was in force in Virginia. When they attempted to preach in the East they were set upon by ruffians, who pelted them with such missiles as stones, live snakes, or hornets' nests; or, who beat them, or threw them into the water. If they did not heed these warnings to move on, they were arrested and confined in damp jails through the bars of which they continued to preach. One Baptist historian says that many of these preachers brought much of their suffering upon themselves, that they were frequently noisy and spectacular, and attracted attention by the strangeness of their actions.

The Baptists that migrated into the mountains of western Virginia found peace. In that region there were no ministers of the Established Church to complain of their aggressiveness; and the colonial government ignored their refusal to conform, because every new settler, regardless of his religion, was a useful defender for the western frontier of Virginia.

About 1742 fourteen Baptist families migrated from New Jersey and settled in the vicinity of Gerardstown in Berkeley county. They stayed there until about 1755 when the threatening dangers of the French and Indian war drove them to take refuge east of the Blue Ridge mountains. After the war was over they returned, and in 1770 organized a Baptist church at Mill Creek. Probably the first Baptist minister, in what is now West Virginia, was the Rev. Shubal Stearnes, who came into this region as a missionary to the Indians. He started from New England, in 1754, with a few of his followers. At Opequon in Berkeley county he halted. Here he found a Baptist church already established and under the care of S. Hinton. At this place he met Daniel Marshall, a Baptist missionary, who had just returned from a visit to the Indians. They, together, moved to Cacapon, Hampshire county, where, about 1755 they established the first Baptist church in the County. They moved soon after to North Carolina. In 1787, under the pastorate of B. Stone, a Baptist church was organized on North river in Hampshire county. In 1790, Stone organized his second church in Hampshire county on Crooked run. Dr. Munroe, who combined the practice of medicine with that of preaching, early organized a Baptist church on Patterson's creek in Mineral county.

On November 5, 1775, John Corbly instituted "the Forks of Cheat Baptist Church" in Monongalia county. The Baptist society bought a lot in Morgantown in 1785-86, but there is no evidence of a church organization at that date.

In 1775, John Alderson, a Baptist missionary from Rockingham county, made his first visit to the Greenbrier valley. Impressed with the need for constant missionary effort in behalf of the settlers there, he determined to make that region his home and established his permanent residence there in October, 1777. For protection in such a wild region he was often accompanied by an armed escort on his rounds of preaching. He was disliked by frontiersmen who sometimes threatened to keep him out of the stockades and blockhouses. In 1781 he organized the old Greenbrier Baptist church. There were twelve members beside himself. This congregation built a church in 1784, on a lot given by William Morris in North Alderson. This church at first regarded itself as a branch of the Linnville Association, but in 1782, it allied itself with the Ketokton Association. In 1801 it joined the Greenbrier Association which was formed in that year. Its members seem to have been very regular in attendance, although some of them had to travel thirty miles to church meetings. In 1785 it unanimously voted that frolicking was not right. The next year its congregation expressed itself on the slavery question by saying: "Our church having but few slaves, we hope our brethren will not think it hard if we lie neuter in this matter." Previous to 1820 its minister was called the *laboring brother*. He was not paid a large salary. Even as late as 1859 he received only $125 a year, paid in produce. Naturally contributions in money were not very large. Sarah Alderson's contribu-

tion of a quarter to the church fund in 1805 was regarded as an act of great liberality. About 1814 there seems to have been an ebb in religious fervor and in 1830 there was a membership of only twenty-nine. From 1840 to 1860 worldliness seems to have attracted the members. There was scarcely a meeting at which some member was not under discipline for dancing, gambling, swearing, or immorality.

The Indian Creek Primitive Baptist Church was the first branch of the parent church in Monroe county. It was organized in 1792. Its original building was a plain log structure with no chimney and with an earthen floor. When the weather was very cold a bark fire was built in the middle of the room. If Indians were threatening, sentries were stationed outside to keep watch. Even with all these discomforts threatening them, the members came long distances to attend the monthly meetings. The original building gave place to a second log church which had a gallery and a puncheon floor.

The Red Sulphur Baptist church was organized in May, 1815. The first church house of this congregation had, in the middle of the room, a stone chimney with a double fireplace.

The exact date of the organization of the Baptist church at Clarksburg is not known. It is evident, though, that there was some sort of a Baptist building there in 1788 when Bishop Asbury recorded in his journal that he preached in it. Other evidence of the existence of such a church is a deed, from Daniel Davisson, the original owner of Clarksburg, dated June 21, 1790, by which he conveyed a lot to the congregation of the Regular Baptists, members of Hopewell church. The church did not flourish. In 1818 the Rev. Ira Chase, who had been sent out by the Baptist Missionary Society of Massachusetts, wrote from Clarksburg to Dr. Sharp of Boston that a Baptist church had once been constituted here, "but at this time there are neither preaching, religious meetings, nor churches of any denomination, and few, very few professors of religion, and some of these are not very correct in their morals." He further said in this same letter that on his first Sunday there he preached to a very small audience in the court house, but that a subscription paper was circulated by which funds were raised to pay his expenses while he preached a series of sermons. The people regarded his plain speaking kindly, and though he denounced their sins the congregation grew until on the last night, he preached to a house crowded with large and attentive audience. For a long time the church meetings were held in barns, private houses, the court house, or shady groves. The Broad Run Baptist Association, which included the counties of Harrison, Lewis, Gilmer, Calhoun, Webster, Roane, Clay, Braxton and a part of Kanawha, was organized about 1835.

The organization of the first Baptist church in the northern panhandle followed closely that of the first Episcopal Church in that region. October 5, 1794, on Short creek, Virginia, the Short Creek Regular Baptist Church was organized. This church, at its regular meeting at Wheeling on June 4, 1803, voted to establish a church called the Regular Baptist Church of Cross Creek. It built a good frame house near Saunder's Mill. Its first minister was the Rev. John Prichard. About 1844 it became divided as a result of the preaching of the Rev. Mr. Griffith, who advocated the missionary cause and had other advanced ideas. Mr. Griffith's followers withdrew, formed a new organization and built a mile farther up the creek another church called "Ebenezer." The old church was so weakened by the secession of the members of the new church that its regular meetings ceased. In Wellsburg, a Regular Baptist church was organized about 1816. John Brown collected the funds for a church building which was later occupied by the Disciples, under Alexander Campbell, a son-in-law of Brown.

About 1795 the Little Bethel Church of the Primitive Baptist denomination was organized at Meadowville, Barbour county, by Elder

Simeon Harris who came to Glady creek from Hardy county. In 1817 Phineas Wells organized a church in the vicinity of Philippi.

The complete records of the development of the Baptist church in each county of the state are not available; but the statistics from the census reports, which are appended to this chapter, show its number of church buildings in 1850 and its growth from 1850 to 1860.

The Presbyterian Church

Among the early settlers of western Virginia were many Presbyterians. In 1738 the Synod of Philadelphia asked of Governor Gooch permission for Presbyterians to settle in there. Governor Gooch readily granted the request, stipulating that the settlers must conform to the Toleration Act in force in Virginia. There is no evidence that any meeting places were appointed for Presbyterians, but it is probable that members of that denomination were already living in the valley when the governor gave his consent for their settlement farther west. William Hoge established the Opeckon church in the lower part of the Shenandoah valley in 1735. Other Presbyterian churches in that region soon came into existence through the efforts of missionaries and preachers from the Synod of Philadelphia who frequently visited the Presbyterian families in the valley of Virginia. In 1782 Hardy county had a Presbyterian minister who had preached near Moorefield for five years. In 1782 he accepted a call from Shepherdstown. In 1792 Mt. Bethel at "Three Churches" on Branch mountain, and the Presbyterian church at Romney were organized in Hampshire county. In 1794, when the Winchester Presbytery was formed, the Reverend John Lyle was minister for the congregations of Frankfort, Romney, and Springfield. Previous to 1833 all Presbyterian churches in Hampshire county were in the Mt. Bethel organization. In 1833, Mr. Foote was authorized to establish separate organizations at Romney, Mount Bethel, North River, and Patterson's Creek.

About 1786 the first religious service of the Presbyterian church was held in Tygart's valley. The Rev. Edward Crawford of Shenandoah valley visited Tygart's valley and preached two sermons. For four or five years the practice of securing Presbyterian ministers from the Shenandoah valley to preach two sermons a year in Tygart's valley was continued. For the next two decades there is no record of the progress of Presbyterianism in this region. In 1820, however, the Rev. Aretas Loomis migrated to Tygart's valley to make his home and soon organized the first congregation in Randolph county. The first church was built at Huttonsville.

By 1788 a small band of Presbyterians had gathered at Morgantown, and to them the Reverend Joseph Patterson preached. Their church was probably organized by the Reverend Robert Finley, while he was on his way from eastern Virginia to Kentucky. By 1806 the members of the congregation had nearly all died. In 1819 there was a revival of its activity expressed by its cooperation with the Episcopalians in beginning the erection of a church building on the lot now occupied by the Presbyterian church. After completion of the walls and the roof the men became discouraged, but the women then undertook to complete the enterprise by weaving wool and flax cloth to raise the sum of money ($1,000) required. On March 22, 1822, the building was completed.

Soon after the Revolution, Presbyterian congregations were organized in the northern panhandle. October 16, 1782, the Reverend John McMillan (who had moved to Washington county, Pennsylvania, in 1775), was appointed by the Redstone Presbytery to supply at the Ohio county courthouse (at Short Creek) on the third Sunday of the following November. He is said to have been the first Presbyterian minister who settled west of the Allegheny mountains. He was one of the original members of the Presbytery of Redstone and was its first moderator. He

was very diligent in the performance of his pastoral duties. In 1783 the Reverend Joseph Smith was sent to fill an appointment at Ohio county courthouse which was then called Short Creek—a name which it continued to bear until it changed to West Liberty, fifteen or twenty years later.

In 1790 two Presbyterian congregations were organized in Ohio county: one at West Liberty on April 21 and another at Elm Grove on April 22. The West Liberty congregation was under the charge of the Reverend James Hughes who also had charge of Lower Buffalo. The Elm Grove was under the care of the Reverend John Brice or Birch, who lived at Ridges or West Alexander, Pennsylvania. These two young men had been students together under the Reverend John McMillan. They were useful men and each retained his charge for a long time. On account of danger from the Indians, their preaching stations were located near to forts. No churches were erected for several years. The preaching was done in the woods. The preacher occupied a wooden structure called a tent while his congregation sat under the trees on rude

Tuscarora Presbyterian Church, Built in 1730

wooden benches. Here they would congregate and listen to sermons all day, for days at a time. In October, 1802, "a great revival" occurred and "a wonderful manifestation of God's presence in which great mental misery and bodily weakness was experienced by many by reason of conviction of sin."

In 1812 the first regular preaching in Wheeling by any minister was begun by the Reverend James Hervey who, that year, took charge of the Elm Grove church. It is said that when Hervey began preaching in Wheeling, there were but three members of the Presbyterian church in that town. He continued to preach there half the time for several years. Sometimes he preached in the courthouse. In 1823, after a complete organization of a church was effected, the Reverend William Wylie who was preaching at West Liberty was engaged to assist Hervey by filling the pulpit for the other half of the time. In 1833 the Reverend Henry Weed of Albany, New York, was called to be pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of Wheeling. He served in this capacity for thirty-seven years. The first church building was built in 1831-32 on a lot deeded to the congregation in 1816 by Noah Zane. In 1854 the original building was rebuilt. In 1847 the congregation of the first church was strong enough to form two. The next year the Second Presbyterian Church was organized. The Reverend Cyrus Dickinson was elected minister. In 1849 the Third Presbyterian Church came into

existence, followed soon by the Fourth Presbyterian church, both of which were presided over by the Reverend A. Paul.

About 1827, the Reverend William Wallace, who was then pastor of the Associate Reformed church at West Middletown and West Liberty, did the first work towards organizing a congregation of that denomination in Wheeling. In 1833 the first church building was completed. In 1858 this church became the United Presbyterian Church of Wheeling.

In 1790 the first Presbyterian church in Hancock county was erected at Three Springs about one and a half miles from Holliday's Cove. In 1805 a great revival called "the falling down" took place. In 1846 a split in the congregation occurred. Part of its members went to Paris, Pennsylvania, and the remainder to Holliday's Cove, where it held its meetings in the Academy building. After several years the society began the erection of the Holliday's Cove Presbyterian Church which was completed in 1860.

About 1799 a Presbyterian congregation was organized, three miles north of Cross creek in Brooke county, on the road leading from Steubenville, Ohio, to Washington, Pennsylvania. The first church of this congregation was a small temporary building closed on three sides and open in front. The preacher stood inside this little building and preached to his audience seated on benches in the forest in front of him. Even after a better building was constructed this temporary building was used when congregations were large and the weather was fine. The later church edifice was a log building, whose dimensions were 30 feet by 36 feet. When this church was raised, the customary supply of whiskey was exhausted before the building was completed. A boy, however, was sent to the nearest "still-house" for a new supply and the work went merrily on.

In 1783 the organization of Presbyterian churches began in the Greenbrier valley. In that year the Reverend John McCue organized the Lewisburg church and became its first pastor. About the same time a church building was erected at Falling Spring and another near Lewisburg, and the Rev. Mr. McCue organized the Good Hope church in Monroe county. The first church was a little log building, twenty-five feet square. It had a clap-board roof and a hewn slab floor, but it had no fire-place. When the weather was cold, huge fires were built outside. In 1804 the Reverend McCue organized the church of Spring Creek in the upper part of Greenbrier county and the church of Union in Monroe county. In 1835, Carmel church was organized from a detachment of the Union church.

In 1793 the Oak Grove church in the Little Levels of Pocahontas county was organized by the Reverend William Wilson. In 1804 Liberty church in upper Pocahontas was organized by the Reverend Wilson and the Reverend Benjamin Ervin. Mr. Wilson was at the time pastor of the old stone church near Fort Defiance and Mr. Ervin was pastor at Mossy Creek, Augusta county, Virginia.

In 1816 the Reverend John McElhenny organized Muddy Creek church in west Greenbrier county. In 1817, he organized Anthony's Creek church in east Greenbrier.

The First Church of Charleston, which was organized about 1818 by the Reverend Ruffner, was the mother church of the Great Kanawha valley. The Reverend James M. Brown was a very active worker for the Presbyterian church in that region.

About 1815, the Point Pleasant church was organized through the efforts of the Reverend S. Gould, pastor of the Presbyterian church at Gallipolis, Ohio, who continued to preach at the Point until 1825. The church had no regular service from 1825 to 1834. In 1834 the Reverend Francis Dutton, arrived as a missionary, and became the minister.

The Parkersburg church, which was organized in February, 1833, traces its origin to the labors of the Reverend James McAboy, a Bap-

tist Scotch-Irish preacher who settled at Parkersburg about 1821 for the purpose of establishing a school.

In 1839 the Reverend McElhenny organized the pioneer church of Nicholas county at Summersville.

The Reverend Thomas Hunt, who had been pastor of the Second Presbyterian church of Pittsburg, delivered the first sermon on the Calvinistic doctrine in Upshur county. He preached at the home of Aaron Gould where a few families met every Sunday for worship. Asa Brooks, the first resident minister, was sent in the fall of 1816 by the Central Missionary Association of Hampshire county, Massachusetts, to preach for the settlers who had migrated from New England. He established missions at French Creek, Buckhannon, and Beverly where he preached every third Sunday. He had appointments at points between these places during the week. His salary was about $400 a year. In 1817 he visited New England and married Polly Sumner. He returned to Upshur county in 1818, became a member of the Redstone Presbytery in 1819, and accepted a call from the French Creek and Buckhannon congregations. The French Creek Church was organized September 10, 1819. The first church house was built in 1823 or 1824. The women of the congregation furnished enough linen to buy the glass and nails for the church. In 1829 Mr. Brooks undertook the building of a Presbyterian church in Clarksburg, but he died before it was completed.

The charts at the end of this article show that the Presbyterian churches were widely distributed by 1850, and that they had materially increased in number in the next decade.

The Lutheran Church

Among the first settlers in western Virginia were many Lutherans. Their first congregations, like those of the other early churches, were in Jefferson and Berkeley counties. As early as 1736, Ezra Keller, a Lutheran missionary, visited members of his denomination in western Virginia. The St. John's Lutheran Church in Berkeley was among the first church organizations of the state. It was formed in 1775 by German emigrants from Maryland and Pennsylvania. The first regular minister was the Reverend Christian Street who took charge of the Lutheran congregation at Winchester in 1785. He presided over the circuit of Berkeley, Jefferson, and Frederick counties, and acted as bishop in that region until 1790. He was succeeded by the Reverend J. D. Young who served until 1800. Two years later he returned and had charge of the work until his death in 1804.

In 1786 a Lutheran church was built in Hampshire county at a point on the Capon river four miles from Capon Springs. In Pendleton county the earliest known church organization was the Probst church, two miles above Brandywine, and founded in 1769. The Rev. Schumacher, who became minister of this church in 1841, served many years. His circuit was forty-five miles long and reached into Hardy and Highland counties. He was sought for temporal as well as spiritual advice. Many of his congregations grew very large.

Michael Kern, who settled across Decker's Creek from Morgantown, was a member of the Lutheran church and near his home built a church building for all denominations. Between 1788 and 1799, the Reverend John Stough of Mt. Carmel, Preston county, preached in this church for two years. After 1805 there is no further mention of it.

The Reverend Stough was the founder of the German colony at Mount Carmel and also the founder of the Salem Evangelical Lutheran church there. He was probably the first resident minister in Preston. The congregation, which was formed about 1787, built its first church about 1792. This was the first church building in the county. The preaching was in German for years and the records were kept in that

language until about 1828, after which both German and English were used for a while, but soon only English was used.

The Methodist Church

The Methodist church did not begin a separate life from that of the Church of England until 1784. Prior to this time, it was a society within the mother church. In 1771, John Wesley, the leader of this society in England, sent Francis Asbury to America as a worker for its interests. After the Revolution, when the necessity of a separate church organization became apparent, he appointed Dr. Thomas Coke and the Reverend Asbury, as superintendents of the Methodists in America and recommended that a separate church should be organized. He sent Dr. Coke across the ocean to carry this message to the Reverend Asbury. The latter refused to accept his appointment from Mr. Wesley until it had been ratified by the Methodist ministers, whom he hastily summoned to meet in a conference in Baltimore.

The Methodist conference met on December 24, 1784, at Lovely Lane Chapel, organized the Methodist Episcopal church of America and confirmed Mr. Wesley's orders. Upon Bishop Asbury, who was ordained at this conference on December 27, fell the burden of apostolic leadership—a burden that he carried until his death, thirty-one years later. America was his diocese. He knew every settlement from Maine to Georgia, and from the Atlantic to the remote wilds of Ohio and Tennessee. About 1781, he made his first journey into what is now West Virginia. In that year he visited Hampshire, Hardy, and probably Monongalia counties. In 1788, he entered the trans-Allegheny region along the Middle New river, and rode horseback through Greenbrier, Pocahontas, Randolph, Barbour, and Harrison counties, and at Clarksburg preached to about 700 people and administered the sacrament. He then rode down the Monongahela river, stayed all night at Fairmont, and preached at Morgantown. He made several subsequent visits to western Virginia, usually following this same route.

Methodism first obtained a hold in the eastern panhandle, as did other early churches. The first Methodist preaching in what is now West Virginia was probably done by John Haggerty and Richard Owen in 1773 at the home of Major Lewis Stephens in Jefferson county. The Stephens family, John Hite and his sister, Mrs. Elizabeth Hughes, and John Taylor and his wife, formed the first Methodist society there. In 1778, Berkeley circuit, composed of Berkeley and Jefferson counties, was formed and placed in charge of the Reverend Edward Bailey, the first regularly appointed Methodist minister in the area included in West Virginia. In 1782 the first Methodist meeting in Martinsburg was held in the market-house. The first regular meetinghouse was located on John street. The congregation was assembled by the blowing of a tin horn—because the members of the church were bitterly opposed to the ringing of a church bell.

In 1789, J. J. Jacobs, who lived near Green Spring in Hampshire county, was licensed to preach. In 1792 Bishop Asbury held a session of the Baltimore conference at the Reverend Jacob's place. The Reverend Bozeman, a Methodist minister, preached at the home of John Reger near Volga in Upshur county in 1781. In 1800 Shadrack Tappan, a minister of the Baltimore conference, preached in the settlement at the home of Abram Carper. Not until a decade later was a class formed. In 1810, a society was organized by Abram Carper and his wife, Anthony Rohrbough and John Statler, Henry Reger, George Bush, John Hall and wife, Catherine Hall, John Reger, and Nancy Bennett.

Methodism next entered the Greenbrier valley, which first belonged to the Allegheny circuit of Rockingham district (organized in 1783), and later to the Greenbrier circuit (organized in 1787). In 1784, several Methodist families living in "Sinks of Greenbrier," formed a society and held their meetings in a schoolhouse. The next year they called

for a minister and received the Reverend William Phoebus, who was sent to them. To supply the need of a regular meeting house, Rehobeth Church, said to be the first Methodist meeting house west of the Allegheny mountains, was built. According to tradition, it was completed in June, 1786, and dedicated by Bishop Asbury. The building, which was constructed of medium size logs, was still standing over a century and a quarter later. The yearly allowance of the minister was $64, in addition to such traveling expenses as ferriage, horse-shoeing, and provisions for the expenses of preacher and his horse on long trips. The allowance was later increased to $84 and in 1816 to $100. In May, 1792, Bishop Asbury preached at Rehobeth daily for three days in connection with a conference which was held for that vicinity. The following year the annual conference was held in Rehobeth Church.

In 1784, Redstone circuit, which embraced the whole of the Monongahela valley, was formed. In the same year, John Cooper and Samuel Breeze, the first preachers for this circuit, organized two congregations—one at Morgantown and another at Martin's Fort near Morgantown. In 1785 the Reverends Peter Morarity, John Fidler and Wilson Lee were ministers in the circuit. In 1786, congregations were formed at Fairmont, on Hacker's creek in Lewis county, and on the West Fork of the Monongahela. The date of the organization of a Methodist congregation at Clarksburg is not known, but by 1827 a church building was in use there.

In 1785 the Reverend Wilson Lee, minister of the Redstone circuit, reached Wheeling, preached a sermon, appointed a leader, and organized a Methodist society there. In 1787, the Wheeling church was embraced in the Ohio circuit of the Baltimore conference. The mother church at Wheeling became the Fourth Methodist Church. In 1811 the name of the Ohio circuit was changed to the East Wheeling Circuit. In 1818 Noah Zane gave the congregation a lot on which to erect a Methodist church building, which was completed the next year. This was the first church house in Wheeling, which was at that time a town of twelve or thirteen hundred people. In 1831 and 1832 this church had a large accession of members, a result of a great revival under the leadership of the Reverend John Newton Moffit. A new church building was necessary. Therefore the old one was pulled down and on its place was erected another that could seat a congregation of nearly 2,000 people, and that was for a long time the rallying place for the Methodists of all that vicinity. The members of the mother church living south of the creek became strong enough in 1848 to form a separate organization, and erected a church on Chapline street on a lot given them by Henry Echols and Thomas Hornbrook. The North Street church, for the members living in North Wheeling, was erected about the same time. Wesley Chapel became a separate organization about 1850. About 1839, the Wesley Methodist Church of South Wheeling was organized. In the same year the German Methodist Church, said to have been the first German Methodist Church in the world, was organized as a branch of the original Methodist church. The Thompson Methodist Church was the result of the organization of the first Sunday School on Zane's Island in 1853. Before 1853, the residents of the Island attended worship in Wheeling. In that year, however, Daniel Zane deeded to a board of trustees, a lot to be used for church purposes. Upon this lot a small building for a union Sunday School was erected by subscription. In this little house, which was called the "Island Chapel," church services were occasionally held. In 1857, a Methodist Sunday School was organized by the Reverend Thomas McCleary.

The organization of a Methodist church in Brooke county was effected some time previous to 1816. In that year a Methodist Church was built on a lot on the southwest corner of Charles and Walnut streets in Wellsburg. In 1853 it was torn down and another was erected on the same ground. In 1814, when Cornelius H. Gist moved into that county and located near the Pennsylvania line, he found neither church

nor schoolhouse. To meet the need of such buildings, he erected, at his own expense, a hewed log house to be used as a schoolhouse and a church. To it itinerant Methodist preachers soon began to find their way and, as a result, the nucleus of the Franklin Methodist Church was formed. About 1830, Sammy Lee, a local preacher, moved into Brooke county, settled on the Washington and Wellsburg pike, and opened his cabin for preaching services. In 1832 or 1833, the church interests started by Gist and Lee united, secured a schoolhouse on the pike as a meeting place, and organized the Franklin Methodist Episcopal church. A great revival made the erection of a new building necessary in 1833. A plain brick church was built near the pike on a lot donated by Dr. E. P. Smith.

Asbury Chapel was probably the first home of a Methodist organization in Hancock county. The congregation was organized about 1818. Its meetings were held in private houses or Lowe's schoolhouse until the chapel was built in 1850.

The first Methodist church in or near Moundsville was formed about 1820. The first meeting-house of this congregation was a log church which stood in the old graveyard north of Moundsville. This building was twenty-five feet square and had three windows. Little is known of the society until 1831 when the Reverend Cook commenced preaching for it. This congregation later erected a brick church 50 by 60 feet in dimensions.

The Kanawha circuit was formed about 1790, and preachers were assigned, but no reports were received from the circuit for a long time. On January 1, 1804, the first Methodist sermon was preached in Charleston by the Reverend William Steele. The organization of a Methodist church there was effected about 1815 by the Reverend H. B. Bascom.

The Little Kanawha circuit, which extended from the mouth of the Little Kanawha to the mouth of the Guyandotte river, was presided over by the Reverend William Steele, who made a tour of his whole circuit every four weeks. In 1804 Reverend Steele was succeeded by the Reverend Asa Shinn, who was later one of the founders of the Methodist Protestant church.

The first Methodist minister in Braxton county was the Reverend Jameson, who preached regularly at the home of Colonel John Haymond in 1808. The exact date of the formation of the first society is not known. Henry Cunningham built the first church with the exception of the "raising," in which his neighbors joined. The first Methodist organization in Ritchie county was effected about 1810 by the Reverend Thomas Cunningham, the first minister in Hughes' river valley.

About 1812, the Reverend Lindsay became the presiding elder in the Big Sandy valley. For four or five years he went up and down the valley preaching the gospel with an irresistible eloquence. It was said of him that he made a more lasting impression than any who had preceded him or than any who succeeded him for years.

Camp-meetings were popular with nearly all of the churches of West Virginia in their pioneer days. These meetings are said to have originated with the excommunication of a Baptist preacher on the James river. This preacher was a very able and eloquent minister but his growing faith in the Armenian doctrine became obnoxious to his brethren who excommunicated him and tried to silence him. He refused to be silenced, and when they refused to let him preach in their church, he preached in the forest where great numbers of people gathered to hear him. These meetings grew in popularity and later, nearly every community in West Virginia had its regular camp-ground. These camps in groves usually had a shed under which the preaching was done, and a number of rude log cabins to shelter visitors who came for miles, bringing with them provisions enough to last them for days. Sometimes the shed seated as many as 2,000 people, and sometimes it sheltered only the preacher, whose audience sat on benches in front of him. Sometimes, there were neither shed nor cabins, but only benches under the trees.

The camp-ground at Clarksburg and several camp-grounds of the northern panhandle were widely known.

Lorenzo Dow, a powerful but eccentric, itinerant Methodist preacher, visited some of these camp-grounds during the first decades of the nineteenth century. On September 20, 1804, he spoke at Wellsburg and offended some of his audience. "The next morning, beginning before sunrise," he spoke "to hundreds" and got to Wheeling in time to speak to a large crowd before ten o'clock. Both he and his wife tell of a visit they made to White Sulphur Springs in June or July, 1813.

Mrs. Dow says: "It is a pleasant place where the man lives who has rented the Springs and has built a number of cabins, perhaps fifty or sixty. * * * We went there, but the person that had hired the Springs would not take us in! He pretended they were so full that they could not. But they took more after we went than they had before. But we got in at the house about a mile from the Springs. * * * I stayed there near three weeks. Lorenzo was there part of the time, and part of the time he was traveling through neighborhoods and preaching to the people. He held several meetings at the Springs, by the request of those that were attending there. There were persons from various parts, some for pleasure and others for the restoration of health. They were people that moved in higher circles, and were very gay; but they were quite attentive when he spoke to them of heavenly things, except one, who was a most abandoned character. He thought to frighten him by threatening his life and abusing him in a scandalous manner. But the enemy was defeated in this, for the gentleman that kept the springs and others, soon stopped his mouth, so that he had peace after that. There were none just about this place that knew much about religion, but they appeared anxious to hear the glorious sound of the gospel. I began to get my strength in some measure, so that I could walk considerable well."

Dow, himself, wrote as follows of this trip: "Hiring a hack we came to White Sulphur Springs in Greenbrier, where I got access to many neighborhoods where I had not been before, being a stranger in those parts. Our expenses were nearly one hundred dollars, but I did not begrudge it, considering the benefits we received from the waters. When on the way she could hardly bear her weight ten yards, but now was able to ride sixteen miles on horseback to Sweet Springs, where I spoke to a large and attentive audience, though the devil reigned in those parts."

Dow made repeated preaching tours from Maine to Florida and westward to the Mississippi during his active ministry which extended over a period of thirty years. Much of his preaching was done in camp-meetings where he often spoke to 5,000 people in one day.

In connection with his later tours, Dow visited western Virginia several times. In October, 1815, he visited Wellsburg and Wheeling again. In the early thirties he made several journeys to Beverley to see his brother-in-law, Dr. Dolbeare. While there, he preached in Beverley and held meetings throughout that region. He probably visited Clarksburg when he was preaching in Randolph county.

In 1828 there was a division in the Methodist Church. About 1824 a "Union Society" was formed in the interest of a change in the policy of the church. This society presented a petition to the General Conference of 1828, praying for lay representation and other important changes in church government. The petition was rejected and much agitation and unpleasant feeling followed, resulting in the expulsion of the most important agitators. This expulsion of the leaders resulted in the secession of their adherents.

The seceders promptly called a convention at Baltimore to prepare articles of association. Two years later, in 1828, another convention, composed of an equal number of ministers and laymen, met at Baltimore and adopted a constitution and a Book of Discipline for the new organization under the title of the Methodist Protestant Church. The first organized church of this new denomination in western Virginia was probably the Old Harmony Church on Hacker's creek in Lewis county. It was installed in 1829 by the Reverend John Mitchell and the Reverend David Smith. The second organization of this denomination in that region was effected at Hacker's Creek under the leadership of Rev. John Smith.

In 1830 a Methodist Protestant Church was organized at Morgantown by the Reverend Cornelius Springer and the Reverend W. N. Mar-

shall. The members of the church at the time of its organization were: Joseph Shackleford and his wife, Nancy; Asby Pool and his wife; William Lazell and his wife; and Mrs. Sarah Miller. In 1841 a brick church was built and a year later the membership numbered sixty. In 1849, Jesse Bell was superintendent of the Sunday School. George M. Reay was his successor. In 1830 a society was formed at the forks of Cheat by Reverends Springer and Marshall. In the early period this denomination societies were also formed at Flatwoods, Palatine, Pruntytown, Rockford, Harrisville, Morristown, and on Teter creek in Barbour county.

In this period Methodist Protestant societies were also formed in Hancock county. Nessly Chapel seems to have been the oldest one. Its early members were John DeSellem and wife, Jesse Cisson and wife, Jacob Nessly and wife, Nathan Thayer and wife, Elizabeth Brenneman and Barbara Brown. The class-leader was Jesse Cisson. The church, a stone building, is said to have been dedicated in 1826 by the Rev. George Brown. The society at Fairview was also formed very early. Henry Melvin and Jesse Cisson were among its early members. These two men were instrumental in the erection of a brick church which was probably built in 1828. The early ministers of the Fairview Church were the Reverends George Brown, John Clark and John Cowl. In 1835 the Reverend Brown installed the society at Union Chapel, near Freeman's Landing. Thomas Freeman and his wife, Robert White and his wife, and John Sutton and his wife were the first members. They held their meetings in an old brick schoolhouse until 1857 when they built a church house.

Churches of this denomination gradually found their way into many other communities of the state.

The second division in Methodism resulted from slavery. In accord with a plan of separation adopted by the General Conference of 1844, the delegates from the southern conferences met in Louisville, May 1, 1845, and effected the organization of the "Methodist Episcopal Church, South." The Louisville convention declared that separation was necessary for the continuation of Methodism in the South.

The southern churches in West Virginia were under the care of the Kentucky conference and at first constituted the districts of Parkersburg, Greenbrier, and Guyandotte. In 1850 the Western Virginia Conference of the church was formed. In the next decade, the Southern Methodist Church grew very rapidly.

The Catholic Church

There were Catholics among the early settlers of West Virginia, no doubt, but church organization was scarcely begun until about 1850. As early as 1810, mass was said in private houses in Berkeley county. About 1818 the Rev. Father Maguire of Pittsburg began to make stated visits to the few Catholic families in and about Wheeling and Mr. Noah Zane donated a lot for a Catholic church that was built in 1821 or in 1822. The Rev. James Hoerner, a Frenchman of much ability and great talent, was the first resident pastor. He was appointed by the Archbishop of Baltimore and took charge of the parish on June 9, 1833. Under his leadership the church was very prosperous. After ten years at Wheeling, the Rev. Jas. Hoerner returned to France. His successor was the Rev. Eugene Comerford, who was appointed by the Bishop of Richmond whose diocese was the whole of the state of Virginia. In 1846 Dr. Whelan, who was then Bishop of Richmond, went to Wheeling to reside for awhile and performed the pastoral duties, unaided for a time. By 1850 he was assisted by several clergymen. In 1847 the cornerstone of a cathedral was laid there. Bishop Whelan was regarded as a visionary because he insisted on such a large church in such a small town. In less than ten years, however, the growing congregation filled the cathedral to overflowing, and a separate church

was built for the Germans. A Catholic church building was begun at Triadelphia in 1825 but was not completed. Its growth was affected by the departure of laborers who had worked on the National Road.

On January 13, 1822, a Catholic priest held a service in Morgantown.

Some of the early settlers of Monroe county were Irish Catholics but no church organization was effected until after the arrival of workmen to build the summer resort at Sweet Springs. A brick church was erected at that place in 1853.

A Catholic priest who worked in the Kanawha valley began in 1842 to make his headquarters at Summersville, in Nicholas county, where a church was built in 1852.

The first services of the Catholic church in Clarksburg were held about 1853. For some time the congregation met in a building that stood on the lot which is now the site of the Waldo Hotel. Father Brannon was among the first priests.

With the rapid development of public works, which began about 1850, the Catholic church steadily grew.

The Christian Church

The Christian Church was one of the youngest of the pioneer denominations of West Virginia. The organization of the original Christian church was the result of the failure of a movement (in Washington county, Pennsylvania), led by Thomas Campbell (father of Alexander Campbell), to effect a union of all churches. When this movement appeared hopeless, Campbell resolved to organize a new church upon the plan which had been formulated for the proposed united church. In order to carry out this plan more efficiently, his immediate followers at a meeting held on the headwaters of Buffalo, on August 17, 1809, formed an association under the name of the "Christian Association of Washington." For the purpose of effecting a better working organization and also to supply the need for a schoolhouse in the neighborhood, they erected a log building on the Sinclair farm about three miles from Mount Pleasant on the road leading from Washington to Mount Pleasant. In this building Thomas Campbell met his followers. It was here, on September 7, 1809, that his celebrated "Declaration and Address" explaining the object of the movement in which he and his associates were engaged, was adopted and ordered to be published.

At Brush run, eight miles southwest of Washington, in May, 1810, Alexander Campbell preached his first sermon which caused his immediate call to the ministry. At once he became the leader of the new society. At the same place, about a year later, the first congregation of the new church was formed. It appointed Thomas Campbell to serve as elder, and licensed Alexander Campbell to preach. Its original members were Thomas Campbell, Alexander Campbell, Mrs. Jane Campbell, Dorothy Campbell, James Foster and his wife, John Dawson and his wife, Thomas Hodgens, Sr., and his wife and son, William Gilchrist and his wife, daughter and mother-in-law; George Sharp Sr. and his wife, George Sharp Jr. and his wife, Thomas Sharp, George Archer and his wife, Abraham Altars, Margaret Fullerton, James Bryant, and John Donaldson.

From this beginning the "Christian Church," or "Disciples," grew. In 1827 the old Brush Run church was transferred to Bethany where Alexander Campbell then lived. The old church had become so weakened by removals and deaths, that for the convenience of the remaining members, who lived in Mr. Campbell's neighborhood, meetings were often held in a vacant storeroom belonging to him. Finally meetings at the old church ceased altogether. In 1832 the congregation erected a stone church where Bethany now stands.

About 1830 the church at Holliday's Cove was organized.

The first Christian church in Ohio county was installed at Long run about 1829. For a long time its members met at private houses

STATISTICS OF THE CHIEF CHURCH DENOMINATIONS WHICH THE PEOPLE OF WESTERN VIRGINIA SUPPORTED IN 1850

COUNTY	CHURCHES																				
	BAPTIST			METHODIST			PRESBYTERIAN			EPISCOPAL			LUTHERAN			CATHOLIC			TOTALS		
	No.	Seating Capacity	Value of Church Property	No.	Seating Capacity	Value of Church Property	No.	Seating Capacity	Value of Church Property	No.	Seating Capacity	Value of Church Property	No.	Seating Capacity	Value of Church Property	No.	Seating Capacity	Value of Church Property	No.	Seating Capacity	Value of Church Property
Hampshire	5	1,200	$ 1,000	15	4,000	$ 5,000	6	3,000	$ 5,000	3	1,500	$ 1,800	1	400	$ 1,000				33	10,800	$14,750
Berkeley	2	500	1,100	13	2,945	9,650	6	2,000	7,600	4	900	7,000	3	650	5,600				30	7,595	35,150
Monongalia	6	2,010	4,100	19	7,800	13,008	6	2,000	7,200										31	12,310	19,808
Ohio	1	600	4,000	5	2,950	28,500	5	2,600	33,400	2	1,050	26,000	1	500	3,000	1	1,300	$23,000	15	9,000	117,900
Greenbrier	3	800	4,000	13	5,000	10,000	6	3,000	9,500										22	8,800	23,000
Harrison	5	1,000	2,050	10	2,500	5,100	1	400	1,800										19	4,600	12,150
Hardy				4	1,300	6,200	2	700	7,500										18	4,400	19,500
Randolph	1	200	300	7	1,550	1,275	2	700	2,300										10	2,450	3,875
Pendleton													2	600	600				12	3,300	4,250
Kanawha	11	3,950	3,900	12	3,850	9,500	2	1,200	8,000	3	1,450	12,500							28	10,450	33,900
Brooke	3	1,050	3,800	5	1,200	3,500	1	400	3,000	2	700	4,200							11	3,350	14,500
Wood	7	1,950	3,700	11	2,675	8,300	1	550	5,000	2	700	5,450				1	400	2,200	22	6,275	24,650
Monroe	7	2,600	6,250	12	3,425	4,525	6	200	7,200										29	8,575	19,425
Jefferson	1	300	500	6	3,600	12,500	4	2,900	11,500	3	1,500	11,000	1	600	4,000	1	600	2,000	20	10,650	50,100
Mason	4	1,750	1,500	4	650	700	3	1,100	2,900	1	100	800							12	3,600	5,900
Cabell	5	1,450	2,200	9	2,300	3,600													14	3,750	5,800
Tyler	2	900	1,200	4	1,600	1,500	1	500	700										7	3,000	3,400
Lewis	1	600	400	11	4,500	3,975	1	450	300	1	400	2,000				1	400	2,000	15	6,300	7,775
Nicholas	1	400	400	7	2,100	1,400										1	150	200	9	2,650	2,000
Preston	6	900	1,200	11	1,150	7,200	1	200	1,000							2	600	1,200	28	4,500	13,325
Morgan	1	200	250	8	1,450	4,700				1	400	2,000				1	400	2,000	15	6,300	7,775
Pocahontas				5	1,900	2,000	2	800	1,250										7	2,700	3,250
Logan	2	500	300	4	1,200	1,600													6	1,700	1,900
Jackson				8	800	5,000													8	800	5,000
Fayette	3	800	800	3	900	425													6	1,700	1,225
Marshall	2	500	800	9	2,975	6,800	3												15	4,850	11,125
Braxton				2	600	400													2	600	400
Mercer	2	600	200	2	500	150													4	1,100	350
Marion	3	1,300	950	17	6,600	7,950	1	600	3,000										21	8,500	11,900
Wayne	4	850	400	15	1,450	1,425													9	2,300	1,825
Richie	1	250	350	3	750	750	1	200	300										5	1,200	1,400
Taylor	5	2,150	2,600	6	2,200	3,600													11	4,359	6,200
Doddridge				1	200	500													1	200	500
Gilmer	1	300	350	4	900	650													5	1,200	1,000
Wetzel																					
Boone	1	200	300	5	655	880													6	855	1,180
Putnam	9	2,200	2,550	3	1,350	1,660				1	350	650							13	3,900	4,860
Wirt	4	200	600	8	1,600	1,050													13	2,050	2,050
Hancock	1	350	600	4	900	2,100	3	1,550	3,400										8	2,800	6,100
Raleigh																					
Wyoming	1	100	50	1	160	150													2	260	200
	101			292			64			22			8			8			3		

STATISTICS OF THE CHIEF CHURCH DENOMINATIONS WHICH THE PEOPLE OF WESTERN VIRGINIA SUPPORTED IN 1860

County	Baptist			Methodist			Presbyterian			Episcopal			Catholic			Christian			Union			Totals		
	No.	Seating Capacity	Value of Church Property	No.	Seating Capacity	Value of Church Property	No.	Seating Capacity	Value of Church Property	No.	Seating Capacity	Value of Church Property	No.	Seating Capacity	Value of Church Property	No.	Seating Capacity	Value of Church Property	No.	Seating Capacity	Value of Church Property	No.	Seating Capacity	Value of Church Property
Hampshire	5	1,075	$1,300	21	5,350	$11,900	9	3,100	$14,500	3	1,150	$2,600	...	...	...	3	750	$ 550	18	2,645	$6,600	61	15,070	$38,950
Berkeley	3	525	2,800	6	1,390	7,900	5	1,335	9,200	3	725	5,400	1	600	14,000	...	...	...	1	100	1,000	23	6,020	53,700
Monongalia	10	3,200	7,000	29	9,600	27,350	4	1,650	4,000	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	900	1,000	...	...	...	46	15,350	39,350
Ohio	1	300	2,000	8	4,000	20,000	5	2,800	4,200	2	1,000	14,000	2	1,200	25,000	...	...	...	...	...	...	22	11,000	108,700
Greenbrier	6	1,800	4,250	23	7,650	30,400	10	3,850	16,200	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	39	13,300	50,850
Harrison	11	4,200	9,650	14	4,850	12,550	2	750	2,400	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	29	10,350	25,500
Hardy	...	...	...	8	1,820	7,050	2	700	7,500	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	7	1,500	4,200	21	4,645	19,900
Randolph	1	200	300	8	1,900	2,850	4	1,550	4,800	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	14	3,900	8,300
Pendleton	...	...	...	6	1,900	3,600	1	300	1,000	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	1,200	2,000	15	4,600	8,100
Kanawha	12	2,400	2,200	11	3,700	18,230	3	950	12,400	2	650	7,000	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	28	7,700	39,830
Brooke	1	300	1,000	7	2,800	10,000	1	400	4,000	...	...	...	1	350	2,700	3	1,800	9,000	...	...	...	14	5,950	27,300
Wood	6	2,100	7,300	7	2,300	17,400	2	900	12,100	1	300	6,000	1	400	5,500	1	200	400	...	...	...	18	6,200	48,700
Monroe	5	1,100	3,525	9	2,505	10,600	5	1,835	3,200	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	1	150	1,200	23	6,090	19,800
Jefferson	1	300	900	9	3,100	20,900	3	1,400	20,200	4	1,500	22,500	1	700	5,500	...	...	...	3	900	5,200	26	10,100	87,700
Mason	2	900	3,000	15	6,500	19,000	8	4,000	14,000	...	...	...	1	350	900	...	...	...	...	...	...	26	11,750	36,900
Cabell	7	3,800	6,900	3	1,600	4,800	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	10	5,400	11,700
Tyler	2	524	1,000	7	1,849	2,650	1	400	600	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	300	450	11	3,073	4,700
Lewis	3	950	1,300	16	5,000	10,475	1	300	1,000	1	350	2,000	1	350	2,500	...	...	...	...	...	...	22	6,950	17,275
Nicholas	5	1,460	1,510	18	4,460	5,250	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	600	3,500	...	...	...	...	...	...	25	6,520	10,260
Preston	4	2,200	3,200	15	5,300	12,500	2	1,000	1,800	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	21	8,500	17,500
Morgan	...	...	...	12	3,450	7,100	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	700	1,500	...	...	...	...	...	...	13	4,150	8,600
Pocahontas	...	...	...	8	3,100	10,100	5	1,900	8,100	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	250	200	14	5,250	18,400
Logan	1	150	100	1	150	300	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	300	400
Jackson	...	...	...	10	3,900	5,950	1	400	1,300	1	350	570	...	...	...	...	...	...	9	2,100	2,650	21	6,750	10,470
Fayette	8	2,000	4,000	15	3,500	6,000	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	300	300	...	...	...	25	6,400	11,300
Marshall	1	200	240	16	3,080	6,250	4	1,400	3,500	1	150	1,500	2	600	2,400	3	900	1,000	2	600	400	33	8,080	16,790
Braxton	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Mercer	6	1,800	1,800	11	3,025	5,500	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	17	4,825	7,300
Marion	9	2,500	3,000	34	9,685	28,450	1	400	250	1	250	1,000	1	400	250	1	200	200	1	200	125	48	13,635	33,275
Wayne	7	1,950	1,475	6	2,000	4,050	...	...	...	1	300	300	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	1,350	2,200	18	5,600	8,025
Ritchie	4	975	1,400	16	575	4,925	1	250	400	...	...	...	1	200	500	...	...	...	...	...	...	22	5,000	7,225
Taylor	9	4,100	7,650	12	3,150	6,300	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	350	3,250	...	...	...	...	...	...	22	7,600	17,200
Doddridge	1	150	300	6	950	4,000	...	...	...	2	300	1,000	2	600	1,500	1	200	300	...	...	...	15	2,600	8,200
Gilmer	6	2,000	1,600	6	2,600	2,400	1	160	150	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	13	4,760	4,150
Wetzel	3	300	1,000	6	2,300	2,520	...	...	...	1	300	800	...	...	...	1	400	300	...	...	...	11	3,300	4,620
Boone	2	400	400	8	1,600	1,600	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	10	2,000	2,000
Putnam	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Wirt	3	750	1,000	7	1,400	1,500	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	600	600	13	2,750	3,100
Hancock	...	...	...	5	1,730	4,600	4	2,000	8,500	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	350	800	...	...	...	10	4,080	13,900
Raleigh	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Wyoming	2	500	200	5	1,800	555	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	7	2,300	755
Pleasants	1	150	150	8	1,200	2,500	1	200	500	1	250	700	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	11	1,800	3,850
Upshur	...	...	...	21	5,900	25,550	2	600	2,000	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	300	300	25	6,800	27,850
Calhoun	2	460	425	7	2,250	950	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	9	2,710	1,375
Clay	1	100	...	4	400	500	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5	500	500
Roane	11	1,980	1,300	14	2,520	1,700	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	25	4,500	3,000
Tucker	...	...	...	10	1,400	2,050	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	10	1,400	2,050
McDowell	2	300	250	1	150	150	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	450	400
Webster	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	163			491			88			24			18			18			57					

for worship. By 1830 those who lived near Short creek began to meet at the Cherry Hill schoolhouse. Later, they changed their meeting-place to a schoolhouse on Robert's run in the edge of Brooke county. Here they met until 1833 when they and the Disciples on Long run united and erected a small brick church. This place of worship was often visited by evangelists who protracted their meetings for weeks at a time, and it was served by student preachers from Bethany College after the foundation of that institution in 1841.

Among the early organizations of the Christian church east of the Alleghenies was one at Timber Ridge in Hampshire county, organized in 1818. Another one appeared in Hampshire by 1853.

By consulting the statistical tables presented herewith, it can be seen that in 1850 the Methodist church in territory of western Virginia had the greatest number of church organizations and the greatest church distribution of all denominations. With the exception of Pendleton, Wetzel and Raleigh counties, there were one or more Methodist churches in every county of western Virginia at that date, the total number being 292. In 1860, only one of the three counties, Raleigh, Pendleton and Wetzel, which had no Methodist church in 1850, still had none. Both Pendleton and Wetzel had six by 1860. The whole number of Methodist churches in western Virginia in 1860 was 491.

The Baptists too, were widely distributed. In 1850 they had churches in all but eight of the counties which were later included in West Virginia. Although organizations in some of the counties apparently dwindled or died in the next decade, there were in 1860 a total of 163 which were distributed in all but eleven counties.

The Presbyterian denomination made rapid gains in the decade from 1850 to 1860. Its sixty-four churchs in 1850 increased to eighty-eight in 1860; and the number of counties in which it had churches increased from twenty-two to twenty-seven.

In 1850 the Catholics had eight churches distributed over seven counties in western Virginia. By 1860 these increased to eighteen churches distributed over fourteen counties.

The Episcopals had a total gain of only one organization between 1850 and 1860.

By 1860 the Christian church had eighteen organizations, distributed in ten counties.

In the century from 1760 to 1860 the number of church organizations in territory later included in West Virginia increased from two or three to 806. The people of the new state owed no greater debt to the past than the debt of gratitude to the early missionary ministers who braved the dangers and hardships of the western mountains to establish the love of God and brotherly kindness in the hearts of the ancestral pioneers,—the founders of homes and communities in the wilderness.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE TRADITION OF EDUCATION

(Written by Malissa Crowl)

The history of education in West Virginia is one of long and slow growth. Beginning with the earliest settlements, education in that part of Virginia, now known as West Virginia, was a serious problem. The crude, dangerous life of frontier settlements was not conducive to any great development of intellectual pursuits. The development of skill in hunting and shooting took precedence over training for proficiency in reading and writing. The life of the early western Virginia settlers was a struggle for existence. A school-master in those times, was not nearly so desirable an asset to a community as was a good hunter and Indian fighter. The times were rough and perilous, and required men of action. Children were needed to help in the necessary work entailed in maintaining the home; clearing the forests, building houses and crude furniture, tilling the rough clearings, harvesting the crops, hunting, protecting the home from savages and wild beasts, and all the work necessary for preparing food, however simple it might be, and taking care of the rude home. People had neither the time nor the means for providing instruction along intellectual lines.

These crude, uncultured, and troublous conditions of life, however, did not smother or kill altogether the ambitions of the people for a bigger and broader intellectual life for their children. Desire had to give way to the stern demands of necessity. Many of the earliest settlers were people of refinement and education. Quite naturally they did not want their children to grow up in total ignorance. Consequently, in some homes, parents gave instruction to their children. Schools were impossible to establish because of the wide distance between the homes and the settlements, and also because of the limitations imposed by the stern necessities of living. In many cases, instruction in the fundamentals of education in the home was not adequate, due to a lack of time, effort, and facilities. If the home could not supply instruction, there were no schools available in which this deficiency could be made up. As a result, many pioneer children grew to adulthood without comprehending any of the principles of reading, writing, and arithmetic. However, although illiteracy came to be a common thing in many of the pioneer settlements, the desire for knowledge and education remained, and did not diminish through the years of struggle and privation. The story of the evolution of western Virginia from these rude conditions to a prosperous, growing state is one of great interest, and also involves many phases of development along political, industrial, social and educational lines. It will be the purpose of this sketch to trace as thoroughly and as accurately as possible, the growth and development of education in what is now West Virginia, to the time of its reception into the Union (1863).

To a large degree, the history of education in West Virginia, in the earlier stages of colonization especially is the same as that of its mother state, Virginia. This colony, from the start (1607) seems to have been fortunate in having leaders and promoters who were learned men, and who were interested in the question of education. Among the earliest attempts to found institutions of learning were the University of Henrico, established about 1619, and the East India School (1621) situated re-

spectively near Richmond, and Charles City. But destruction soon put an end to these ambitious and prosperous beginnings: on March 22, 1622, Indians under their chief, O-pech-an-ca-no, fell upon the two settlements, and practically destroyed them. This calamity stayed the progress of education in Virginia for many years,—higher education especially being retarded.

When Virginia became a Crown Colony, in 1624, the interest in schools formerly taken by the London Company, was transferred to the English Church. Parish, or Parochial schools were established in the colony, which had already been divided into parishes. The church, rather than the colony, became concerned in the education of the people. Free education was provided for the children of many parishes and by means of gifts and endowments, a few schools, such as the Pearley Free School (1675) were established, and did good work for many years. In 1660, provisions for the establishment of a college were made by the Virginia House of Burgesses, but owing to delays, it was not until 1693 that a college, known as William and Mary College (the oldest institution of learning south of the Potomac) was opened for the admission of students.

The work of education carried on by the English Church was discontinued, however, at the close of the American Revolution. The titles to the possession of the property of the Parish schools passed over to the state. The proceeds of the disposition of the property were used by some counties to establish free schools; in other counties, they were used to provide buildings and teachers for the education of poor children. These free schools for poor children came to be known as "charity schools," and became widely known in Virginia. Besides these, "private," or "select" schools, were established at the close of the Revolution. They were maintained by groups of the wealthier families, whose children were the only pupils.

Such were the conditions providing for public education in the eastern, older part of Virginia. In the western part, due to differences in the time, manner, and character of settlement, conditions were not exactly similar. From small beginnings of settlements made in what is now the eastern panhandle of West Virginia, about 1727, gradual extension was made, until, at the time of the Revolution, county organization was extended to the Ohio river. The older county of Frederick was divided, and in 1754, Hampshire county was made. Frederick, in 1772, was divided into three parts, and Berkeley was formed, from which, in 1801, Jefferson county was set off, and Morgan county formed in 1820. West of Hampshire, in 1776, the district of West Augusta had been formed, and from it the counties of Monongalia, Ohio and Youghiogheny were made (the latter being extinguished by the westward extension of Mason and Dixon's line). In 1777, Greenbrier county was formed, and Kanawha was taken from western Greenbrier in 1789.

During the progress of the formation of these counties, but little definite knowledge can be obtained of the educational opportunities afforded. It would seem that in such days of stress and strife of battle against savage and famine, that there would be little time left for education, culture, or refinement. But, strange as it may seem, there were a few log school houses here and there in the deep recesses of the wilderness, long before the Revolution. There is mention made in the journal of George Washington, of a school house, when he was surveying lands for Lord Fairfax, on the upper Potomac and South Branch in 1747. There is another instance known of a school being in existence in 1753, in Hampshire county, when a man named Shock taught in a cabin at Romney, continuing his school for several terms. Of there being any Parish Schools in western Virginia, there is no mention, although the present counties of Hampshire, Hardy, Berkeley, Morgan and Jefferson were included in old Frederick Parish.

After the Revolution when Virginia had adopted a constitution (the first framed for an American state), there was still very little change

in the history of education. The constitution (1776) did not contain any mention of schools, or matters pertaining to education. The charity schools, which were numerous east of the Blue Ridge, were scarcely to be found in the West, and were supported either by the town, or by interested and generous individuals, and were attended by only the poorest and most indigent children of the community. The private schools were prosperous, and many were established, which were similar to the private schools such as are found to-day. But neither the charity, nor the private schools, were the type of school that became popular in western Virginia. The typical West Virginia school grew out of the pioneer conditions; the hardy frontiersmen, meeting, selecting the site for a school house, and then hiring the teacher, who taught all, and as many children as could be sent by the parents, for a term of indefinite length.

The first school law that in any way affected the establishment of these "Old Field Schools," was the "Aldermanic School Law" of 1796, passed by the General Assembly of Virginia, although without constitutional authority. This act was an outgrowth of a plan for a free school system proposed by Thomas Jefferson in 1779. His plan was large and comprehensive; at the head of the system was the university to stand. To this highest institution of learning, grammar schools were to provide instruction for pupils to be sent; in turn, pupils for the grammar schools were to be chosen from the primary schools, which were open to all white children of the state. Of this whole system of schools, Jefferson was most anxious to establish the primary schools. In 1820, he wrote "Were it necessary to give up either the primaries or the university, I would rather abandon the last, because it is safer to have a whole people respectably enlightened, than a few in a high state of learning, and the many in ignorance. This last is the most dangerous state in which a nation can be." As it turned out, the plan for the primary schools was the only one not abandoned by the legislature at that time. His whole plan was many years ahead of the times; owing to the character of the inhabitants and widely scattered settlements peculiar to eastern Virginia and other southern colonies, it was impossible to carry out his plan at the time it was proposed.

The act to establish public schools, as passed by the assembly on December 22, 1796, was of considerable importance. The plan proposed by this act was, to place the management of the schools of each county in the hands of three county officers, who were called "aldermen." These men could divide the county into districts, determine the money necessary to build school houses, pay teachers' salaries, and to make a levy upon the property of the inhabitants of the county for this purpose. Thus far the act provided for an efficient school system, but a proviso was added which, in most cases, caused the act never to be put into operation,—"That the court of each county * * * shall first determine the year in which the first election of aldermen shall be made, and until they so determine, no such election shall be made." Mr. Jefferson said, concerning the failure of his law: "The justices, being generally of the more wealthy class, were unwilling to incur the burden, so that it was not suffered to commence in a single county." Although not enforced, this "Aldermanic School Law" was not repealed.

It was not until 1810, that the question of free education was again up for discussion, when the Literary Fund was created. This was a fund which was to be used for the establishment and maintenance of the schools of the state. Before 1776, all escheats, penalities and forfeitures in the colony, had gone to the king. From that time until 1809, they had gone into the General State Fund. In 1809, an act was passed providing "That all escheats, confiscations, forfeitures, and all personal property accruing to the commonwealth as derelict and having no rightful owner, which have accrued since February 2, 1810, and which shall hereafter accrue to the commonwealth, be, and the same hereby are appropriated to the encouragement of learning; and that all militia fines

thereof * * * be also and the same are hereby appropriated to the encouragement of learning." The act further said that this fund "be appropriated to the sole benefit of a school, or schools to be," to be kept within each county of Virginia, subject to regulations and orders of the General Assembly, and was not to be applied to any other object than "the education of the poor."

The Literary Fund was created and operated in accordance with this Act of the Assembly of 1809. From time to time various additions to the income of this fund were made, so that it grew to quite considerable proportions. Its primary purpose was to provide means for the education of the poor white children of the state. To this end, machinery was soon set in motion. Each county was given a certain amount annually, in proprotion to the number of children to be educated within that county. Boards of "School Commissioners" (not less than five, nor more than fifteen "discreet persons") were to meet annually in November, to determine many things: what number of poor children they would educate in their county; what sum should be paid for their education; to authorize each of themselves to select as many children as they might deem expedient, and to draw orders upon their treasurer (elected by the commissioners themselves) for money to pay the necessary expenses of tuition and school materials. The children selected were sent to the nearest school, to be taught reading, writing, and arithmetic.

Such were the provisions made by the Virginia assembly for the establishment of schools for the poor children of Virginia, during the earlier part of the nineteenth century. By this time there were twenty-four (1833) of the present counties of West Virginia organized; Berkeley, Brooke, Cabell, Fayette, Greenbrier, Hampshire, Hardy, Harrison, Jackson, Jefferson, Kanawha, Lewis, Logan, Mason, Monongalia, Monroe, Nicholas, Ohio, Pendleton, Preston, Pocahontas, Randolph, Tyler, and Wood. In many of these counties, schools had been organized under the "Aldermanic School Law," which provided free instruction for each child, for three years, after which tuition had to be paid to continue in school. From the Literary Fund, $45,000 was appropriated annually to the support of these primary schools, which were the basis for a more comprehensive free-school system. Contrary to the conditions found in Virginia east of the Blue Ridge, there were very few "private," or "select" schools to be found in the West. Although part of the people chose to consider the primary schools similar to the charity schools of an earlier date, and to have their children grow up in illiteracy and ignorance rather than send them to the free schools, a goodly proportion of the people in the West favored the primary schools, and were anxious for their improvement. As foreign immigration became increasingly great, and large numbers of New Englanders settled there, the question of common schools became a subject of great concern. The people west of the mountains came to insist that the greater part of the Literary Fund should go to the primary schools, rather than to the numerous colleges, academies, and the state university, and were jealous of all appropriations made to them. Comparatively few of the young men attended the state university or military schools, even when offered appointments and the state bore part of their expenses, choosing rather, to attend schools in Ohio and Pennsylvania.

The enactments of 1817, changing the Aldermanic School Law of 1796, repealing the three years free tuition, remained in force thirty years. The advocates of free schools continued their efforts to secure better means for education. They were especially numerous and active in the West, and if they had had more influence in the political management of the state, would have been better able to accomplish their aim. The men of eastern Virginia were in control in state politics, and were strongly opposed to all efforts made to secure free education, not only for the children of western Virginia, but of their own region as well. The two forces continued in opposition for many years, the champions of free education being increasingly supported by the people of the

West. In 1829 an act was passed providing for the combination of public and private means for establishing and maintaining free schools. The county school commissioners were empowered to district their respective counties, and to pay two-fifths of the amount necessary to build a school house in each district, and $100 towards the support of the school, whenever the people, by voluntary contributions should raise the remaining three-fifths of the necessary amount. This plan was tried in a few counties, but was not used extensively, and was met with little encouragement.

No further legislation looking to the establishment of public schools was secured until 1845. The question was not dead, however, but was waiting a favorable opportunity to assert itself. The year 1833 is often used to furnish statistics to show the condition of education in western Virginia during this period. A table showing school statistics by counties is given below, to set forth more clearly the actual conditions existing:

TABLE SHOWING SCHOOL STATISTICS BY COUNTIES IN WEST VIRGINIA SEPTEMBER 30, 1833

COUNTIES	No. of School Commissioners in each county.	No. of common primary schools attended by poor children.	No. of poor children in each county.	No. of poor children sent to school.	Aggregate number of days attendance of poor children at school.	Average number of days attendance of each poor child at school.	Rate of tuition *per diem* in each county.	Average amount paid from literary fund for each child.	Total amount of expenditures in 1833 for tuition and other expenses, in each county.
Berkeley	15	34	530	349	24,518	70	3¼	$2.45	$ 854.14
Brooke	9	29	410	268	19,383	72	2½	1.98	530.13
Cabell	7	17	200	117	6,399	55	4	2.40	287.76
Fayette	*								
Greenbrier	10	20	500	239	21,106	50	4	2.25	537.90
Hampshire	11	48	800	545	22,048	40	4	1.67	912.14
Hardy	15	21	250	100	7,646	76	4	3.32	332.23
Harrison	15	86	900	754	36,200	48	2½	1.29	976.13
Jackson	*								
Jefferson	14	31	350	217	17,105	78	4	3.25	705.26
Kanawha	14	24	450	298	19,217	64	4	2.73	814.72
Lewis	9	34	500	235	11,654	50	2½	1.30	304.99
Logan	*								
Mason	9	19	175	127	6,697	53	3¾	2.23	283.41
Monongalia	9	80	1,000	637	32,341	51	2½	1.31	889.15
Monroe	11	25	450	192	10,454	54	3½	2.05	395.40
Nicholas	7	18	150	99	5,214	52	3	1.82	179.80
Ohio	10	40	500	282	23,032	81	2 1-12	1.84	520.06
Pendleton	15	36	400	356	14,298	40	3¾	1.45	515.43
Preston	7	23	220	190	9,374	49	3	1.61	306.14
Pocahontas	5	17	120	100	6,018	60	3	2.11	211.29
Randolph	9	22	350	197	7,947	40	3½	1.37	280.64
Tyler	11	20	450	216	10,958	51	2	1.20	259.46
Wood	9	34	400	288	11,627	40	3	1.27	366.32
Totals	.....	678	9,135	5,816	220,656	.....	.....	.....	$10,454.42

* Reports not made in time to be included in Auditor's Report for the year.

Such is an example of the conditions existing which called into being the great educational convention held in Clarksburg, in 1841. The friends of public education in the West, in this convention, cumulated their activities and efforts, in a design to take such action as would induce the General Assembly to enact laws providing for the establishment of a free school system. The convention assembled in the Presbyterian church on Wednesday, September 8, 1841, and continued in session three days. Notwithstanding the fact that there were no railroads in this section of western Virginia, and that traveling accommodations were extremely poor, representatives from nineteen counties—sixteen of which are now West Virginia counties, were present. At the opening session, there were 115 delegates registered, and many others came later during the convention. The distinguished George Hay Lee of Harrison county, was chosen president. Newspaper reporters, and ministers of the town were invited to be present at the sessions, which were held during both day and evening.

After the work of organization, the real business of the convention began. "Never did a more earnest body of men assemble in West Virginia than this, nor has the work of any one yielded more abundant fruit," says Mr. Thomas C. Miller in his History of Education in West Virginia (1907 edition). Papers were read, addresses made, and plans submitted, all for the same general purpose—to induce the assembly to take action providing for the establishment of a free school system. The proceedings were published in pamphlet form under the title, "A Memorial to the General Assembly of the State, Requesting That Body to Establish a More Liberal and Efficient Primary or Common School System," and is a record of one of the most remarkable and influential conventions ever held within the state.

This was among the first of a remarkable series of educational conventions held in various parts of the state, terminating in an assembly held in Richmond, December, 1845. The purpose of this convention was to discuss plans for bringing before the next General Assembly a bill for the establishment of a public school system.

The zeal and earnestness of the educators, who had been untiring in their efforts to arouse interest in their cause all over the state, at last showed some results in the School Law of 1846, enacted on March 5 of that year. It was trusted that this act, prepared by the prominent members of the Richmond Convention (1845) would bring about the condition similar to the one Governor James McDowell had in mind when he said, during that convention: "We trust that we shall soon be delivered from this dominion of darkness, that we shall never be contented until every child can read and write, and every darkened understanding be illumined with the benign influence of education." The new act, however, was very little better than the preceding school laws. It provided that the school commissioners then in office, should divide the county into precincts, each containing as many districts as was thought desirable, each district, however, containing a sufficient number of children to make up a school. Annually each precinct was to elect a commissioner, who met with the other commissioners to form the county board of school commissioners. In each district, three trustees were to be appointed, who were to be responsible for choosing the site of the school buildings, seeing to the upkeep of the building, grounds, school apparatus, etc. Teachers were to be approved and hired by the board. The schools were to be visited regularly by the commissioners and trustees. The latter were to make reports of the condition of their schools annually, to the Board of Commissioners.

Funds for the maintenance of these schools were supplied from the Literary Fund, and also by the inhabitants of each county by a uniform rate of taxation collected as were other taxes.

There was a fatal provision, however, in this act which proved to be a serious defect in carrying out its purpose. Before the question could even be submitted for adoption in the counties, it required a petition signed by one-third of the voters of the county. For adoption, it required a two-thirds majority of the voters. The friends of the free school system saw this defect, and tried to remedy it by securing the passage of a special act, whereby the system of free schools became optional for sixteen counties of the state, of which three—Brooke, Jefferson and Kanawha,—were in western Virginia. Elections were to be held in April, 1846, or 1847, which required a two-thirds majority to adopt it. The three counties of western Virginia voted on the question in 1847, and Brooke rejected it, while both the others adopted it.

Between 1847 and 1860, many of the western counties voted on either the general free school law, or the special act, with the result that at the latter date there were only three western Virginia counties which had free schools.

The schools which were an outgrowth of the school laws of Virginia, both the "Aldermanic School Law" of 1796, and the law of 1846, came to be known as "Old Field Schools." This name was an outgrowth of the situation of the schools. The commissioners, in selecting a site for

the school house, chose some old field which had been cleared for several years, and which had been abandoned for newer ground. There were many advantages in choosing a site in such a place, for very often the people of the community could not afford the time and expense of clearing off a new site, and to use a newly cleared space of ground would have been economic extravagance. However, these old fields were very often not the most ideal spots for school houses, being either too barren, rocky, or swampy for any other use. An attempt was usually made to locate the school building as near the center of the district as possible, so it would be accessible to a large number of families.

The buildings themselves were as rough and crude as can be imagined. Round logs were used for the framework, cemented together with daubs of clay and sticks. At one end an open fireplace was found where on winter days whole logs were burned which heated and lighted the greater part of the room, but also smoked so badly that had it not been for the large amount of fresh air let in through the chinks in the walls, the pupils and teacher might have been in danger of suffocation. The inside of the room, usually about 16x18 feet, was left bare. The floor was sometimes made of broad puncheons, placed so as to be as smooth as possible; or very often there was no floor laid at all, the ground, smoothed off, answering for that purpose. The door was made of slabs hung on wooden hinges. Light was admitted from one side of the room where a log had been left out in the construction. Greased paper, or sometimes, a pane of glass, was inserted here, and answered the purpose of a window. Below this arrangement, was a broad, flat slab, placed on wooden pins, and sloping downward, which served the pupils as a writing desk. For seats, or desks, logs were split in half, and placed on pins or supports inserted in the round part of the log. These benches were placed in rows. The boys usually sat on one side of the room and the girls on the other. This seating arrangement held good when church services were held in the schoolhouse, also, the men and women, upon entering the building, would separate, as the sheep from the goats. No attempt was made to fit the height of the benches to the size of the pupils, and six-year olds, and twenty-year olds, were on the same level as far as seating went. A space was left in the front of the room for the master to call up his classes, and the dunce stool likewise occupied a prominent place in front. The schoolmaster usually had a rude table or desk, behind which was found a large bundle of stout hickory withes, which were always kept within arm's reach.

The teachers of these schools were men of uncertain and varying knowledge and temperament. In some cases, these early teachers were men of good education, having attended the William and Mary College, or one of the New England Colleges, and some had even attended Oxford, Cambridge, or Glasgow universities. On the other hand, many people "kept school" who had barely been through the common school books. Often, if a person "kept order" he was called a good teacher. But due to the great scarcity of teachers people could not be too critical.

The curriculum was not large. Children were taught to read, write, and cipher. The usual texts were the "English Reader," and Webster's "Elementary Speller." As schools progressed, new courses were introduced into the curriculum; geography and history came to be taught to advanced pupils. There was no system of grading; all pupils used the same texts. The usual division made was between the "little tots" or "beginners" and the older pupils. After "books were taken up," the master called up the classes, one after another, before his desk, where the children had to stand during recitation. The "head and foot" method was applied to nearly all classes. Some teachers allowed the pupils to study out loud, and if one pupil's lips were not moving during the study period, he would be reminded to get busy by a switch from the master's hand. The alphabet was taught by a sing-song method, "b-a, ba, b-e, be, b-i," etc., until the letters were memorized by the children. Each teacher had his own devices for keeping order, and for inducing study. There was no supervision by an expert, and the only thing re-

sembling any school inspection was the monthly or annual visits which the trustees and commissioners made, when they exhorted the pupils to be diligent, and to study hard. Sometimes, if they had any smattering of knowledge themselves, they would undertake to examine the school, to take stock of the progress made.

As to the boys and girls attending these "Old Field Schools" they were very like the boys and girls attending schools to-day. They attended because their parents did not want them to grow up in total ignorance, and because they themselves had ambitions, perhaps, to rise above the simple, primitive life among the hills. They liked the associations with each other; the games and fun engaged in during recess and noon periods. The long walk to and from school was hard, and often dangerous; roads were bad, and often there were no homes or cleared places between the school house and their homes. Boys often came barefooted to school after the snows came, for if there were several children in the family, the father could not get shoes made early enough to supply the whole family. In many cases, the only education, which these children ever received, was gotten from these old field schools. Some of them went away to higher institutions of learning, either in Virginia or in some other state. A great part of these children remained in the hills of western Virginia, doing their share in bringing about the state's development and in doing away with the frontier life. Thomas C. Miller in his History of Education in West Virginia (p. 36) cites the names of many students of the early schools in the western part of Virginia, who in later years became famous. Many went to regions farther west, there to begin a new frontier life: some went to other states, and became leaders there. Many made names for themselves which will last long, and are included among the lists of governors, ministers, soldiers, and senators of the land. Thus it will be seen that the old field schools, bare and crude as they were, and taught by indifferent masters, under the poorest of circumstances, were yet not barren of results, but rather, turned out products of which any state might be proud.

As might be supposed, schools in western Virginia were first found in the eastern panhandle, along the Potomac and South Branch. In Hampshire county, the tracks of the Indians were scarcely effaced from the valleys and hills before the pioneer pedagogue appeared upon the scene. It is not known who was the first teacher there, and even the names of the later teachers have been lost. The characteristics of these early pedagogues, however, have been retained. He was not necessarily a man educated and cultured, but rather, had, for his first qualification, a strong right arm, and skill in the use of the rod, and in making quill pens. He held school in any building available, in either a rude hut, or in the home of some settler. Soon, however, the backwoods schoolhouse made its appearance. It followed the general plan of the frontier school buildings, and was as small, smoky, and uncomfortable as can be imagined. The early textbooks used were the United States Speller, the New Testament, the English Reader, and an Arithmetic. The pupils were subscription pupils. The teacher took a paper around to each family, and if enough "signers" were secured, the school would begin. Sometimes he took his pay in "produce," and the meager amount he received was made to go farther by "boarding round." During his stay with each patron, he frequently contributed to the comfort of the family by chopping wood and doing chores. In the schoolroom, he was only able to give a very elementary type of instruction in the "three r's"—"readin', 'ritin' and 'rithmetic," and in spelling. In mathematics the study extended as far as vulgar fractions, before which came proportion, in the old textbooks. Proportion, in these books, meant the "single rule of three," and its mastery was considered an intellectual feat. There were no black-boards, no globes, charts, or any of the school-room devices and apparatus of later days. Yet these schools of the early Hampshire county settlements furnished inspiration for many which in later years made them giants among their fellows.

With the funds from the Literary Fund, many more children were enabled to receive instruction, and the schools, to a small extent, were improved. At any rate, they furnished the beginnings for a later public school system which came in 1863. Hampshire county took no action on the school law of 1846, and continued to operate its schools under the Aldermanic Law of 1796, and the provisions of the law providing the Literary Fund.

In Pendleton county, the first school house was erected on the land of Robert Davis in 1769. Progress in education was made but slowly. A great share of the pioneers had no schooling, and could sign their names only with a mark. Books were found in only occasional homes, and very few there. There were about as many books written in the German tongue, as there were in English. The most frequently found books were the Bible, a "Key of Paradise," "Explanation of the Shorter Catechism," "The Fourfold State," "Baxter on the Covenant," "Closet Devotions," history books, and sometimes a few leaflets or pamphlets. Writing materials were also scarce. Ink was made from a powder, or from pokeberries or maple bark with the addition of alum and vinegar. The schools were operated under the general school laws of Virginia, and made about the same progress and existed under about the same circumstances as the schools in other sections of the state.

In Hardy county, which was formed in 1786 (and from which Grant county was taken in 1866) had, in its early history, subscription schools. No records or accounts of these schools have been left, but judging from the traces of the old-time school houses which remain, they were very similar to the typical frontier schools of western Virginia.

Such were the schools of the oldest section of western Virginia. Going farther west, to the Monongahela river region, schools were also to be found at a very early time. Monongalia county probably had the earliest schools in this section. The schoolmaster was here before the year 1780, and schools were taught for eleven years before the Indians departed from the county. The names of these early teachers have not come down to us, and the description of their schools only has been preserved. School was held in various places,—beneath the trees, or in the cabin of some settler who lived near the fort. Later, as more settlers came, the frontier school house made its appearance, with its rude structure and rough comfort. The first schools became subscription schools. If enough families would subscribe to send their children, the master would undertake to hold school, which was, at best, but a meager attempt to impart learning. There seemed to have been somewhat of a literary spirit present among the people of this region, for learning was fostered and encouraged as much as possible. But little state aid was given, however, and the provisions for school expenditures had to be made by the people themselves. Monongalia did not accept the school law of 1846, and it was not until the formation of the state, that a free school system was inaugurated.

Probably the next schools to be found in this region were in Upshur county. It was just thirty years after the Pringle brothers began their pioneer life in the hollow of the sycamore tree near the mouth of Turkey run, in 1796, that a Mr. Haddox, in a primitive log cabin near the mouth of Radcliff's run, taught the first school in the bounds of the present county of Upshur. This school was supported by private subscription. The interest manifested by the community at this early time may be shown by the liberality of the contributions which, when all collected and paid over to the first "jolly pedagogue" in the present bounds of Upshur, amounted to the liberal salary of $60 and board per month. The teacher "boarded round" among his patrons, and thus considerably decreased his expenses. The attendance of this first school was regular, large, and wide. Tradition tells us that "there were no inexcusable absences; that the pupils were present at the hour of opening, and during the day the program proceeded with the regularity of the clock." Pupils came from miles around; among some of them enrolled were:

Thomas Carney, Zachariah Westfall, David Casto, the Cutright children, and also children from the Cooper, Tingle, Fink, and Hyer families.

The second school was established about 1800 on the site of the present court house at Buckhannon, and a Mr. Samuel Hall was employed to instruct the children of the neighborhood in reading, writing and arithmetic. On French creek, Mrs. Mary Beadley taught the first school in 1871.

These three schools formed a substantial beginning in education. However, not much progress was made, because the children were needed at home, to clear the forest, to tend and collect the crops, and to assist in providing for the absolute needs of the family. The great stream of immigration beginning in 1801, and getting very large in the years 1814-1817, brought scores of enthusiastic Puritans from New England, who contributed much to the agitation for greater school advantages in this county. They aided much in the efforts of the western Virginians to bring about more legislation for better schools, and were instrumental in getting the Act of 1846 passed.

So great was the interest in common school work that many new schools were started, and the Poor Fund allotted to this county paid but a small part of current expenses. One teacher from this period tells us that he had thirty-five pupils and got only $36 from the Poor Fund. Whenever the Poor Fund was not sufficient to compensate the teacher for his services, he could choose either to teach for the Poor Fund only, or had to solicit from the patrons a varied subscription, which was paid in corn, oats, live stock, or currency, as provided by the agreement between teacher and patron at the time of the solicitation. Although instrumental in bringing about the school legislation of 1846, Upshur county did not adopt its provisions, and so did not have anything approaching a free school system until after 1863.

In Marion county schools were started fairly early. As population increased, rude school houses were erected. School was held for three months during the year, beginning in November, and closing toward the last of January. Tuition rates were for each child, from 25 cents to $2 a term; the teacher also got his board and lodging free by "boarding round."

The common branches of instruction were taught, being neither very extensive nor very advanced. The children, however, learned to read, spell, and cipher well, despite the crude methods of teaching. The "United States Spelling Book," was the only text used besides the New Testament, and it contained the lessons in reading, geography, grammar and history, as well as the spelling. The lessons increased in difficulty as they progressed in the book, and a pupil's progress was noted by his advance in the book.

The sessions of school lasted from 8:00 o'clock in the morning until 12:00 o'clock at noon, when a recess of one hour was allowed. Lunches were eaten by pupils who lived too far away to go home or were kept there by the bad roads and weather. Games and play of all kinds were indulged in until 1:00 o'clock, when "books" were called again, and school continued in session until 4:00 o'clock.

Punishments were often severe. The master had a smooth round stick, which he would throw with all his force at the mischievous pupil who whispered during "books," and who, whether he received the blow or not, had to pick up the stick and carry it back to the master, amid the jeers of his companions. The dunce cap too, was used as a means of punishment, and it was used on boys and girls alike, for the master did not believe in sparing the rod and spoiling the child. However, the punishment was not always on the side of the pupils. At the end of each term the master was supposed to "treat." If he did not show signs of carrying out this custom when the last day came, the pupils took him, in no gentle manner, to some nearby pond or stream where they ducked him, head first, until he promised, with great humility, to accede to their demands.

When Marion county was formed or soon thereafter, there were

sixty-three schools in the county, with [illegible] pupils, [illegible] teachers, [illegible] boards of the Literary Fund. [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

due to many prominent Harrison county men, educated or rather taught in the "Old Field Schools" of that county, that it was a success and a power for the good of the cause of free education.

In Taylor county, prior to the adoption of the public free school system, the schools were subscription schools and were largely patronized. They were held in the old log school houses, out of which came some of our educational leaders of to-day. The pioneer teachers of the county were not as well versed in literature as those of to-day, yet they served their purpose for that time, and some of the leaders and teachers of the county remember them with gratitude, for it was from them that they received the foundation for their education.

Going from this region of the state, farther west, to the Ohio, early schools will also be found. This section of western Virginia was for many years a frontier region where Indian fighting continued long. However, as in other regions of the state, the settlers were anxious about their children's educational development. Teachers came into the community sometime after the settlements were started, and took up their work.

In Wetzel county the teachers were usually from Ohio or Pennsylvania. They held subscription schools for terms averaging about twelve weeks. The teacher boarded with his patrons, and received in wages from $8 to $12 per month. If he were able to read, write, cipher, and wield the "birch," he was good "stock in trade," and needed no other qualifications.

In Tyler county, the teachers also come from Ohio and Pennsylvania. They set up school in rude log huts, and were absolute masters in this domain. It is said that these masters were well qualified to "keep" school but unqualified to "teach" school.

The first school opened in Moundsville in 1799, and was taught by Wm. Ransom, a native of Ireland. From his death, which occurred in 1804, until 1812, there were no schools. A man by the name of Greene then opened a school but it is not known how long he continued it. Hiram Coffin started teaching in 1826, and taught for two years. William Morgan taught in 1828-29, and was succeeded by John McCullock, Mr. and Mrs. Harris, of Hagerstown, Maryland; Frederick Stevens, of Virginia; Thornton James, Elisha Moss, Joseph McClain, Messrs. Carson and Murray, and McKenna and Chattuck. In 1867, the free schools opened, as provided by the constitution of the new state.

Ohio county was among the first of the state to establish a free school system. In 1848, the people of this county voted on the question of free schools, as provided by the School Law of 1846, and a majority voted to accept the system. Previous to this time, the schools had progressed under the Aldermanic School Law, and received its annual quota from the Literary Fund. The first school in the county, and indeed in the whole Panhandle, of which there is any knowledge, was located in the vicinity of West Liberty, and was taught by the grandfather of the late Thomas Ewing. This distinguished man, who was politician, statesman, and teacher, spent his spare time in mending and cobbling the shoes of his neighbors, thereby eking out a scanty living earned by teaching school. This was a common habit among the teachers then, who moved about from place to place, seeking such employment as might tend to contribute to their support. In the usual type of primitive school building, the master would hold school, wielding the rod assiduously, and showing his scanty knowledge. To him the boys and girls would come for miles around, carrying their dog-eared Dilworths" and their much worn and blotted copy books, made from coarse brown paper.

But at a later day, schools began to improve. Teachers were more competent, and progress was made in the curriculum. Better accommodations, and more comfortable schoolhouses were gradually provided. Schools and academies began to multiply, and the attention of the people began to be more directed to their value and importance. But the school law of 1846 was not approved without difficulty. Many people

advanced the argument that it was unfair as well as unjust that they should be taxed for the education of others who were too poor to confer this boon on their offspring, and that it was an invidious distinction which discriminated in favor of a large class at the expense of a few. This spirit of selfish opposition did not prevail, yet it lingered in the communities for a long period after the successful establishment of schools, and, while it ceased to be demonstrative, yet its latent and baneful influence was felt upon all opportune occasions.

Until the founding of the present free school system, the schools of Ritchie county were run by private subscription. The first school in the county was taught by John Ayres, who came from Rockbridge county, Virginia, in 1810, in a house that had been used as a dwelling at the mouth of Cedar Run. The first schoolhouse was erected four years later, on the land now owned by William Kennedy, about two miles below Smithville. The second teacher was Samuel Rittenhouse, who came from Harrison county; the third was Adam Deem, Jr., who came from Pennsylvania, and the fourth was Baicus Ayres, the son of the first teacher, John Ayres.

In Pleasants county, schools were found at an early day. The subscription school flourished, and the teacher traveled from settlement to settlement, in search of employment. Much has been said and written in derision of the schools of this period, and much of the criticism is just, yet "notwithstanding the master's abiding forth in the efficacy of the rod of birch, he did, in his own way and his own time, a great work for the state that was to be and is deserving of much better treatment than is usually accorded him by the later-day critic." Among the pioneer teachers and educators were Gideon Terry, Martin Winninger, and Aaron Delong. Pleasants county, in common with most of the Ohio river counties, had for many years to fill her schools with teachers from Ohio. As the material wealth and population of the county increased more attention was given to educational matters and better teachers and buildings were provided.

Farther south along the Ohio, early schools were also to be found. This region was harassed by border warfare, and was in a dangerous and unsettled condition until the question of race supremacy between the whites and the Indians was settled at the memorable battle of Fallen Timbers, August 2, 1795, in favor of the whites. Social and educational life in this region may be said to date from this event.

There is no record to show when the first school began its existence in what is now Cabell county. The early schools, however, were uncomfortable and inconvenient. As they were located so far apart, attendance was very light and irregular. The schools were presided over by teachers from Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Kentucky. They were men possessing only the rudiments of an education, but did a great work in preparing the people for the reception of the free school system which was to come during the unsettled period of the Civil war. Among those most actively engaged in the pioneer educational work of the county were Robert Cobun, John Cobun, E. E. Morrison, Robert Barbour and Charles Simpson.

In the southern counties, the schools were very few and far between. In Wayne county, prior to 1862, there were but very few schools. These were subscription schools, for which teachers were provided by the wealthier settlers. Sometimes the children of the poorer classes were allowed to come to these schools, but no special provision was made for them. In 1862, there was some small allowance made for the support of free schools by Virginia, which, however, was not of much consequence, as the next year provision was made by the new state for the formation of a free school system.

Wyoming county, organized in 1859, from Logan county, did not possess many schools before 1863. Before the breaking out of the Civil war, here and there were located a few "schools for indigent children." There were no schools established under the Virginia law of 1846.

In the Kanawha river section of the state, settlements were made comparatively early. Among the early settlers, teachers were scarce,

yet once in a great while a professional pedagogue would come along who was always engaged to "teach the young idea how to shoot." School would open shortly after daylight and continue until sundown, giving in the meantime, a recess of one hour for dinner. Dilworths' and Webster's spelling books were, as a rule, the only text books used, though once in a while a student could be found far enough advanced to take up Pike's Arithmetic, Dwight's Geography, and the New Testament, as a reader. Schools never continued longer than two months during a year, and quite often an entire year would pass without a school having been taught in any of the neighborhoods.

Kanawha county was a strong free school county. There were some good schools at Charleston as early as 1818. About the year 1829, Colonel David Ruffner donated a lot in Charleston for a church and an academy, and contributed to the erection of suitable buildings. This county, along with several others, was named in the special act of 1846 to secure a free school system. Notwithstanding the strong support given to the question of free schools, there was much opposition to them on the part of the large property owners. This opposition was gradually worn away, and much was done toward establishing a free school system in this county before the formation of West Virginia in 1863.

It is peculiarly true, that wherever the Scotch-Irish settled, there was great interest and enthusiasm taken in education. The Ulstermen believed that everyone should read and write. Schoolmasters and schoolhouses came with them, and we even find that one of the victims of the massacre at Boughman's fort in 1755 was a teacher. He may have been a German, for the German settlers of the valley of Virginia set as much store on schooling as the Ulstermen themselves. In the few petitions and documents that have come down to us from the early days of Greenbrier, we often find an easy and accurate use of language, good spelling and an observance of proper punctuation.

But with no encouragement from the state, and with the privations of the frontier to engage their main attention, the people of this region could not at first do much to educate their children. For a while the school interest languished, and illiteracy became more common.

With the aid given from the Poor Fund, better schooling was provided for the poor children after 1810. In 1822-3 the amount apportioned for Monroe county from this fund was $429.25. This was paid out to teachers at the rate of four cents a day for each indigent pupil attending school.

By a law of 1853 the entire capitation tax was applied to the primary and free schools. Yet until after the war of 1861 only a very few counties in Virginia had any system of free schools. The "old field school" was the medium through which the mass of the people of the state received a common educational training.

From a citizen who attended one of these schools in 1851, a few of the following points were taken. The school building was similar to those of other regions. The room was swept by the girls and the boys got the wood. The discipline was good, thanks to a very free use of the hickory switch. At the entrance was a paddle with "out" on one side and "in" on the other, by which means the master kept tab of his pupils when they left the room. The instruction was largely individual. The pupils had to work and there were few drones. The books in use were the New Testament, Pike's Arithmetic, English Reader, the Elementary Speller, Murray's Geography, and Murray's Grammar. Spelling was for headmarks. The sexes played apart. The games were "cat and ball," "handy," "shoot-the-buck," and "seesaw." A time-honored custom was to put the teacher out if it could be done in order to make him give a holiday.

Braxton county, being in the interior of the state, and very sparsely settled, it was not until about the year 1823 that schools were taught, and then it was only in the most thickly settled neighborhoods that enough children could be brought together at one place to make a school

that would justify the patrons to employ a teacher. What was true in reference to the scarcity of pupils was true also in reference to school houses. Neighborhoods built their own houses, and furnished them.

Whenever a teacher could be procured, the patrons would subscribe to a contract, and school would begin. Frequent contests with the teacher—if he were a new one—would be engaged in by the boys, to test his mettle, and to procure holidays.

Sometimes the patrons of the school would meet on Saturdays to bring in wood, but more often this was done by the boys. Teams would organize, and the girls would watch them haul in the logs, which were dragged by means of chains, hickory withes, and cross bars. The boys played ball also, and the girls likewise had their little games of ball. Usually twice a month, the school would have a spelling race on Friday afternoon, and occasionally one would be held at night. Frequently two schools would meet and spell against each other. Sometimes a scholar would keep the floor until the whole school would be turned down, or the book gone through, without missing a word.

Joseph Hause is said to have taught the first school in Braxton county, in a log cabin on O'Brien's fork of Saltlick, in 1823. William Berry taught a school near this locality about the same time. The names of many of the teachers of this county have been handed down, from the early schools, and among their number many names of women can be found.

It was the custom for the pupils, especially the older ones, to visit at each others homes over night. Visiting at school was a great social function. When the teacher went home with his pupils it was a great occasion, and eagerly looked forward to, as he was looked upon as a kind of royal guest.

Such were the conditions surrounding the school life of the early settlers, and up until the formation of western Virginia into a separate state. To some extent the conditions in all sections of the state were similar, yet each had characteristics which were very much unlike. Every one had little mannerisms and customs peculiar to itself. Each community took a certain pride in itself, and in many places, there was a great deal of school rivalry, especially when it come to "spelling bees" and "ciphering matches." The latter were a development of the later years, when blackboards were more common. Flat slate rocks were often used for this purpose, and many a little boy's slate was made of a piece of slate cut from the bed of a stream.

By 1863, there were free school systems in only three of the counties, Kanawha, Jefferson and Ohio, which had adopted the Virginia school law of 1846. Several other counties, Brooke, Cabell, Wayne and Hancock, voted on the question of adoption, but failed to get a favorable two-thirds majority.

Besides the establishment of the "old field" schools, and of a few free schools, the people of western Virginia were interested in higher education. Western Virginia has been called the "land of academies," a rather complete list of which appears in an adjoining table arranged chronologically under the different geographical regions of the state and with dates of incorporation:

Date of Incorporation	Name of Academy	Place	County
	1. In the Eastern Panhandle		
1. 1797	Shepherdstown Academy		Jefferson
2. Dec. 25, 1797	Charlestown Academy		Jefferson
3. Jan. 28, 1822	Martinsburg Academy		Berkeley
4. 1824	Romney Classical Institute		Hampshire
5. March 25, 1829	Romney Academy		Hampshire
6. Feb. 16, 1832	Seymour Academy	Moorefield	Hardy
7. Feb. 16, 1832	Bolivar Academy		Jefferson
8. March 15, 1836	Charlestown Female Academy		Jefferson
9. Dec. 12, 1846	Potomac Seminary	Romney	Hampshire
10. March 31, 1851	South Branch Academical Institute	Moorefield	Hardy
11. Jan. 10, 1853	Morgan Academy	Berkeley Springs	Morgan
12. March 18, 1856	Harper's Ferry Female Institute		Jefferson

	Date of Incorporation	Name of Academy	Place	County
		2. In the Monongahela Valley (Including Cheat Valley)		
1.	Dec. 11, 1787	Randolph Academy	Clarksburg	Harrison
2.	1801	Mount Carmel School	West Union	Preston
3.	Nov. 29, 1814	Monongalia Academy	Morgantown	Monongalia
4.	March 23, 1831	Morgantown Female Seminary	Morgantown	Monongalia
5.	March 28, 1838	Western Va. Educ. Society	Pruntytown	Taylor
6.	Jan. 30, 1839	Morgantown Female Academy	Morgantown	Monongalia
7.	Jan. 2, 1841	Preston Academy	Kingwood	Preston
8.	Feb. 14, 1842	Rector College	Pruntytown	Taylor
9.	March 26, 1842	Northwest Academy	Clarksburg	Harrison
10.	1843	Brandonville Academy		Preston
11.	Jan. 18, 1844	Weston Academy		Lewis
12.	Feb. 1, 1847	Male and Female Academy	Buckhannon	Upshur
13.	March 20, 1847	Lewis County Seminary	Weston	Lewis
14.	March 16, 1850	Jane Lew Academy		Lewis
15.	Feb. 17, 1852	Fairmont Academy		Marion
16.	March 12, 1856	Fairmont Male and Female Seminary		Marion
17.	Jan. 4, 1858	Woodburn Female Seminary	Morgantown	Monongalia
		3. Along the Ohio River		
1.	Jan. 10, 1797	Brooke Academy	Wellsburg	Brooke
2.	Oct. 10, 1814	Lancasterian Academy	Wheeling	Ohio
3.	Jan. 30, 1827	Tyler Academy	Middlebourne	Tyler
4.	Feb. 21, 1827	Wheeling Academy		Ohio
5.	March 20, 1837	West Liberty Academy		Ohio
6.	Jan. 18, 1837	Buckhead and Wells Academy	Sistersville	Tyler
7.	April 5, 1838	Parkersburg Academy Ass'n		Wood
8.	April 6, 1839	Cove Academy	Holiday's Cove	Hancock
9.	Oct. 1840	Bethany College		Brooke
10.	Feb. 8, 1842	Asbury Academy	Parkersburg	Wood
11.	March 19, 1847	Marshall Academy	Moundsville	Marshall
12.	Jan. 24, 1848	Wheeling Female Seminary	Wheeling	Ohio
13.	March 14, 1850	Academy of the Visitation	Wheeling	Ohio
14.	March 17, 1851	Wellsburg Female Academy		Brooke
15.	March 21, 1851	Meade Collegiate Institute	Parkersburg	Wood
16.	April 12, 1852	Wheeling Female Seminary		Ohio
17.	April 16, 1852	West Union Academy		Doddridge
18.	March 18, 1861	Parkersburg Classical and Scientific Institute		Wood
19.	March 13, 1838	Marshall Academy	Guyandotte	Cabell
20.	Feb. 21, 1853	Logan Institute	Logan Court House	
21.	Feb. 28, 1856	Polytechnic College	Aracoma	Logan
		4. In the Kanawha Valley (including Greenbrier Valley)		
1.	1812	Lewisburg Academy		Greenbrier
2.	Nov. 29, 1818	Mercer Academy	Charleston	Kanawha
3.	Jan. 27, 1820	Union Academy		Monroe
4.	April 15, 1832	Red Sulphur Seminary		Monroe
5.	Feb. 14, 1842	Little Levels Academy	Hillsboro	Pocahontas
6.	March 26, 1842	Greenbank Academy		Pocahontas
7.	March 16, 1849	Buffalo Academy		Putnam
8.	Jan. 7, 1856	Ashton Academy	Mercer's Bottom	Mason
9.	Feb. 26, 1856	Pt. Pleasant Academy		Mason
10.	April 7, 1858	Lewisburg Female Institute		Greenbrier
11.	Feb. 27, 1860	Levelton Male and Female College	Hillsboro	Pocahontas
12.	March 28, 1860	Union College	Union	Monroe

All of these academies and seminaries named, did valuable work in shaping the educational work in the state. All of them did not have long existences, and some are not nearly so important as others.

The first academy in the eastern panhandle, and indeed in the present state of West Virginia, was the Shepherdstown Academy. It is not known accurately at what date this institution was incorporated, but it is believed to be about 1785. At first it was a Presbyterian school. It gave instruction in the classics, and prepared boys for higher educational institutions. It did nearly a hundred years of educational work, and was an important factor in the educational life of that section of the state.

Charlestown Academy was long a center of learning in Jefferson county, and prepared young men to enter William and Mary College, and other institutions of a high order. In the Martinsburg Gazette, of January 10, 1812, Obed White, and David Hunter, trustees, advertised the Martinsburg Academy as a school of very high order. The Seymour Academy, incorporated in 1832, was long the pride of Moorefield and the upper South Branch valley.

The Potomac Seminary—now the Potomac Academy—still continues its good work begun at Romney fifty-seven years ago. In 1819, the Romney Literary Society was organized. It is the oldest in the state and there are very few older in the United States. There were never more than fifty-two members enrolled, and the average attendance at meetings was about seventeen. Philosophical questions were the subjects of debates, and the society always decided one way or the other on the debated subject. In 1819, two books were bought—"Plutarch's Lives of Illustrious Men," and "Vattel's Laws of Nations." This was the humble beginning of a splendid library accumulated during the next forty years, but almost destroyed during the Civil war.

On January 6, 1832, the assembly voted to appropriate $20,000 (to be raised by lottery) for the Romney Literary Society to be expended in educational purposes. Large sums of this were paid for books, a building was erected, and much financial support given to Potomac Academy. In 1844 the society was authorized to contribute the balance of this money to the Romney Academy. In September, 1849, the society prepared a code and a system of by-laws for the government of the classical institute. Both the institute and the literary society flourished until the beginning of the Civil war. The disastrous four years, 1861-65, brought ruin to many a southern enterprise, and the institutions in Romney were among those destroyed.

In the Monongahela river region, the Randolph Academy at Clarksburg, Harrison county, was the first institution of higher education founded. It was chartered by an Act of the General Assembly passed December 31, 1787, and provided for a meeting to be held at Morgantown to "fix upon some healthy and convenient place within one of the counties of Ohio, Monogalia, Harrison and Randolph for the purpose of erecting therein the necessary buildings for the said academy." After some delay, the committee met, and selected Clarksburg as the seat of the new institution, the first of its kind west of the Allegheny mountains. It had among its first board of twenty-eight trustees, Edmund Randolph, Benjamin Harrison, George Mason, and Patrick Henry.

In the fall of 1795, the academy finally opened its doors for pupils, under the supervision of the Rev. George Towers, a Presbyterian minister, a native of England and a graduate of Oxford University, who is described in the advertisement of the trustees as a "Gentleman of undoubted character and abilities, who has engaged to teach the Latin and Greek languages, the English grammatically, arithmetic and geography." As part of its revenues it received one-eighth of the surveyors' fees of the counties of Harrison, Monongalia, Ohio and Randolph, which sums had formerly been paid to the support of the college of William and Mary. Its work extended over a period of more than fifty years, and among its teachers in 1830-40 was Francis H. Pierpoint, afterwards governor of West Virginia under the reorganized government. Its first principal taught for twenty years within its walls.

The Mount Carmel School, in Preston county, after doing forty-eight years work, lost its building by fire, and was then removed to another community.

The Monongalia Academy was for many years the most flourishing institution of learning on the banks of the Monongahela. For years it educated boys and young men in the higher branches of learning, and was a great source of pride to the people of that locality, who indeed were people of some culture and refinement, and had retained their literary taste. In 1867, its property, together with that of Woodburn

Seminary, valued at $51,000, was donated to the state by the people of Morgantown, in consideration of the location of the university at that place.

Morgantown also took an interest in the education of girls, for in 1831, the Morgantown Female Seminary was established, which continued to be prosperous for many years.

The Western Virginia Educational Society, incorporated March 28, 1839, at Pruntytown, Taylor county, was afterwards changed to Rector College, an educational institution of the Baptist denomination.

Preston Academy began its work in the early forties under the administration of Dr. Alexander Martin, who afterwards became the first president of West Virginia University and it was long a power for good.

Clarksburg, in 1843, again became the seat of an important institution of learning, when the Northwestern Virginia Academy was built. It was located not far from the Randolph buildings, and after 1863 was used as the public school building. A board of trustees, authorized by the assembly, had the building constructed, the expenses being raised by a general subscription of money and donations of lumber and other building materials. It was then turned over to the Methodist Episcopal Church Conference to conduct the school. The first principal was the distinguished Gordon Battelle and the first session opened for pupils October 1, 1843. Mr. Battelle, a man of recognized ability, continued in charge for about twelve years, when he was succeeded by Dr. Alexander Martin. The last to hold the position was R. A. Arthur, before the Civil war. The enterprise was quite successful in giving advantages of a higher education than had ever before been offered to the youth of Clarksburg and surrounding communities. During the Civil war it was occupied by government use; afterwards it was used for private schools and finally turned over to the public school system.

The Fairmont Academy, and the Fairmont Male and Female Seminary did thorough work, and paved the way for the location of the Branch of the State Normal School at that place. The Male and Female Academy at Buckhannon did much to create the splendid educational sentiment which for a half century has prevailed in that locality. The Lewis County Academy was so successful that after ten years its name was changed, and it was by act of the assembly erected into Weston College.

In the upper panhandle, the first academy was at Wellsburg, and was known as the Brooke Academy. It began its work in 1778—twenty-two years before the date of its incorporation—and was the earliest institution of learning on the Ohio river south of Pittsburgh. In 1843 it had a president, four members in its faculty, and a hundred students. After a successful career of more than half a century, it was merged in 1852 into Meade Collegiate Institute.

In the will of Noah Linsly, "The founder of the Lancasterian Academy, the Friend of Youth, and the Benefactor of Mankind," provision was made for the establishment and maintenance of a school in Wheeling on what was known as the "Lancasterian" system to be free to such poor white children as the trustees might think worthy. A charter for the institution was obtained in 1814, which was the first ever granted in a slave state for the free education of the poor.

The "Lancasterian" method of teaching is somewhat similar to the "object method" of the present day. The subjects taught in this school, by this method, were the fundamental subjects only, but the results were very excellent, and interesting. The principal peculiarity of the system consisted in making teachers of the more advanced pupils under the name of "monitors," and providing them with classes: Some at the door or window supervising the whole group, and keep order by means of his long rod, or small pebbles which he threw at unruly or lazy pupils.

The Wheeling Female Institute was chartered in 1848, and was "a

highly interesting and important institution, at once the pride of our city, and gratifying privilege of our state, incorporated with collegiate powers and privileges by the legislature."

Bethany College was founded in 1841 by Alexander Campbell, a distinguished scholar and a devoted Christian. Under the name of Buffalo Academy, it did eighteen years of work before being erected into a college. By an act of the Assembly in 1849, it was provided that scholarships might be created in this institution. The college, because of the popularity of its founder, and the public confidence in his wisdom as an educator, was filled at its very opening to its utmost capacity. It was supported partly by endowments, and partly by tuition fees. It "virtually belongs to the Christian church, yet in its conduct the peculiar views of this body are neither insisted upon nor taught."

In 1843 Henry Howe, the historian, founded a flourishing academy at Holiday's Cove, in Brooke county. The Meade Collegiate Institute was removed from Parkersburg to Wellsburg, where it became the successor of Brooke Academy and did good work. The West Union Academy, in Doddridge county, only continued for eight years, and the property was then sold by its board of trustees.

In the southern part of western Virginia, the academies were not established as early as in other parts of the state. The earliest one was Lewisburg Academy, incorporated in 1812. Its founder was the Rev. Dr. McElhenny, who came to Lewisburg as a minister in 1808, and for sixty-three years was active as pastor of the old stone church. He opened a classical school upon his arrival, and this later developed into the Lewisburg Academy. For forty-eight years after its incorporation, Doctor McElhenny was intimately connected with its work. Many of the great men of the state owe their success to the old Lewisburg Academy.

In 1858 the Lewisburg Female Institute was incorporated and for fifty years it has been engaged in the training of young ladies and has become quite a famous school.

Mercer Academy, incorporated in 1818, at Charleston, did more than all things else to mold the educational sentiment of the great Kanawha valley a century ago, and forty-six years of successful work is to be placed to its credit.

For many years the Red Sulphur Seminary, in Monroe county, did splendid educational work. The curriculum embraced the ancient languages and mathematics. William Buck, principal, and James McCauley, assistant, continued in the service of this institution for many years, and contributed much to its success.

Hillsboro, in Pocahontas county, was the seat of two old academies. The Little Levels Academy was incorporated in 1842 and in 1860, the Levelton Male and Female College began its existence, which was a very short-lived one. The former continued in operation for eighteen years, when its property was transferred to the Board of Education under the Free School System. It was of great importance in the educational development among the mountains and valleys of Pocahontas county.

Thus we see the principal academies of the period before the Civil war. There were many others which had brief lives. Many were started from very early times. They all furnished preparation for college entrance, and hundreds of young men have gone forth from them to higher institutions of learning. Those leaving the academies of the eastern panhandle and Greenbrier section, went either to the University of Virginia, at Charlottesville, or to Washington College at Lexington. From the northern part of the state, some went to Uniontown College, or Washington College, Pennsylvania. From the great Kanawha valley, and the counties lying along the Ohio river others went to the Ohio University at Athens.

Comparatively few of the young men who entered higher institutions went to Virginia schools. There was a strong antagonism against

the schools of higher learning in Virginia, felt by the people of western Virginia. All appropriations made to the university, or to the military schools, were bitterly begrudged by the western Virginians. The representatives of the counties lying west of the mountains used their influence to prohibit these appropriations, but were not always successful. The strong sentiment felt by the westerners for public schools resented any aid given to any other kinds of schools. Jefferson's belief that the education of the masses in the common branches was better than the high development of a few, was shared by many.

The attitude of Governor Berkeley when he said that common education was a curse and hoped it would never come to his state for hundreds of years was not tolerated by the hardy settlers who pushed westward over the mountains. The sentiments of the Scotch-Irish, and the New Englanders who came in great numbers during the period of immigration, soon overbalanced that of the colonial Virginians.

Thus, although no state aid of any considerable amount was given, and, hindered as they were by the limited amount of money from personal subscriptions, schools did flourish in western Virginia. The spirit of antagonism felt against the charity schools, and the provisions of the Literary Fund, created a sentiment against free education in many localities. This, however, was gradually overcome, as the advantages of universal free education were expounded by the advocators of public schools.

Although the question of free schools was not the main cause of the separation of western Virginia from the mother state, it was a contributing factor in the formation of the new state in 1863. In separating from Virginia, and in the formation of a new state, West Virginians found the opportunity for which they had long sought, and one of the first acts of the new commonwealth was the establishment of a free school system, in accordance with the provisions of the constitution of 1863.

SCHOOL STATISTICS, COMPILED FROM THE CENSUS OF 1850

COUNTIES	Colleges				Public Schools				Academies			
	Number	Number Teachers	Number Pupils	Total Income	Number	Number Teachers	Number Pupils	Total Income	Number	Number Teachers	Number Pupils	Total Income
Barbour					56	56	546	$ 570				
Berkeley					22	22	550	827	4	4	102	$7,363
Boone					7	7	171	586				
Brooke	1	5	130	$7,500	2	2	60		1	2	73	970
Cabell					11	11	374	2,020	1	1	20	300
Doddridge					16	16	115	160				
Fayette					5	6	96	569				
Gilmer					18	18	159	954				
Greenbrier					60	60	900	729	1	1	30	600
Hampshire					50	50	1,500	5,500	2	8	145	3,230
Hancock					5	13	360	1,000	1	1	25	400
Hardy					38	38	622	530	3	3	57	38
Harrison					71	71	330	820	1	2	60	900
Jackson					45	45	1,350	250				
Jefferson					27	27	1,000	7,628	7	10	165	
Kanawha					65	65	1,500	3,933	6	6	162	3,823
Lewis					47	47	1,602	500				
Logan					10	10	175	640				
Marion					34	34	720	790				
Marshall					25	25	700	1,180	1	3	60	1,080
Mason					31	31	1,150	527				
Mercer					22	20	400	800				
Monongalia					34	34	907	2,139	2	6	109	3,334
Monroe					26	26	498	3,452	1	3	75	888
Morgan					22	22	645	411				
Nicholas					17	17	189	230				
Ohio					33	46	3,529	24,247	7	20	400	5,265
Pendleton					16	16	225					
Pocahontas					10	10	200		1	2	40	
Preston					42	42	840	675	2	3	70	600
Putnam					4	4	115	1,090	1	1		1,600
Randolph					16	16	380	750				
Ritchie					18	18	376	196				
Taylor	1	2	100	500								
Tyler					5	5	145	381				
Wayne					11	11	203	472				
Wetzel					2	2	78	20				
Wirt					30	30	600	1,074				
Wood					17	17	293	82	2	5	130	10

ILLITERACY—1850
NUMBER OF ADULTS WHO COULD NEITHER READ NOR WRITE

County	White			Colored			Native	Foreign	Aggregate
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total			
Hampshire	546	645	1,191	50	40	90	1,281	...	1,281
Berkeley	177	203	380	45	31	76	456	...	456
Monongalia	343	861	1,204	7	4	11	1,208	7	1,215
Ohio	102	43	145	...	...	...	86	59	145
Greenbrier	278	581	859	...	...	...	846	13	859
Harrison	78	228	306	...	...	...	306	...	306
Hardy	355	655	1,010	55	58	113	1,123	...	1,123
Randolph	185	416	601	...	...	...	591	10	601
Pendleton	379	752	1,131	9	6	15	1,120	26	1,146
Kanawha	680	912	1,592	33	25	58	1,647	3	1,650
Brooke	89	127	216	22	14	36	209	43	252
Wood	111	140	251	22	22	44	293	2	295
Monroe	316	564	880	...	...	...	878	2	880
Jefferson	178	266	444	...	...	...	415	29	444
Mason	410	584	994	...	...	...	994	...	994
Cabell	245	398	643	3	2	5	647	1	648
Tyler	210	368	578	...	...	...	570	8	578
Lewis	325	758	1,083	...	...	...	1,072	11	1,083
Nicholas	26	26	52	...	...	...	52	...	52
Preston	386	460	846	5	8	13	700	159	859
Morgan	175	261	436	...	...	...	405	31	436
Pochahontas	34	66	100	...	...	...	100	...	100
Logan	275	402	677	...	...	...	677	...	677
Jackson	323	534	857	3	1	4	845	16	861
Fayette	138	231	369	1	2	3	370	2	372
Marshall	390	641	1,031	...	...	...	1,007	24	1,031
Braxton	121	195	316	...	...	...	315	1	316
Mercer	211	367	578	...	...	...	576	2	578
Marion	366	809	1,175	2	3	5	1,177	3	1,180
Wayne	199	294	493	2	1	3	496	...	496
Ritchie	102	205	307	...	...	...	304	3	307
Taylor	51	56	107	4	1	5	112	...	112
Doddridge	103	196	299	...	...	...	299	...	299
Gilmer	152	175	327	...	...	...	327	...	327
Wetzel	227	406	633	...	...	...	633	...	633
Boone	219	332	551	...	...	...	548	3	551
Putnam	350	488	838	...	4	4	840	2	842
Wirt	33	32	65	...	1	1	65	1	66
Hancock	55	128	183	...	...	...	158	25	183
Raleigh	49	53	102	...	...	...	102	...	102
Wyoming	111	166	277	...	...	...	277	...	277

LIBRARIES (OTHER THAN PRIVATE) 1850

County	No.	Vols.	Kind
Brooke	2	3,000	College
Cabell	1	300	Public
Hampshire	1	1,000	Public
Marshall	1	600	Sunday School
Marshall	1	110	Church
Monongalia	1	150	School
Taylor	1	2,500	College
Wayne	2	75	Public
Wetzel	1	100	Sunday School

CHAPTER XIX

RISE OF LOCAL NEWSPAPERS

The rise and progress of newspapers is an index and measure of the advance of civilization and has a close relation to the character of the people in the region of publication or the region of subscription and distribution.

In Old Virginia the appearance of newspapers was retarded by a spirit of aristocratic conservative gubernatorial prejudice illustrated by the pious opposition of Governor Berkeley to free schools and printing and based upon Berkeley's expression that "learning has brought disobedience and heresy and sects into the world, and printing has divulged them and libels against the government." In spite of Berkeley's hope that Virginia would have no printing (and no free schools) for a hundred years—a hope which he expressed about thirty years after the importation of the first printing press into Massachusetts, the printers devil reached the Old Dominion long before the expiration of the century of respite for which the Governor so piously prayed. He found himself restricted, however. In 1681, when an adventurous spirit, John Buckner, imported a printing press into Virginia, he was ordered to appear before the Governor and council and required to enter into bond "not to print anything hereafter until His Majesty's pleasure shall be known." In 1683 the Governor obtained a royal prohibition order "not to allow any person to use a printing press in the colony on any occasion whatsoever." The devil, aided by the power of example in other colonies, and first using Maryland as a safe base of negotiations, was finally successful. William Parks, who published the *Maryland Gazette* (established 1727) at Annapolis, Maryland, was first appointed "printer to the Colony of Virginia" at a salary of 200 pounds a year and soon thereafter was allowed to open at Williamsburg a printing office and to print Virginia's first newspaper, *The Virginia Gazette*, established in 1736 only a half century before the appearance of the first newspaper beyond the Blue Ridge in the Shenandoah Valley. *The Virginia Gazette* was evidently considerably "subject to the powers that be." After the death of Mr. Parks in 1750, it suspended publication for a few months, but was revived in 1751 by William Hunter and apparently survived until the Revolution. Its subserviency to the British crown in editorial policy made it unpopular with many of the colonists, and in 1766 resulted in the establishment of a competitor, a new *Gazette* which became the medium of publication for articles unfavorable to the colonial government. After 1776 the number of newspapers increased.

As one might naturally expect, the first newspaper in territory now a part of West Virginia appeared in the eastern panhandle. It was established in 1789 or 1790. The first newspaper in the trans-Allegheny region appeared in the Monongahela valley in 1803. The first on the Ohio appeared in 1807 and the first on the Kanawha appeared by 1820.

Of the total twenty-three newspapers[1] published in Virginia in

[1] The following list of Virginia newspapers for 1810 is given by Thomas:

(Name of Paper)	(Place of Publication)	(Politics)
Virginia Patriot	Richmond	Federalist
Enquirer	Richmond	Republican
Virginia Argus	Richmond	Federalist
Norfolk Gazette	Norfolk	Federalist
Norfolk Herald	Norfolk	Neutral

1810 (according to Thomas' History of Printing) the only two published in territory now included in West Virginia were the *Monongalia Gazette* (published at Morgantown) and the *Farmers' Repository* (published at Charlestown). Several of the earlier papers soon succumbed to the vicissitudes which have ever beset the business.

The first newspaper published within the territory of West Virginia was started either at Shepherdstown or at Martinsburg about 1790. According to tradition, verified in part at least by references appearing in old letters and in files of *The Virginia Sentinel* (printed at Winchester, Virginia) for 1792 and 1793, the *Potomac Guardian* was started at Shepherdstown in the latter part of 1790 (about three years after the establishment of the Winchester *Sentinel News,* which apparently was the first local newspaper in the Shenandoah valley), by Nathaniel Willis and according to later evidence was still published in September 1798 (No. 406) apparently by Mr. Willis and probably at Shepherdstown.

The first newspaper at Martinsburg was *The Potomac Guardian and Berkeley Advertiser,* the motto of which was "Where Liberty dwells, there is my country." Apparently it was started in 1789 or 1790 and may have appeared first at Shepherdstown under the shorter title *The Potomac Guardian* edited for a time by Nathaniel Willis (grandfather of the well-known writer N. P. Willis). Anyhow by April 3, 1792 (Vol. II, No. 75) it was published at Martinsburg, its size was 9x15 inches, and its editor and publisher was Dr. Robert Henry, a physician practicing in Berkeley county after his arrival there in 1792. According to the testimony of Moses Hunter and Philip Pendleton, two highly esteemed citizens of Martinsburg, Dr. Henry was a man of excellent character. The little sheet, a copy of which is preserved in the Capitol at Richmond, Virginia, is illustrative of the newspaper of its time.[2]

The next newspaper published in the eastern panhandle was the *Martinsburg Gazette* established in May, 1799, by Nathaniel Willis, who had moved from Shepherdstown and soon thereafter emigrated to Ohio and for a time published a paper at Chillicothe. Its earliest issues were crowded with an astonishing amount of interesting news—an evidence of the industry and enterprising spirit of the publishers. During the war of 1812 it published with surprising quickness the events occurring on the northwestern frontier. Mrs. Mabel Henshaw Gardiner, who has for several years been interested in the study of old newspapers of the eastern panhandle, states that the *Gazette* was sold in December, 1813, to John Alburtis who had started the publication of *The Berkeley and Jefferson County Intelligencer and Northern Neck Advertiser* at Martinsburg in the year 1800 and possibly earlier, as the issue of July 9, 1802, was No. 15 of Vol. 4. Aler in his history of Martinsburg and

(Name of Paper)	(Place of Publication)	(Politics)
Petersburg Intelligencer	Petersburg	Republican
Republican	Petersburg	Republican
Virginia Herald	Fredericksburg	Federalist
Republican Constitution	Winchester	Republican
Sentinel	Winchester	Federalist
Winchester Gazette	Winchester	Federalist
Democratic Lamp	Winchester	Republican
Lynchburg Star	Lynchburg	Republican
Lynchburg Press	Lynchburg	Republican
Staunton Eagle	Staunton	Republican
Republican Farmer	Staunton	Republican
Washingtonian	Leesburg	Federalist
Republican Press	Leesburg	Republican
Republican Luminary	Wythe C. H.	Republican
Holstein Intelligencer	Abingdon	Republican
Virginia Telegraph	Lexington	Federalist
Monongalia Gazette	Morgantown	Republican
Farmer's Repository	Charlestown	Republican

The most important of these papers was the *Richmond Enquirer* established in 1804 by Ritchie and Warsley and edited for over forty years by Thomas Ritchie who has sometimes been regarded as the father of Virginia journalism.

[2] See "Calendar of Virginia State Papers," Vol. V. p. 483.

Berkeley county states that Alburtis became editor and proprietor of the *Gazette* in January, 1811, and continued its publication until October 25, 1822, when he was succeeded by Washington Evans.

On April 1, 1808, the *Farmers' Repository,* the first agricultural paper west of the Blue Ridge printed by William Richard Brown, was begun at Charlestown. It published considerable Shepherdstown news. Later, February 28, 1827, it was merged into the *Virginia Free Press,* founded in 1821 and published by J. S. and H. N. Gallaher (published at Harper's Ferry by February, 1837).

In 1816, about seventeen years after the disappearance of Shepherdstown's first newspaper, the *American Eagle* began its flight there, first under the editorship of a Mr. Snyder and later under direction of Robinson and Harper. In 1820 it was succeeded by the *Virginia Monitor,* printed by Edward Bell. *The Journal,* which appeared at Shepherdstown in 1823, was probably published by John Alburtis for a short time. In 1824 the *Shepherdstown Gazette* was started by Alburtis, who had moved from Martinsburg.

In the same year (February 14), a weekly miscellaneous (literary) paper, *The Ladies' Garland* was started at Harpers Ferry under the editorial direction of John S. Gallaher.

The *Potomac Pioneer,* published at Shepherdstown in 1830 by W. and G. R. Weber, was later succeeded by the *Informer and Weekly.*

The *Virginia Republican* was established at Martinsburg apparently early in 1841 (its issue of February 17, 1847, being No. 8 of Vol. 6) and in August 18, 1855, became the property of Israel Robinson who proposed to continue it as a Democratic paper.

The *Spirit of Jefferson* was established at Charlestown in 1844 by James W. Beller. Following the destruction of its old office by fire in 1853, and the construction of a new office, it passed to the control of Lucas and Donavain, and later its control passed to a Mr. Douglas and Benjamin F. Beall—the latter owning it until 1869.

The *Shepherdstown Register,* owned and edited by Hardy and McAuly, first appeared on December 4, 1849. In January, 1850, it was published by McAuly and Entler, and in November, 1853, it was purchased by John H. Zittle from J. T. H. Bringman. It quite suddenly and unceremoniously suspended publication on June 15, 1861, but resumed publication four years later (on July 15, 1865), following the close of the Civil war.

The *Berkeley Union* founded in 1861, and a later paper, *The New Era* (established in 1866), were consolidated into the *Martinsburg Independent* in 1872.

Although Hampshire county had no newspaper as early as one might expect, it never suffered from a series of experiments in starting newspapers which soon perished. The first paper in the county was probably the *Hampshire and Hardy Intelligencer,* established in 1830 (possibly in 1828) by William Harper. It had no competitor nearer than Cumberland. In a short time its name was changed to *The South Branch Intelligencer,* a name which was continued for two generations. It was an advocate of the Whig party until the Civil war but supported the Democratic party after the war. By 1850 *The Intelligencer* was much improved in size, appearance and make-up. It advertised two schools of academic grades, indicating that educational advancement was keeping pace with material progress. By 1852 additional improvement was evident making the paper much more like a modern local paper. After the death of Mr. Harper in 1887 the paper was managed by his widow until 1890 when she sold it to a stock company. It did not cease publication until January, 1897, when it was bought by John J. Cornwell who consolidated it with the *Hampshire Review.*

The *Virginia Argus,* a Democratic paper, was established at Romney in July, 1850, and published intermittently until the Civil war. Its founder, A. S. Trowbridge, who at one time had been a teacher at New Orleans did not meet with as much success as he had expected. From him the paper was purchased in 1857 by Samuel R. Smith and

John G. Combs, who after managing it for about four years sold it to William Parsons. A few months later Mr. Parsons sold it to Colonel Alexander Monroe and Job N. Cookus, who continued as editors and proprietors until the first year of the Civil war, when they decided to leave the noise of the printing press for experience on the field of battle. During the war the plant of the *Argus* was destroyed by Federal soldiers. The paper was never revived.

The first paper published in Monongalia county (1803) was also the first published in the State west of the Allegheny Mountains. The following is a list of the papers known to have been published in the county before the Civil War:

Name of Paper	Date of First Issue
Monongalia Gazette and Morgantown Advertiser	(probably) Jan., 1803
Monongalia Gazette	1810
The Morgantown Spectator	October, 1815
The Monongalia Herald	December 24, 1820
The Northwestern Journal	1822
Monongalia Chronicle	1825
The Monongalia Farmer	1828
The Republican	March, 1829
The Monongalian	January, 1831
Democratic Republican	February, 1835
The Democratic Watchtower	1842
The Virginia Shield	1843
The Northwestern Journal	1843
The Mountaineer	1845
Western Virginia Standard	February, 1846
The Monongalian	1849
The Monongalia Mirror	August, 1849
The Jeffersonian	1849
The Mountain Messenger	1852
The Democratic Republican	August, 1852
The Album	1854
American Union	June, 1855
The Morgantown Telegraph	1855
Virginia Weekly Star	August, 1856
West Virginia Herald	1862
The Morgantown Monitor	1863
The Morgantown Weekly Post	March, 1864

A copy of the *Monongalia Gazette and Morgantown Advertiser* for June 23, 1804 (No. 25), indicates that the publisher was Campbell and Britton. The issue of January 17, 1806 (No. 158), has the heading "the *Monongalia Gazette*" (published by J. Campbell). The editor, Joseph Campbell, was born in Ireland, learned the printer's trade in Philadelphia, and after publishing the *Gazette* served as sheriff and coroner of the county and finally removed to Marion county where he died in 1850 at the age of seventy. His co-partner for a time was Forbis Britton. According to the *Morgantown Post* of November 19, 1870, *The Gazette* was published in August, 1810, by John Osborn Laidley. *The Monongalia Spectator* which was started in October, 1815, was published by William McGranahan & Co. In April, 1819, the publishers were William McGranahan, Nicholas B. Madera and Ralph Berkshire. Apparently the paper was discontinued in 1819. "Regularly, once a week, on the day the paper was struck off, McGranahan called on 'Uncle Nick' (Nicholas B. Madera) for money to buy whiskey to thin the printing ink. For a long time it was cheerfully furnished, until one day 'Uncle Nick' concluded to visit the office, and see how things were getting on, when his righteous soul was greatly vexed within him, to find his working partner lying under the printing press dead drunk."

The first issue of the *Monongalia Herald*, edited and printed by James M. Barbour and Wm. Barbour, appeared on December 24, 1820. It announced that wheat, rye, oats, corn, flax, linen, lindsey, wool, tow, bacon, sugar, tallow, beeswax and rags were received on subscriptions. It was published as late as July, 1821, but no copies of a later date are known. It contained very little home news, except what could be found in quaint advertisements.

The only information in regard to the old *Northwestern Journal* is the later description of a copy dated May 11, 1822, when it was published by N. B. Madera and James Barbour.

The Monongalia Chronicle was started in 1825 by Henry & Carpenter, who accepted flax, beeswax, wool, feathers, tallow and corn in payment for subscriptions. From January 19, 1828, it was continued by Carpenter and William Thompson until February 16, 1828, when Carpenter left the firm. The latest issue known is that of September 25, 1828.

The Monongalia Farmer was started about 1828 by Francis Madera and Enos D. Morgan, son of Captain Zackwell Morgan. On March 28, 1829, Morgan started *The Republican* which in the following October was changed to *The Republican and Preston and Monongalia Advertiser,* published by Morgan and Dunnington and continuing as late as July 10, 1830. In February, 1835, Morgan started the *Democratic Republican* with the press of *The Farmer* which he bought in 1834. It appears that Morgan changed politics in 1840 and thereafter conducted the *Democratic Republican* as a Whig paper until its publication ceased in 1842. In the fall of 1843 Morgan bought the press of the *Silk Culturist* at Brandonville (in Preston county) and started *The Northwestern Journal,* the publication of which was continued until 1845. Meantime *The Democratic Watchtower* had been projected about 1842 by Joseph H. Powell and a man named Treadwell, who by getting on a drunken spree about the time the first number was ready to go to press caused the death of the paper before its birth. About 1843, a Democratic paper, *The Virginia Shield,* was edited by Powell. Another Democratic paper, *The Mountaineer,* was published in 1845 by Andrew McDonald and Boaz B. Tibbs on a rented press of *The Northwestern Journal,* but probably continued for only about a year. *The Western Virginia Standard,* a Whig paper which first appeared on February 14, 1846, under the editorship of George S. Ray, was also printed on the press of *The Northwestern Journal,* and continued to be published until about 1849. Apparently a paper named *The Monongalian* was published in 1849 by George S. Ray, but evidently its life was short. *The Jeffersonian* was started by John Beck in 1849, but probably its life was limited to one issue. *The Monongalia Mirror,* published and edited by Rev. Simeon Siegfried was an independent in politics. It first appeared on August 11, 1849, and was printed on the press of *The Northwestern Journal.* Apparently its publication ceased on June 23, 1855. Its editor was a minister in the Baptist Church, had followed printing thirty-three years before he came to Morgantown from Pennsylvania, and was a great advocate of temperance. About 1852, he also started in the interest of his denomination a religious paper, *The Mountain Messenger, or Baptist Recorder,* which was continued for a year or two. The *Democratic Republican,* a Democratic paper published and edited by George M. Howard and B. F. Beall, first appeared in August, 1852, and it probably continued until 1855. It was printed on the first iron press ever used in the county.

The *American Union,* an American (Know Nothing) advocate, published and edited by Simeon Siegfried, Jr., first appeared on June 30, 1855. *The Album,* devoted to the interest of the Odd Fellows, was issued in 1854 by Mr. Siegfried, but was published only for a short time.

The Morgantown Telegraph, a Democratic paper published in 1855 by John W. Woody and John M. Coil, was continued for only a few months. *The Virginia Campaign Star,* edited and owned by Marshall M. Dent, first appeared on March 9, 1856, as an organ of the Democratic party. In the following November, after the election, the word "*Campaign*" was dropped from its title, and later the word "*Weekly*" was added. In 1860 the *Star* supported the Douglas wing of the Democratic party, and after January 4, 1862, its publication ceased.

The West Virginia Herald was projected in 1862 by Joseph H. Powell and W. T. Mathers, but only a few numbers were issued. In February, 1863, *The Morgantown Monitor* was started by two young

men (too young to vote), George C. Sturgiss and William P. Willey, with the idea of making it a conservative paper, and especially with plans to stop the war, but its publication ceased at the end of the first year, probably for want of financial aid, but also because its conservative policy had no hope of popular favor after Lincoln's emancipation proclamation. Judge Berkshire referred to the *Monitor* as "a gun boat that shot blank cartridges." Incomplete files of the paper are preserved in the Department of Archives at Charleston.

The Morgantown Weekly Post, the first Republican paper in the county, was not established until March 12, 1864. It was established by Henry M. Morgan, a son of Enos D. Morgan, and after a suspension of about two months in 1865 it was started again on May 20, 1865, by Mr. Morgan and Nelson N. Hoffman under the additional title *Monongalia and Preston County Gazette* which was dropped June 2, 1866, leaving the original title, *The Morgantown Weekly Post.*

In Preston county local journalism had an unusual beginning. On a hill one mile south of Brandonville, on the Mount Pleasant Farm in a two-story log house built in 1804, a periodical monthly magazine named *Mount Pleasant Silk Culturist and Farmers' Manual,* devoted to the growth and manufacture of silk and beet sugar, was started in June, 1839, by the firm of Alter and Miller. It stimulated temporary interest in the mulberry tree and silk worms, but ceased at the end of one year, possibly in part because of the high rates of postage of which it complained. Its successor was a local newspaper, the *Mount Pleasant Democrat or Preston County Democrat,* which first appeared in 1840 under the management of Alter and Miller, and notwithstanding its title was an advocate of the Whig party. It died early.

The next publication in the county was the *Fellowsville Democrat* which was started on May 10, 1848, by Sylvanus Hermans, the energetic founder of Fellowsville. It was also Whig in politics. Its life was also short (two or three years). Its death was probably due to the decline of the town, which resulted from diversion of its business to the newly-created villages on the route of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. For about a year it had a rival, the *Preston County Herald* (an advocate of the Democratic party) which was started in 1849 by Lewis and Thorpe and under the editorship of E. S. M. Hill. It probably existed for little more than a year. After a vacant interval of about eight years, another Democratic paper appeared in the county. It was started at Kingwood on June 11, 1858, by D. B. Overholt, and it died about two years later. From 1860 to 1866 when the *Preston County Journal* was started, the county had no newspaper.

Probably the first newspaper published in Clarksburg was the *Bystander,* which apparently was established in 1810 (No. 45 of Vol. 1 was issued on June 8, 1811). A. and F. Britton were the publishers. Many other newspapers were published at Clarksburg before 1860, but perhaps the larger number were short lived, and many contained little or no local news. In spite of the large number of failures of newspaper enterprises new editors arose and pushed forward in a new pioneer epoch to succeed in efforts to enlighten the people. In most instances there were no files of the early Clarksburg newspapers and even the names have passed into oblivion. From the records of the Chancery Court which occasionally gives the name of newspapers in connection with the publications of legal notices, one may conclude that the following papers were published at the dates stated:

The Western Virginian, in 1816;
The Republican Compiler, in 1817;
The Independent Virginian, in 1819;
The Clarksburg Gazette, in 1822;
The Rattlesnake, in 1822;
The Clarksburg Intelligencer, in 1823;
The Independent Virginian, in 1824;
The Clarksburg Enquirer, in 1829;
The Western Enquirer, in 1832;
The Countryman, in 1835;

The Clarksburg Democrat, in 1840;
The Clarksburg Whig, in 1840;
The Scion of Democracy, in 1844;
The Harrison Republican, in 1845;
The Age of Progress, in 1855;
The Clarksburg Register, in 1856.

The *Western Enquirer,* begun in 1832, was published by Arthur G. Sparhawk & Co. *The Countryman,* begun in 1835, was published by Philip F. Critchfield. The *Clarksburg Democrat* was published in 1840 by Dr. Benjamin Dolbeare, who had succeeded Philip F. Critchfield. In 1844 it was purchased by Bassel and Harper, who changed the name to the *Scion of Democracy,* which was continued until 1848. The *Clarksburg Whig,* started in 1840 by the Whig party, was published by William McGranaghan. Later the *Harrison Republican* was published by Robert Sommerville (in 1843-48). It was a good weekly paper, although not much attention was given to local affairs. It excelled in mechanical execution, neatness of appearance, literary selections, editorials and arrangement of advertisements. Some time before 1840 a paper called *The Castigator* was published in Clarksburg, but unfortunately no issue has been saved to satisfy the curiosity of those who live in an age of yellow journalism.

Apparently Clarksburg newspapers were placed on a more stable footing in the fifties. The *Age of Progress* was published by Philip F. Critchfield. The *Cooper's Clarksburg Register,* which flourished until the beginning of the Civil war was started by W. P. Cooper, who in 1861 abandoned the pen for the sword under the stars and bars. Charles E. Ringler, who was editor of the *Western Virginia Guard* in 1861, left editorial duties to march under the stars and stripes. Robert S. Northcott, who started the *Telegraph* early in the war, abandoned it later to enter the army, but resumed his publication after the war under the changed name *Telegram.*

It appears that the first newspaper published in Marion county was *The Marion County Pioneer,* owned and edited by Lindsay Boggess, which was first issued in 1840. According to the *Wheeling Argus* of April 20, 1848, a Democratic meeting at the City Hall adopted a resolution commending Dr. Kidwell for trying to establish a Democratic paper in the mountain counties of West Virginia. *The Pioneer* was followed by *The Baptist Recorder,* edited and owned by Dr. W. D. Eyster, and the *Democratic Banner,* established by Daniel S. Morris in 1850. About 1851 the *Banner* was purchased by A. J. O'Bannen and its name was changed, first to *The True Virginian and Trans-Allegheny Advertiser,* and finally to *The True Virginian.* In its number of October 4, 1851, the *True Virginian* gave illustrations of its belief in the exercise to write a free speech. It complained that the mails which were due at eight o'clock P. M. did not usually arrive until ten or eleven P. M., and announced a meeting of the citizens to consider criminal irregularity in mail matters. At the same time it published as a delinquent a man named "John Hoffman, who lived near Ice's Ferry, Monongalia county, Virginia," stating that he "has left without paying, as far as we know, his subscription to this paper." Evidently the editor intended to pursue the delinquent. He said, "We understand he has gone to Baltimore. Will the papers there please copy this."

The first newspaper in Lewis county was the *Weston Sentinel,* a Democratic organ established in 1847 by Benjamin Owen, at one time a foreman in the office of the *New York Tribune* under Horace Greeley. It was suspended in 1853 as a result of a fire which destroyed the office, but it was revived later under the editorial direction of W. D. Tapp, who sold it to F. D. Alfred in 1856, when its name was changed to *The Weston Herald.* The *Herald* which was an apologist for slavery and states' rights, ceased its existence when the Union troops reached Weston.

In Taylor county, the first paper published was *The Vanguard,*

founded and edited by Daniel Morris at Pruntytown, the county seat, in 1846, two years after the creation of the county. It was Whig in politics. As the county was new and the population few and scattering, the venture had a checkered career. It managed to exist with varying success and discouragement until the year 1854 when it suspended publication. It was ably edited and wielded considerable influence even outside the county, but it failed to secure sufficient patronage for its proper support.

The Grafton Sentinel, established in 1855 under the editorial direction of Simeon Seigfreid, was at first Whig in politics; but upon the formation of the Republican party in 1856 it became a strong champion of the new party and in 1860 warmly supported Abraham Lincoln for President. When the ordinance of secession was presented to the Virginia convention, the *Sentinel* suspended publication, probably because of the general uncertainty of business at that exciting period.

The Western Virginian was established at Grafton under the editorship of George R. Latham in the spring of 1860, just preceding the presidential nominating conventions of that year. In this campaign it supported Bell and Everett, but after the nomination of Lincoln it became a sterling champion of Republican principles. Its career was short but brilliant. It suspended publication in May, 1861, when its editor resigned to accept the captaincy of Company B of West Virginia Volunteer Infantry. Its editor was successively promoted to Colonel of the Second West Virginian Regiment of Infantry, and was afterwards honored with the rank of Brevet Brigadier-General.

The *Taylor County Echo* was established in Grafton at the outbreak of hostilities in the Civil war and continued publication for two years after the cessation of the war. It was founded and edited by a Mr. Chaney. Politically it was Republican, but it was more pronounced in its support of the Union than in its allegiance to any political creed.

The Barbour Jeffersonian was founded by Thompson Surghnor, a soldier who had served in the Mexican war. * * * The paper was all printed in Philippi, there being no "patent side." The motto at the head of the paper was: "The Union—according to the Constitution," indicating plainly where the paper would be found on the questions which were the vital issues leading up to the Civil war, and which were settled for all time by that war. The paper was published nearly four years, and until about June, 1861. It was a Secession organ, strong in its support of Virginia's opposition and hostility to the United States. It was one of the most potent factors in stirring up the people of Barbour against the government at Washington. In violence of utterance it was probably surpassed by no paper even in Richmond. When the Federal troops, June 3, 1861, drove the Confederates out of Philippi, the editor went with them, joined the army and was subsequently killed at Beverly. His body was brought to Philippi by Christopher C. Hovatter, where it was buried. The Federal soldiers wrecked the newspaper office and threw the type into a well.

A short time after the *Jeffersonian* suspended publication, another paper, *The Old Flag*, was started and was continued for sometime. But no copy of it can be found, nor are many facts concerning it to be ascertained. It did not last long, and was probably published by Federal soldiers; or at least, it was published under their auspices and protection.

In Randolph county there was no newspaper published until May, 1874, when the *Randolph Enterprise* appeared at Beverly under the editorship of Geo. P. Sargent, and on paper hauled from the nearest railway station at Webster, Taylor county.

The first paper published at Wheeling was the *Repository*, a small quarto sheet, which was issued as early as 1807. Following closely after it were the *Times*, *Gazette*, *Telegraph* and *Virginian*. Before 1850 these were followed by a number of other aspiring but short-lived publications which illustrated the vicissitudes of the country newspaper ven-

tures. Among the latter were: the *Advertiser*, the *Argus* and *Young America*.

The publishers experienced troubles of singular uniformity, the most conspicuous of which were the delinquency of subscribers, political bickerings and commercial disappointments.

The *Virginia Staats Zeitung* was first issued about 1848 and subsequently became the *Arbeiter Freund* which after another change in management became the *Deutsche Zeitung von West Virginia*.

The *Wheeling Intelligencer* began its existence in the summer of 1852 during the presidential campaign. When it was started there were two other papers published at Wheeling: the *Times and Gazette* (also a Whig paper) edited by James E. Wharton, and the *Evening Argus* (a Democratic paper) edited and published by John T. Russell. It may be regarded as representing in part the *Times and Gazette* of the olden times, but after 1860, it also represented Democrats who voted for Douglas, Whigs who voted for Bell and Everett, as well as those who voted for Lincoln.

The *Union*, which was published at Wheeling before the Civil war, was succeeded by the *Press* soon after the war began, and the latter was succeeded on July 9, 1863, by the *Register* which was established as the bold and fearless organ of the Democratic party and may be regarded as the political representative of the old *Wheeling Argus*.

The *Register* started with the printing press and other property of the former *Press*, the short-lived successor of the *Union*. It was temporarily suppressed a year later by order of Major General David Hunter who was offended by some of its strictures on Federal operations, but its publication was renewed after the release of the proprietors from an imprisonment of two months.

On the Ohio above Wheeling, the *Charleston Gazette*, published by Samuel Workman, appeared as early as December 31, 1814. Its successor, the *Wellsburg Gazette*, new series, began in November, 1822. Apparently the old series began 312 numbers earlier, or in November, 1816. In 1824 the *True Republican* was published by Solomon Sola but its period of existence and its character are not known. The *Brooke Republican* was started May 25, 1833, with Daniel Polsley as editor and S. R. Jones printer and proprietor, and its career closed with the issue of September 24, 1835, leaving the local field to the *Gazette*. On October 1, 1835, the *Western Transcript* first appeared with D. Polsley as editor, and with an arrangement to complete the unexpired subscriptions of the *Republican*. In December, 1845, its editorial control passed from Mr. Polsley to Wills DeHass. Its publication ceased late in the forties. In 1840 a campaign paper called the *Jeffersonian Democrat* was published by Dr. Hazlett. The Wellsburg *Herald*, published by Joseph A. Metcalf in December, 1846, was purchased by John G. Jacob and James A. Smith two years later and for many years thereafter it was published by Mr. Jacob who became Nestor of the press in that part of the state. The *Item*, published by J. W. Plattenburg, appeared in July, 1855, as another new adventure devoted to news and humor. At Bethany, Alexander Campbell published *The Millennial Harbinger* for 34 years beginning in 1830.

The first newspaper venture in Moundsville was the *West Virginian* established about 1831 by Dennis Parriott. In a short time it was succeeded by the *Sentinel* established by David McLain. The *Marshall Beacon* was established before 1840, and several years after 1850 was succeeded by the *Herald* which later became the *Reporter*.

In Wetzel county no newspaper was published until 1870 when Daniel Long began at New Martinsville *The Wetzel Independent* which in 1872 changed its name to the *Labor Vindicator*.

The first newspaper at Parkersburg was the *Parkersburg Republican*, a Whig organ, established in 1833 and published by John Brough who was later elected governor of Ohio. In 1838 it was purchased by a company of which General J. J. Jackson was the leader and its name was soon changed to the *Gazette and Courier*, edited by S. C. Shaw in

1840 and later owned and edited by McCreery and Sterrett. Several years before the war the *Parkersburg News,* a Democratic paper, was established. It was published by Charles Rhodes.

The first local paper in Ritchie county was the *Ritchie Democrat,* the first number of which appeared at Harrisville in the spring of 1856. It was edited and published by Enoch G. Day who arrived from Bath county, Virginia, bringing his press and materials with him. A few months before the beginning of the Civil war it was purchased by "Deck" Neal who abandoned it at the opening of the war and enlisted in the Confederate cause. Thereafter, until 1862, it was changed to a religious paper, *The Advocate.* In 1862 it was succeeded by *Ritchie Press,* edited by Daniel F. Shriver, a Home Guard. In 1867 the name *Press* was changed to *West Virginia Star* by John T. Harris.

In the Kanawha-New valley the first local newspaper appeared at Charleston, although one might have expected to find the earliest attempt further east at Lewisburg in Greenbrier county or at Union in Monroe county. The first newspaper printed at Charleston was the *Spectator,* established in 1818 or 1819 by an erratic lawyer, Herbert P. Gaines, who soon became the principal of Mercer Academy (which was founded in 1818 and sustained a "Law Department" by 1823). Another paper, the *Kanawha Patriot*—small, but neatly executed—started in 1819 and, published by Herbert P. Gaines, was kept alive only a little over a year.

From 1820 to 1822, Mason Campbell, Esq., who later became a resident of Washington, D. C., published at Charleston a newspaper called the *Western Courier* which for want of proper patronage soon ceased. In the issue of November 19, 1822, the editor announced that he was too busy to publish the paper for the next week. In July, 1826, the same editor started another paper, the *Western Virginian and Kanawha County Gazette* (shortened to *Western Virginian* on October 31, 1826) which he continued to publish weekly for about four years. In 1829 he sold it to Alexander T. and James M. Laidley, who began a new paper, the *Western Register,* which they published one year.

Soon after the cessation of the *Register* (by December, 1830) Mason Campbell and Ezra Walker started the *Kanawha Banner* which was succeeded in 1834 by a small Whig paper, the *Kanawha Patriot.* Copies of the latter, bearing date at late as November, 1840, are still in existence.

In 1840 the first Democratic newspaper published on the Kanawha was established by two gentlemen named Pate and Hickey. It found but few supporters in the Whig county of Kanawha and, at the expiration of two years, its publication ceased.

In 1842 Enos W. Newton, a gentleman of culture and refinement located in Kanawha, and began the publication of the *Kanawha Republican,* as an organ of the Whig party. He continued the publication of the *Republican* until his death, in 1865, when it was purchased by Merrill and Quigley, who published it up to 1871 when it was sold as old material.

The second Democratic paper published in Charleston was the *Western Virginian,* begun by R. A. Thompson and T. M. Gardner in 1851 and continued two or three years, until, like its predecessor, it perished for want of proper support. Its successor was the *Kanawha Valley Star,* printed first at Buffalo, Putnam county (1855 and to September, 1856), under the title *Star of the Kanawha Valley* and later at Charleston (September, 1856 to 1861). The *Star* was published by John Rundell and edited by several legal gentlemen, members of the Kanawha bar but ceased about the beginning of the Civil war. In 1856 it professed attachment to the Union, but "only to a Union which secures state sovereignty and state equality."

The first newspaper published in Greenbrier county was the *Palladium and Pacific Monitor,* started in 1820 soon after the appearance of the first newspaper at Charleston. It was established by Joseph Cunningham Waggoner, who, at an earlier date, had been a printer in Botetourt county, and for a time before 1820 had published a paper

at Fincastle, although he was only eighteen years of age when he migrated to Lewisburg. The editor was Dr. Joe F. Caldwell, a lifetime friend of Mr. Waggoner.

Apparently Mr. Waggoner was connected with the paper until its cessation in 1830 (or 1831). In November, 1825, at the Old Stone Church at Lewisburg, Mr. Waggoner was married to Sarah Campbell Breckenridge Venable, a girl of "sweet" sixteen, the ceremony being performed by the well known Presbyterian minister, Rev. John McElhaney. Apparently for many years he was prominent in politics. He was a warm admirer of both Jackson and Polk, both of whom were guests at Waggoner's Hill and for each of whom he named two of his sons, Andrew and James. He was strongly opposed to negro slavery and was always a Union man although he loved the South. He advocated the separation of western Virginia and the formation of a new state.[3] His wife was strongly Southern in her sympathies, and "believed in the old South from A to Z." She strongly felt that negroes must know their place at all times and she never permitted one to enter her front door. According to tradition she was so Southern in her sympathies that her bill for damages by the Union soldiers in connection with a battle fought at Lewisburg during the Civil war was refused by Congress.

The printing establishment on Waggoner's Hill was burned one Sunday morning while Mr. Waggoner was at church. Here the news was announced in a loud voice by a man who had hurried to inform him. It is said, he never entered that church afterwards.

At the close of the war, Caldwell became well known as an ardent Republican who advocated test oaths and proscription laws against those who had given aid to the Confederate cause. In 1867 he was one of the Greenbrier members of the House of Delegates.

The immediate successor of the *Palladium* was *The Alleghanian*, which first appeared in 1831. Later papers were the *Western Enquirer* (1837-), *The Western Whig* (1842-), *The Lewisburg Observer* (1844-47), *The Lewisburg Chronicle* (1848-60), *The Western Era* (1850-61), which in its last years changed its name to *The Lewisburg Era*, and finally *The Greenbrier Independent* (1859-61). The *Chronicle* was published by Stewart J. Warren in 1855. The *Independent* was established by a lawyer, Joseph Granville, and on August 16, 1859 (Vol. 1, No. 27) its editor and proprietor was J. D. Alderson. The *Chronicle*, the *Era*, and the *Independent*, were suspended by circumstances connected with the beginning of the Civil war. The *Independent* was revived after the war.

In Pocahontas county no newspaper was published until 1882 when Buckey Canfield started the *Times* at Huntersville.

In Monroe county the first local newspaper was *The Union Democrat* which first appeared in 1850 under the editorship of S. P. Windle, but, finding small patronage, was discontinued after two years. The *Whig Banner* was begun in this period by A. A. Banks as a rival enterprise. Both papers were printed from the same press in the west end of the old Bell Tavern. Although party spirit ran so high that a Whig might expect to be read out of his party for lodging at a Democratic tavern. The rival editors managed to live together. In one thing at least they had a common interest. Both were addicted to the use of the same kind of beverage, and each when intoxicated would write a heated editorial for the rival paper and then proceed to tear it to shreds in his own paper. *The Farmer's Friend and Fireside Companion* was established in April, 1852, by Chas. M. Johnston. In 1853 it was purchased by William Hinton who renamed it the *Mountain Orator*. In 1854 it was sold to a joint stock company which changed the name to the *Union Democrat*, which was first edited by Stewart I. Warren and

[3] At the close of the war Mr. Waggoner retired to his farm on River Hill, refusing to appear in any public affairs. Here he suffered with rheumatism. Late in life he joined the Presbyterian church which may be regarded as a very proper thing for an Irishman of Scottish descent from the Cunninghams. He died in January, 1879, and his wife died in June, 1897.

later by others until 1861 when it was suspended (at the outbreak of the war). The office materials of the *Union Democrat* were later used in the publication of the *Monroe Register* which was begun in 1867 by Thomas McCreery, a deaf mute. In 1855, Warren published *The Lewisburg Chronicle.*

The *Knapsack* was published at Gauley Bridge in Fayette county early in the war (October, 1861).

At the mouth of the Kanawha, several newspapers were published before the Civil war. *The West Virginian,* established in 1845, was published by William Peoples and Charles W. Hoy for about a year, after which its press and materials were loaded on a flatboat and removed to Gallipolis, Ohio, during the absence of Mr. Hoy at Cincinnati to purchase new materials. A copy of the *Virginia Sentinel,* published at Point Pleasant on August 26, 1848, is among the old papers in the files of the department of archives at Charleston. *The Independent Republican,* established in 1854, was published by James Hutchinson and Lewis Wetzel who in 1859 sold it to T. Stribbling & Company. In 1860, T. Stribbling & Company published *The Western Review* (Democratic in politics) which was suspended in 1861 when the war temporarily stopped the mail. *The Weekly Bulletin* published at West Columbia in 1852, was sold in 1853 to James Sanders and Mr. Merrill who changed the name to *The Western Messenger.* The latter was sold in 1854 to the United Brethren Publishing Company who published *The Virginia Telescope* until 1856, when it was purchased by D. S. Van Matre. Apparently Van Matre changed the name to *The Virginia Messenger* in connection with which he published *Slasher's Monthly.* About 1857 he discontinued *The Messenger,* but continued to publish *Slasher's Monthly* until 1860 when it was sold to Mr. Merrill and moved from the county. In 1863 W. H. Tomplinson began the publication of *The West Virginia Herald* (independent in politics) which was transferred to Moses Harris in 1864 and within a short time became the property of Samuel D. Gordon who changed the name to *The New Era*—a Democratic paper later acquired by H. R. Howard who published the *Mason County Journal. The New Era* was later published by John A. Gibbons for the Mason County Publishing Company (and became Republican in politics) and the office was finally moved to Mason City and to Clifton. In 1862 George W. Tippett founded *The Weekly Register,* and published it for three years, after which he sold it to W. D. Mansfield, who published it for one year and sold it to E. M. Fitzgerald.

Development on the Ohio below the mouth of the Kanawha, at the terminus of the James River and Kanawha Turnpike, resulted in the establishment of at least one newspaper, *The Guyandotte Herald and Cabell and Wayne Advertiser,* which was probably started in 1853 (since copies of December, 1854, were part of Vol. II) and which was still published as late as April, 1855.

The following extracts from some of the early papers illustrate the views and restrictions of some of the earlier country editors:

In *The Kanawha Spectator* of 1820 and 1821 the editor kept the following standing announcement:

> "The subscriber respectfully informs the public that his duties as an editor of a newspaper will not prevent him from practicing law in the county and superior courts of Kenhawa; but he cannot attend any other courts. He intends keeping on hand at his printing office, blank deeds and other instruments of writing; and will at all times fill them up for those who may apply."

The leading editorial of one issue of August 21, 1821, discusses the thesis that "the trial by jury is the great Palladium of Liberty." Something must have gone wrong with one of the editor's jury cases, for he says as to this general observation that

> "Where we apply it to such juries as the sheriffs sometimes pick up about the tipling houses of our towns and courthouse yards, it will be mene, mene, tekel upharsin. I very much fear that a spice of ambition or ill will against one of the parties, and an undue partiality in favor of the other, gains such ascendency over the minds of some of our juries in Virginia and all other places in which the sheriffs

are equally careless in selecting them, that strict and impartial justice and the voice of the law have no influence on their determinations."

This lawyer-editor also has a criticism for the law's delay, complaining that "if all the members composing this court had done their duty as well as those residing in Charleston and its vicinity, they would probably have gone through the docket, but little was done besides trying the commonwealth's cases."

In the papers of western Virginia of a decade later and especially in those of the Kanawha valley, there were numerous warnings tending to show the imminence of a division of the state, and many were the speculations indulged in by the early press as to the form the ultimate and inevitable division would take. The Kanawha Banner of December 17, 1830, says editorially:

"The Virginia legislature will convene on Monday. To the proceedings of this body we look with intense interest. Matters of great moment will come before this body, and the discussions will be as interesting as those of the late convention. The preservation of the state, we believe, will depend upon this legislature. Disregard the claims of the trans-Allegheny counties to what they deem a proper share of the fund of the internal improvement, and a division of the state must follow—not immediately perhaps, but the signal will be given for the rising of the clans, and they will rise. It is not worth the while now to speculate upon the mode or manner in which the government will be opposed. Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof. But a crisis is approaching. The northwestern counties demand to be separated from the state with a view of attaching themselves to Maryland or Pennsylvania, the southwestern counties go for a division of the state into two commonwealths. Should the latter be effected, what will be our conditions in the valley? Infinitely worse than the present. The mere dependency of a government whose interest and whose trade would all go westward, we would be taxed without receiving any equivalent; and instead of being chastised with whips we would be scourged with scorpions. Of the two projects spoken of, that which would be least injurious to the valley and the state at large, would be, to part with the northwestern counties. Let them go. Let us get clear of this disaffected population. Then prosecute the improvements called for in the southwest, and that portion of our state, deprived of its northern allies, would give up their desire for a separation. To cement the union still firmer, open the road from Winchester to Parkersburg, and we shall have a commonwealth, one and invisible, so long as our republic endures."

Another decade later the editor of the *Kanawha Jeffersonian*, C. F. Cake, in a leading editorial indicated some of the troublesome intermittent difficulties of publishing a country newspaper on the Kanawha in that day. He said:

"In consequence of the river running down, our paper running out, and no boats running up, we are compelled to issue rather a small sheet this week, but we assure our readers it is of the same family, only a young'un. Our paper was ordered some weeks ago, but unfortunately the supply at the Point was out, and the river so low that none could be had from Wheeling. There has since been a rise in the Ohio, and next week we hope to spread before our readers our usual sized sheet."

Mr. Cake had recently acquired control of the *Jeffersonian* from John J. Hickey, Esq., and the *Richmond Compiler* makes mention of the editorial change with the friendly wish that the efforts of Mr. Cake, like bread cast upon the waters, will return after many days.

Much of the advertising matter of the early newspapers is quite as diverting reading as many of the news stories or even the efforts of the editorial writers to guide and mold public opinion, and much of the matter in the advertising columns is of first rate historical interest. Too much space was occupied by the literature of the patent medicine man who was abroad in the land seeking to cure all ailments and incidentally to collect some money as a recompense for his business of salvation. Some of the most interesting advertisements are those indicating industrial and social conditions so different from those of today. The following advertisement from the *Kanawha Spectator* of 1820 is interesting as showing the state of trade, the market for certain products being apparently dependent on opportunities for barter:

The subscriber will give a liberal price in salt or good trade for any quantity of flax seed, which may be brought to him at Charleston Kenhawa.

ROBERT TITUS.

Another ad on the front page next to reading matter appeals to the "owner" of a property right which has gone quite out of fashion. It reads as follows:

A negro girl who is acquainted with house work may be hired upon good terms to a man in this town with a small family, if immediate application be made. She will be taken by the month or year and payment made to suit the owner. Enquire at this office.

The coal mining business of West Virginia at this period, as may be inferred from another "ad," was subsidiary almost entirely to the demands of the great salt industry. Under the headline "Collier Wanting" it is stated that

From 10 to 20 steady and industrious men, who understand digging coal, may obtain high wages in Kenhawa for that business, if immediate application is made to Dr. Putney, or any other manufacturers of salt who use coal at their furnaces.

The following reference to an "elopement" of the day also appears in the advertising columns of the Spectator:

$10 Reward

Ran away from the boat of Mr. Emzy Wilson while at or near Johnson's shoals, Kenhawa county, a negro woman named Judy, about 22 years old * * * her dress when she *eloped,* a dark calico, her other clothes not recollected. It is supposed that she is skulking about in the mountains on Kenhawa river.

The following advertisements appear in the *Martinsburg Gazette* of 1833 (edited by Edmund P. Hunter):

"Six Cents Reward."

Ran away from the subscriber on the 16th of April last an indented apprentice boy bound by the Overseer of the Poor for Morgan county, Named John Basore, sometimes called John Blamer, about 14 years of age, tolerably stout made, has dark hair, squints his eyes very much when spoken to—had on when he ran away a brown lindsey roundabout, old dark colored cassinet pantaloons, good shoes and socks, an old wool hat. The above reward will be paid for returning said apprentice to me. All persons are strictly forbid from employing said apprentice, or from harboring him, as I am determined to Prosecute every person so found offending to

William Piper.

Morgan County, August 15, 1833.

Negro Woman For Sale.

One that is well acquainted with every kind of housework, sober and honest; sold for no fault, and will not be sold to a trader. Enquire of the Printer. (Edmund Hunter). July 11, 1833.

The Martinsburg Fire Company.

Will meet at the Court House on Saturday the 5th of October next, at the usual hour. This being a muster directed by law, delinquents will be reported to the Court Martial. By order of Captain Lauck.

Edmund Hunter. Sept. 19, 1833.

The following from the same paper is a notice of hiring out slaves:

Negroes For Hire

Will be hired at public hiring at Darkesville, on Friday the 25th of December, a number of valuable slaves consisting of Men, Women, Boys, and Girls, Persons who hired any of the above negroes for the present year will please return them, with their proper clothing and be prepared to take up their bonds on the day of Hiring. Amelia Eichelberger. Dec. 3, 1835.—td

The *Berkeley and Jefferson Intelligencer and Northern Advertiser* (edited by John Alburtis) in Vol. 4, No. 15, of July 9, 1802, has this advertisement:

"Bath Boarding House."

The subscriber at the sign of General Washington, respectfully acknowledges the many past favours conferred upon him by the Ladies and Gentlemen who have hitherto frequented his house during the Bathing season, and informs them and the public, that every preparation has been made to render the accommodation of all who may favor him with their custom the ensuing season in every respect agreeable, and assures them that a proper attention on his part shall not be wanting, to merit a continuation of their custom.

I am, with due respect the public's humble servant.

June 18, 1802. John Hunter.

In the issue of September 3, it contains the following:

"There will be an exhibition of the Students at Charles Town Academy on Wednesday the 15 instant, which will commence about ten o'clock, A. M. The public examination takes place on Monday 13th, to which it is hoped, the gentlemen Trustees will punctually attend."

In the issue of September 10, 1802, is a notice of the sale of tracts of land belonging to General George Washington and located as follows:

A tract in Loudoun County on Difficult Run, containing 300 acres. "One tract containing 2,481 Acres, lying in the counties of Loudoun and Fauquier called Ashley's Bent: One tract lying part in each of the above counties containing 885 Acres, Chatten's Run passes through this tract: A tract on the South Fork of Bullikin, consisting of 1600 Acres. One also, Head of Evan's Mill, containing 453 Acres, and one on Wormley's line containing 183 Acres, these several are in Jefferson (Late Berkeley County)." "One tract in Hampshire county containing 240 Acres—this tract though small is extremely valuable. It lies on Potomac River about 12 miles above the town of Bath (or Warm Springs) and in the shape of a horseshoe, the river running almost around it." Other tracts in other parts of Virginia, also some in Pennsylvania on Braddock's road, "Great Meadows," other tracts on the Mohawk river in New York State; in the North West Territory, Kentucky. Lots in the city of Washington, Bath or Warm Springs.

In the earlier papers the treatment of local news was singularly faulty and incomplete. The advertisements contain more local news and local history than can be found in the columns of "reading matter," which were largely filled with stale foreign news clipped from other publications and must have been very disappointing to readers who were interested in gossip and scandals or in the details of local crimes. Country editors finally learned, only after long experience, that with their limited space and facilities, they could not compete with the city weeklies in the publication of the general news and that their energies should be confined principally to the development of the field whose boundaries are commensurate with the geographical interests of their readers.

The early newspapers had none of the organized facilities for the collection and distribution of news enjoyed by modern journalism. The nearest approach to a press service came with the legislation in Congress authorizing free exchange of papers through the post office among all editors and publishers. This policy was adopted in 1792, and Congress took action from time to time to expedite and facilitate these exchanges, establishing an "express service" between eastern cities and the principal places in the west by act of Congress July 2, 1836. Clippings from the exchanges supplied the material now furnished by the modern press bureau or news service.

The character and makeup of the old newspapers were at startling variance from present modern publications. In appearance and contents they were all much alike, set solidly, in small type with single line heads and with no display advertisements. The contents were heavy, without the breezy, entertaining lightness of the newspaper of today. In the earlier years of western Virginia journalism, the editorial utterances were ponderous and sometimes extremely florid. The editorial page was the all important feature, for that was the day of personal journalism.

In the early thirties, and up to the beginning of the Great American conflict in 1861, the journals more nearly approached the magazine with fiction, literary essays and book reviews. Foreign news still took precedence over local affairs of moment. The editor in those days was a pastmaster in invective and epithet, and his freedom in personal criticism often provoked physical combats. The leanness of news features in the papers of that day and generation is easily accounted for. Labor of the particular kind required in a newspaper office was exceedingly scarce, the sources of news were remote, and the appliances for getting out a paper were very crude. Frequently the newspaper of that day was a one-man paper, the publisher being the editor, reporter, typesetter, pressman and distributor.

In 1850 there were three dailies and twenty-one weeklies published in the State. Of these, the three dailies and two of the weeklies were

published in Ohio county; of the others, two were published in Brooke, one in Greenbrier, one in Hardy, two in Hampshire, three in Jefferson, one in Kanawha, one in Lewis, one in Marshall, one in Monroe, three in Monongalia, one in Marion, one in Preston, and one in Wood.

In the decade after 1850 the number of weeklies increased from twenty-one to thirty-six, and the number of dailies remained the same. These publications were confined to fourteen counties in 1850 and to nineteen counties in 1860.

The total number of publications in West Virginia in 1860 was forty-three. Of these seventeen were Democratic, five Republican, six were Whig, two were Independent, one was American, one was neutral, one was religious, one was literary, one was literary and agricultural and five with no known party affiliations or social purpose. Of these forty-three publications there were 3 dailies, 2 tri-weeklies, 36 weeklies and 3 monthlies. Of the dailies the circulation was 2,000, of the tri-weeklies 600, of the weeklies 27,464, and of the monthlies 9,100—a total of 39,164. It is thus seen that for the year the total copies were: Of the dailies 730,000, of the tri-weeklies 93,600, of the weeklies 1,428,128, of the monthlies 109,200, making a grand total of 2,360,828 copies printed in the State in 1860.

The following table shows the newspaper business of West Virginia as it was in 1860, with name of paper, character, kind, circulation, and county in which published.

Counties	Name	Character	Kind	Circulation
Barbour	Barbour Jeffersonian	Democrat	Weekly	500
Berkeley	Republican	Democrat	Weekly	900
Berkeley	Gazette	Independent	Weekly	800
Brooke	Wellsburg Weekly Herald	Republican	Weekly	800
Brooke	Millennium Harbinger	Religious	Monthly	8,500
Brooke	Stylus	Literary	Monthly	600
Greenbrier	Era	Whig	Weekly	750
Greenbrier	Chronicle	Democrat	Weekly	600
Greenbrier	Independent	Whig	Weekly	460
Hampshire	Virginia Argus		Weekly	800
Hampshire	South Branch Intelligencer		Weekly	960
Hampshire	Piedmont Independent		Weekly	600
Hardy	Hardy Whig	Whig	Weekly	600
Harrison	Cooper's Clarksburg Register	Democrat	Weekly	750
Jackson	Virginia Chronicle	Independent	Weekly	520
Jefferson	Free Press	Whig	Weekly	1,104
Jefferson	Spirit of Jefferson	Democrat	Weekly	900
Jefferson	Independent Democrat	Democrat	Weekly	600
Jefferson	Shepherdstown Register	Neutral	Weekly	400
Kanawha	Kanawha Republican	Whig	Weekly	1,200
Kanawha	Kanawha Valley Star	Democrat	Weekly	1,000
Lewis	Weston Herald	Democrat	Weekly	600
Marion	Methodist Protestant Sentinel	Religious	Weekly	750
Marion	Fairmont Free Virginian	Democrat	Weekly	730
Mason	Republican	American	Weekly	750
Monongalia	Virginia Weekly Star	Democrat	Weekly	1,000
Morgan	Constitution	Democrat	Weekly	500
Ohio	Union	Democrat	Daily	900
Ohio	Union	Democrat	Tri-Weekly	200
Ohio	Union	Democrat	Weekly	1,200
Ohio	Intelligencer	Republican	Daily	800
Ohio	Intelligencer	Republican	Tri-Weekly	400
Ohio	Intelligencer	Republican	Daily	1,600
Ohio	Virginia Staats Zeitung	Republican	Weekly	300
Ritchie	Democrat	Democrat	Weekly	450
Taylor	The Family Visitor		Weekly	600
Taylor	Grafton Guardian		Weekly	600
Tyler	Virginia Plain Dealer	Democrat	Weekly	400
Wayne	Ceredo Crescent	Agr. and Lit.	Weekly	600
Wood	Parkersburg News	Democrat	Weekly	800
Wood	Parkersburg Gazette	Whig	Weekly	650
Wood	Southern Methodist Itinerant	Religious	Weekly	1,200
Wood	Western Virginia Baptist	Religious	Weekly	800

A chief factor in preserving western Virginia to the Union, and the main instrument in perfecting the independent statehood of West Vir-

ginia, was the *Wheeling Intelligencer,* established in 1852. Under the editorship of the late A. W. Campbell in the years preceeding the final breaking away of the Southern states from the Union, it fearlessly gave voice to adherence to the integrity and indissolubility of the Nation. It was also the only paper south of Mason and Dixon's line that was outspoken against the institution of slavery. It was the great inspiration and the rallying force of the Union sentiment in the western counties of Virginia that armed the people and sent them forth to drive back the invading forces of the Confederacy. It is worthy of note that its virile editor, a man who stood among his colleagues in those trying and bitter times as first among equals, was liberal enough and patriotic enough to suppress his former antagonisms and to throw his warmest support to the passage of the Flick amendment by the legislature of West Virginia which restored the civil and political rights of those West Virginians who had taken up arms against the Federal government. The *Intelligencer* is the only daily of that period which has continued publication to this day. Only four other newspapers published in 1860 survived with it a half century later—the *Wellsburg Herald, Virginia Free Press, Spirit of Jefferson and Shepherdstown Register.*

Only nine of the newspapers in existence in West Virginia in 1863 when the State was formed were still published at the close of the century. These nine were: *Wheeling Intelligencer, Wheeling Register, Clarksburg Telegram, Charlestown Free Press, Charlestown Spirit of Jefferson, Shepherdstown Register, Barbour County Jeffersonian, Wellsburg Herald* and *Point Pleasant Register.*

CHAPTER XX

SECTIONALISM AND CONSTITUTIONAL PROBLEMS

The history of Virginia to 1860 was characterized by sectional antagonism between conservatism and radicalism—an antagonism which became more pronounced as the diversified population extended westward, and finally became a contest between the cismontane and transmontane people until the opening of the Civil war furnished a convenient opportunity for western separation to form a new state.

Its sectional differences were prominent even in colonial times. Its conflicting tendencies were more prominent than those of the other original thirteen states. This partly due to the fact that the same laws were imposed upon the conservative English of the Tidewater, the more democratic Scotch-Irish and Germans of the Piedmont, and the rugged frontiersmen of the Cumberland plateau. The farmers of the Piedmont early objected to legislation partial to the plantation system. The frontier revolted against the indifference of conservatism. Immigrants from northern Europe found themselves out of sympathy with their slave-holding neighbors.

The arrival of German and Scotch-Irish pioneers on the Shenandoah-Potomac frontier before the extension of old Virginia institutions to the Blue Ridge, thereby interrupting the westward advance of Virginia's peculiar institutions and creating communities which were somewhat hostile to the social ideas of tidewater Virginia, constitutes an important event in the history of the Old Dominion. These new communities of foreign stock were quite unlike those east of the Blue Ridge. Instead of devoting themselves to the production of staples, they became self sufficing. Their small villages, which soon arose, contained wagon makers, shoemakers, saddlers, gun smiths, harness makers and tanners, all of whom had an interest in commercial activity and co-operated in efforts to secure good markets.

Virginia sectionalism was largely a series of controversies between the gentlemen of the eastern counties who owned negroes, and the farmers of the hill and mountain region who owned no negroes, but who usually outnumbered their eastern rivals. The gentlemen who owned slaves desired always to control the state government—governor, legislature, courts—and they felt that a loss of this supreme position in the community would mean the overthrow of slavery, which was probably a correct view of the situation. So strong was this sentiment that in 1850, when the up-country democracy gained control of the governorship and the legislature, Littleton W. Tazewell, an able and beloved leader of the East, declared publicly that the time had come for his section of the state to secede and form a government in which property (negro slaves) would be protected. And there were many, very many, who agreed to this proposition. On the other hand, the farmers of the hill country, always felt that their interests were sacrificed to those of their slave-holding neighbors, and that a dissolution of the state government would be better for them, and many times did they threaten to take steps to this end. Thus the legislature of Virginia was the scene of almost perpetual conflict—a conflict in every way similar to that which was constantly maintained between North and South on the floors of Congress.

Slavery would have been abolished by Virginia before 1860 if the rule of equal representation and universal suffrage, so common to the

West, had been allowed. If Virginia had abolished slavery there would have been no Civil war and no Reconstruction, so fatal to the interests of both South and North.

After 1850 the combination of Henry A. Wise, of the extreme Eastern section of the state, with the Western democracy continued to postpone the one issue until 1860, when it was too late perhaps to deal fairly with the most difficult problem ever dealt with by any people.

The different phases of sectionalism include the early reform movement against the Established Church and against the landed aristocracy, the early conflict of frontier squatters against large land companies, the rise of early commercial interests and problems of internal improvement, the influence of early national problems and policies upon Virginia politics and industrial development, the demand of the West after 1816 for internal communication with the East; industrial decline of the East and economic development in the West in the decade before 1830, and divergence of the two sections on national protective system and internal improvement policy, conflict between conservative East and progressive West on questions of suffrage, representation and abuses in government; sectional aspects of state schemes for internal improvement, the question of negro slavery; sectional differences on the subject of banks, railroads and canals and schools; and the long impending danger of dismemberment and plans of conciliation to avert it.

The development of the West, whose emancipation from the East began with the manufacture of salt, was marked by truly nationalistic tendencies which together with internal changes in both East and West finally made permanent political union between the two sections impossible. The West took no interest in the forerunners of the Southern Confederacy—the Southern commercial conventions to which the East sent delegates and took a prominent part. When the question of secession from the Union arose for solution, the inhabitants of the West never doubted the ultimate sovereignty of the Union and refused to ally itself with Virginia in a contest precipitated by the secession movement, but did not hesitate to secede from the old commonwealth which had been ruled by an Eastern oligarchy from 1776 to 1850 and had so long continued to maintain an economic system which was diametrically opposed to the spirit and interests of the West.

Sectionalism was illustrated by various contests concerning educational policy. Most of the settlers on the west side of the Alleghenies were of the same class as those who settled in the Shenadoah valley, and they held similar ideas on the subject of education. They felt the full effect of the Eastern slaveholders' hostility to popular education. As the years passed and as they observed the progress of popular education in the neighboring states of Ohio and Pennsylvania, and the lack of progress in Virginia, they registered their discontent and complaint. Some joined the thousands of immigrants who passed by and settled farther west, not wishing to identify themselves with a state which looked upon the education of the masses as undesirable and which doled out the pittance set apart for educational purposes as though it were a paupers' fund.

The West struggled in vain for a satisfactory free school system. Its vote secured the "Aldermanic" act of 1796 and the "Literary Fund" act of 1810 which provided small appropriations for schools, but its later efforts to secure a more efficient system were fruitless. The feeling between East and West on this question became so intense that the West opposed the requests of the state university and Eastern colleges and military schools for funds. In the forties the young men of the West refused to attend the university and state military schools; even when the state offered to bear part of the expenses. In 1839 the number of students of western Virginia enrolled in institutions of eastern Virginia was only half the number enrolled in colleges of Ohio and Pennsylvania.

Increasing western interest in favor of free schools was reflected in

a remarkable series of educational conventions in the early forties. The first, and most important, of these conventions met at Clarksburg on September 8-9, 1841, and was attended by 130 delegates from the northwest Virginia and from the valley of Virginia. Among the typical communications read before the meeting was the following from Judge E. S. Duncan, who denounced that policy which denied the West federal aid for internal improvements and education, when the East had no intention of granting state aid:

"A splendid university has been endowed accessible only to the sons of the wealthy planters of the eastern part of the state and to the southern states. I have heard of only two students attending it from the northwest. The resources of the Literary Fund are flittered away in the endowment of an institution whose tendencies are essentially aristocratic and beneficial only to the very rich, and for the support of the primary schools intended for the very poor, * * * the men of small farms are left to their own means for the education of their children. They cannot send them to the University, and they are prohibited, if they would, from joining in the scramble for the annual donation to the poor (which is scattered in the) ostentatious manner of a nabob, who throws small change among the paupers and cries, 'catch who can.'"

The memorial and resolutions of this convention, and the action of subsequent conventions finally forced the legislation of 1845-46 to enact a law authorizing any county by local vote to establish public free schools but without regular state aid. In the constitutional convention of 1850-51, the committee on education, controlled by western delegates, reported in favor of a constitutional clause requiring the legislature to provide for popular education but the report was disapproved by eastern delegates who apparently feared the influence of Yankee school teachers in the trans-Allegheny region of the state. When the opportunity for division of the state arrived, the West Virginians included among the reasons for separation the opposition of the East to common free schools needed by the West whose "taxes had been taken to maintain a university for aristocrats."

Among other important illustrations of the development of sectionalism which finally resulted in the division of the Old Dominion was the contest within the Methodist Church, and within other denominations, concerning negro slavery, resulting in separate Southern church organizations by 1850, and mutual recriminations in the decade thereafter.

The destiny of western Virginia to form a separate state was largely determined by the flow of its rivers in an opposite direction to the flow of the tidewater rivers, and was foreshadowed in the different political ideas of the West—causing it to give a proportionately larger vote than the East for the ratification of the national constitution in 1788, to oppose the Virginia resolutions of 1798, to antagonize the election of Jefferson in 1801, to favor the American system as a national policy and to advocate the establishment of free schools and the further democratization of social and political institutions.

The chief sectional conflicts center around proposed constitutional changes which were demanded by the West in order to remedy inequalities and abuses in the government.

The first constitution of Virginia was adopted on June 29, 1776, when there were within the limits of the present state of West Virginia only Hampshire and Berkeley counties and the district of West Augusta. The constitution established an annual general assembly of two houses, the members of which were elected by the limited number of people who had the right of suffrage. The house of delegates, the members of which were elected each year, replaced the old house of burgesses and with slight exception[1] retained the old system of representation: two representatives from each county, and two from the district of West Augusta (and one from both Williamsburg and Norfolk). The general assembly was authorized to grant to each new county which it

[1] Jamestown and the College of William and Mary were no longer granted representation.

might create two delegates, and to use its discretion in allowing representation to new towns; but there was a provision for dropping the representation of any town whose population decreased until for seven consecutive years its voting population was less than one-half of a county.

The senate was composed of twenty-four members chosen for a term of four years from twenty-four districts, and was made a rotating body by a provision for the election of six members each year. The apportionment was purely arbitrary and without provision for future reform.

The elective franchise remained as exercised since the law of 1736[2] and was confined to freeholders who had been in possession of their freehold at least one whole year before the issue of the writ for the election at which they wished to vote.

With the election of the members of the general assembly the voice of the voting population ceased. The governor, treasurer, the eight privy councilmen, the secretary, the attorney-general, and the judges of all the superior courts were chosen by joint ballot of the two houses of the general assembly; the governor and treasurer were chosen annually, the privy council was subject to the removal of two of their number every three years by the "scratch" of the assembly; the secretary, the attorney-general and the judges served during good behavior.

Nor did the people have any share in local government. The self perpetuating county courts had general management of all local affairs. These courts constitutionally appointed the sheriff, the coroner and the clerk of the county; they had the statutory privilege of appointing all other civil officers of the county and all military officers under the grade of brigadier-general, and of laying all taxes for county purposes and of expending them as they saw fit; and, with all these powers, they were responsible to no one for their actions.

The development of West Virginia for the half century after the Revolution produced new problems for the Old Dominion. Before the close of the eighteenth century the population in the region now known as West Virginia had begun to grow rapidly. In the Virginia convention of June 2, 1788, which was called to ratify or reject the federal constitution, it was represented by six new counties which had been formed from the district of West Augusta: Monongalia and Ohio which were formed in 1776, Greenbrier formed in 1777, and Harrison, Hardy and Randolph formed in 1784, 1785 and 1786 respectively. This number of counties had increased to thirteen in 1800 by the formation of Pendleton in 1787, Kanawha in 1789, Brooke in 1796, Wood in 1798 and Monroe in 1799. These thirteen became sixteen in 1810 by the addition of Jefferson in 1801, Mason in 1804 and Cabell in 1809. To these counties four new ones were added before 1820: Tyler in 1814, Lewis in 1816, Nicholas in 1818 and Preston in 1818. By the end of the next decade a total of twenty-three counties was completed by the formation of Morgan in 1820, Pocahontas in 1821 and Logan in 1824. The white population had increased from 50,593 in 1790 to 70,894 in 1800 to 93,355 in 1810, to 120,236 in 1820 and to 157,084 in 1830.

During these years and partly as a result of changing conditions the defects in the constitution became very marked. These defects were early noticed by Jefferson who desired a state constitutional convention to remedy them. Commenting on the constitution, in 1782 he wrote: "The majority of the men in the state who pay and fight for its support are unrepresented in the legislature. The roll of freeholders entitled to vote not including generally the half of those on the roll of the militia or of the tax gatherers. Among those who share the representation the shares are unequal." To show some of the inequalities which existed even at that early date between the four sections of the state from the coast to the Ohio he prepared the following table:

[2] A freehold was one hundred acres of uncultivated land without a house, twenty-five acres of improved land with a house, or a house and lot in town.

	Fighting Men	Delegates	Senators
East of river falls	19 012	71	12
Falls to Blue Ridge	18,828	46	8
Blue Ridge to Alleghenies	7,673	16	2
Trans-allegheny	4,458	16	2

The inequality of the county system of representation is well shown by the comparison of two counties. In 1800 Warick had a white population of 614 and had two members in the house of delegates while at the same time Berkeley with a white population of 17,832 had but two members in the lower house. The inequality was equally noticeable in the senate. In 1815 the entire West with a free white population of about 233,469 or two-fifths that of the state was represented by four senators, at the same time the East containing the other three-fifths of the white population, 342,781, was represented by twenty senators.

Several attempts to secure adjustment were unsuccessful. In the house of delegates in the May session of the assembly of 1784, a petition from Augusta county asking for a constitutional convention was the subject of a two days debate, and although Madison strongly advocated it, a bill for a convention failed—largely through the violent opposition of Patrick Henry.

After 1790 petitions praying for a reform in representation and suffrage were presented at almost every session of the assembly. From the counties of Patrick and Henry these petitions were expected regularly at the commencement of each session. In the session of 1806 a bill for submitting to the people the proposition to call a constitutional convention passed the house but was indefinitely postponed in the senate through the influence of prudent men who feared the political bitterness of the times.

In 1814, a constitutional reform bill which provided for extension of suffrage, reapportionment of representation and the reduction of the total number composing the house of delegates was rejected in the house by a slight majority. The next year, a bill was introduced into the house providing for a rearrangement of the senatorial districts on a white basis. The fight was largely sectional. The western members unsuccessfully urged the passage of the bill. Eastern constitutional lawyers in the house held that the districts, created by the same power that made the constitution, could be altered only by a constitutional convention. This doctrine the westerners then determined to put into practice.

In the spring and summer of 1816, following the defeat of several bills providing for the call of a constitutional convention, threats of dismemberment of the state were made and an earlier proposition of 1796 for division of the state, by a line from the head of the Rappahannock to the mouth of the Greenbrier and thence along the New and the Kanawha to the Ohio, were revived.

On August 19, 1816, a convention composed of representatives from thirty-six counties (twenty-four west of the Blue Ridge) met at Staunton and sent a memorial to the general assembly requesting the passage of a bill for submitting to the people the question of calling a constitutional convention. Though the house was successful in securing the passage of a bill calling a convention to change the constitution by an amendment which would have extended the right of suffrage, equalized the land tax and secured representation on the basis of the white population, the senate frustrated this program which would have resulted in larger western representation. Then the legislature, reversing the doctrine held by the constitutional lawyers in 1815, passed a bill equalizing the senatorial districts according to the white population of the old census of 1810 which no longer represented the true population of the West. By this reapportionment, the West got nine instead of four senators, while the number from the East was reduced from twenty to fifteen.

Doubtless there were individuals who saw at a very early period

that there would be no peace of mind west of the mountains as long as the East and the West were yoked together with their different customs and their antagonistic views, but not until about 1822 was division of the state suggested as a possible remedy, and even then the agitation was directed more toward the discovery of a remedy to prevent division. It was generally believed that a new constitution could be drawn which would satisfactorily adjust the inequalities felt by the western people and strengthen the unity of the commonwealth.

In 1824 public agitation for reforms was renewed with increased energy. The question of the equalization of representatives in the house delegates on the white basis became the subject of newspaper controversy and general discussion which resulted in a second meeting at Staunton on July 25, 1825, attended by upwards of one hundred friends of reform. This convention passed resolutions in favor of several reforms: representation in the house according to white population; the reduction of the total number of delegates in the house; the extension of the right of suffrage; the abolition of the executive council, and a more responsible executive. These resolutions forwarded to the general assembly, in the three following sessions were the subject of discussions which finally (in January, 1828) resulted in the passage of a bill for submitting the question of a constitutional convention to a vote of the freeholders.

Meantime, western agitation for a constitutional convention steadily increased. The *Monongalia Chronicle* of May 30, 1828, devoted several columns to the question of the convention. The writer of one article, representing the views of the people said: "Are we not of the middle and western Virginia in the same political situation as our fathers were when they rose up in arms against Great Britain? Are we not taxed by men who are not the representatives of the people?" The issue of March 2, 1830, began a series of articles by Alexander Campbell which had appeared in the *Wellsburg Gazette,* discussing the inequalities in the government of the state and the complaints of western Virginia.

The demand had become so urgent and so emphatic that the authorities at Richmond concluded that it was good policy to listen, even though they intended to do nothing substantial if they could avoid it. Already many of the inhabitants of this sparsely settled region of western Virginia by 1829 looked with chagrin upon the emigrant wagons which passed over the Cumberland road and down the Kanawha to the more prosperous trans-Ohio west—and some had joined the caravans and moved on into the farthest West, while others remained to fight the battles of reform in spite of retarded development, due to the inefficiency of the state as an agent for internal improvement.

The election returns on the question of a constitutional convention showed that the convention was favored by the almost unanimous vote of the West and opposed by over one-half of the vote of the East.

The convention met at Richmond on October 5, 1829. It was an august assemblage composed of ninety-six of the most prominent men of the state (four members from each senatorial district)—eighteen of whom were from counties within the present limits of West Virginia, as follows:

Pendleton—William McCoy.
Monroe—Andrew Bierne.
Greenbrier—William Smith.
Pocahontas—John Baxter.
Jefferson—Thos. Grigg and H. L. Opie.
Hampshire—Wm. Naylor and Wm. Donaldson.
Berkeley—Elisha Boyd and Philip Pendleton.
Harrison—Edwin S. Duncan.
Cabell—John Laidley.
Kanawha—Lewis Summers.
Randolph—Adam Lee.
Monongalia—C. S. Morgan and E. M. Wilson.
Brooke—Alexander Campbell and Philip Doddridge.

Its dominating spirit of sectionalism was largely due to the geographic and economic conditions which for years the defects of the old constitution had aggravated. The two sections agreed on the acceptance of the bill of rights; but, with their radically divergent ideas, they clashed on the practical application of the principles of government.

The crux of the issue in regard to taxation was found in the fact that the East assessed a large amount of slave property while the West was practically non-slave holding. Monroe was of the opinion that "if no such thing as slavery existed, the people of the Atlantic border would meet their brethren of the West, upon the basis of a majority of the free white population."

Practically all the time of the convention (October 5, 1829 to January 15, 1830), was consumed by debates on two questions: representation and suffrage. On the question of representation the thirty-six delegates from the district west of the mountains, led by Doddridge, stood solidly for white population as the basis for both houses, in opposition to the East which favored a representation based on a compound ration of white population and direct taxes combined. Madison, Marshall and Monroe defended the property basis on the ground that the state was the conservator of property. Madison favored the white basis for one house but opposed it for both. Accordingly Doddridge proposed two resolutions: one to provide for the white basis for the house; the other to provide the same basis for the senate. Madison's vote carried the first but tied the committee on the second resolution. Accordingly the committee recommended that "in the apportionment of representation in the House of Delegates regard should be had to the white population exclusively," and said nothing about a basis for the senate.

In the debates, when the Eastern members demanded reasons, based on facts and conditions, for what they termed "the most crying injustice ever attempted in any land" against property rights, the Westerners continued to cite the bill of rights and the abstractions of Jefferson. In answer to the statement that nearly three-fourths of the tax had been paid by the counties east of the Blue Ridge, the West asked who were the men who had fought the battles. When Judge Upshur from the Eastern Shore, in a speech lasting the greater part of two days endeavored to show that the law of the majority came from no source, not from the law of nature, nor from the exigencies of society, nor from the nature and necessity of government, nor from any constitutional source, Philip Doddridge of Brooke answered him by asking, if the majority are not possessed of the right or power to govern, "whence does the gentleman derive the power in question to the minority?" When Randolph in a high key exclaimed that if he were not too old to move he would never live under King Numbers, Campbell from the Ohio extolled King Numbers as the most dignified personage under the canopy of heaven. During the debate the white laboring farmers in the western part of the state were designated "peasants" holding the same place in political economy as the slaves of the tide-water East. There were reports that the Western members would secede from the convention. To allay sectional feeling Monroe urged mutual concessions and suggested a white basis for the house and a mixed basis for the senate.

Thus the debate continued until finally a plan of apportionment by districts based on no principle and opposed by the West, was adopted.

The extension of suffrage was most strongly advocated by the western people. At this time in Virginia (the only state of the twenty-four in the Union which still adhered strictly to freehold suffrage) of 143,000 free white males, there were 100,000 free white citizens paying taxes to the state—of which about 40,000 were freeholders and 60,000 were men who owned personal property.

The westerners quoted Jefferson in favor of free manhood suffrage. They believed that the man who brought a large family of intelligent

children, or the section which brought a large population into the social compact, was entitled to as much, if not more, power, than he who brought only property. The latter was perishable, the former was the hope of the society.

They held that nativity along with residence and military service were as good proofs of "common interest with and attachment to the community" as the possession of real estate. They attributed the emigration from Virginia to the non-participation of her citizens in government.

In reply to the western appeal to the ideas of Jefferson, Randolph gave notice that the East was "not to be struck down by the authority of Mr. Jefferson." Among the conservatives who opposed any extension of suffrage was Leigh who classed general suffrage with other plagues such as the Hessian fly and varioloid, which had arisen in the north and has been spreading to the south, "always keeping above the fall line in the great rivers."

Having failed in the effort for manhood suffrage, the West fought vigorously but unsuccessfully to extend the suffrage at least to taxpayers but were defeated by a vote of 48 to 44. Several easterners arguing that much of the land in the West, fit only for a lair of wild beasts, was not worth a mill per acre and would never be of any value, were determined to draw the line of suffrage restriction even closer by fixing a minimum value for a freehold. Throughout the East the feeling was pretty general that there should be some local attachment. Monroe said that the elective franchise should be confined to an interest in the land, and Randolph approvingly agreed that "terra firma" was the only safe ground in the commonwealth for the right of suffrage. "The moment you quit the land", said he "you find yourself at sea without a compass without landmarks, or polar star."

The convention finally agreed to lessen the requirements of a freehold, and to extend the suffrage to leaseholders and housekeepers who paid taxes.

Many of the debates on representation and suffrage were characterized by reference to possible dismemberment of the state. In the first stages of the debate, the eastern delegates indulged most freely in such expressions and several indicated that the separation of Virginia would lead to the separation of the United States. Later in the debate the western delegates and their constituents were even more emphatic in their threats or warnings of dismemberment. Citizens of Wheeling held a massmeeting at which resolutions were adopted calling upon the western delegates to secede in case the convention rejected the white basis. Almost every issue of the *Richmond Enquirer* for the month of December, 1829, discusses the probabilities that the western delegates could return from the convention to make a constitution of their own. Later Doddridge acknowledged that they had contemplated such a course. Baldwin of Augusta believed that a successful attempt to force representation for slave property would result in dismemberment. Moore of Rockbridge assured the conservatives that the west had been settled by the Wallaces, Graemes, and Douglasses, and that if the struggle came to Bannockburn, they would all be there and old Kirkpatrick among the rest.

Philip Doddridge, typyfing the western democratic sentiment, moved that the executive, unhampered by a council, should be elected by the people and responsible to them. Although at that time eighteen states elected their governors by popular vote, his motion was lost by the negative vote of the chairman. Mr. Naylor of Hampshire proposed that the office of sheriff should be filled by the people instead of by the county court whose members were accustomed to give this office to themselves in rotation, the one receiving it selling it at public auction to the highest bidder; but that recommendation met the formidable and successful opposition of men as influential as Giles and Leigh who thought such an innovation would disturb the county court system, to

them "the most valuable part of the constitution." In the convention there seemed to be an abhorrence of overlegislation and to remedy this Mr. George of Tazewell proposed that the assembly meet but once in two years. The motion was lost, many perhaps feeling with Randolph that as the legislature of the United States met every year the Virginia assembly should meet annually also in order to watch it. Resolutions were submitted by western members looking toward the encouragement of public education, but the eastern men opposed, some fearing the adoption of a system by which the people of the East would be taxed for the education of the children of the West. Nor did the West, after failing to realize so many of its longed for reforms, have any prospect of realizing them in the early future for the proposition that there should be a constitutional provision for amendment received but twenty-five votes. In opposing this proposition, John Randolph declared that he would as soon think of introducing a provision of divorce in a marriage contract, and that although he was strongly against the constitution, "if we are to have it", he exclaimed, "let us not have it with the death warrant on its very face."

The completed constitution, a precedent for all later constitutions of the South before 1860, provided for several minor reforms. Under it the number of delegates was reduced from 214 to 134 (not to exceed 150), the county system of representation was abolished and representatives apportioned according to districts which were so arranged that the apportionment was more nearly in accord with the respective population of the counties. Thirty-one of the representatives were assigned to the twenty-six counties west of the Alleghenies, of these thirty-one the twenty-three counties now in West Virginia were given twenty-nine. However, as no reapportionment could be made before 1841 and then not unless two-thirds of the assembly agreed, and since the East had a large majority in the legislature, the chances for a reapportionment were small. An age qualification of twenty-five was added to the qualification for delegates. The number in the senate was increased from twenty-five to thirty-two, not to exceed thirty-six. The state was divided as it were into two great senatorial districts separated by the Blue Ridge, the eastern district was given nineteen members and the western thirteen although the western district contained the larger number of electors. The age qualification for senators was changed from twenty-five to thirty years. The right of suffrage was extended to all white male citizens twenty-one years of age who were qualified to vote under the old constitution and laws, to all who possessed a $25 freehold, a $25 joint tenantship, a $50 reversion, a five-year leasehold of an annual rental value of $20, and to all taxpaying housekeepers who were heads of families.[3] But the right of suffrage was granted in terms the interpretation of which proved very difficult. In this constitution there was a provision for the *viva voce* vote characteristic of the South. The power of the executive was increased and the executive council was reduced in membership.

The term of the executive was increased to three years, ineligible for the next three years. Contrary to the constitution of 1776 which left all qualifications for the executive to the general assembly, several qualifications were stated in the constitution. He was to be thirty years of age, a native citizen of the United States, or a citizen at the time the federal government was established, and a citizen of Virginia for five years next preceding his election. The executive council was to be a rotary body consisting of three instead of eight members chosen by the assembly, and the senior councilman was to act as lieutenant governor.

This constitution, when submitted to the final vote of the convention, was opposed by the votes of every delegate from trans-Allegheny

[3] Henning vol. 12 p. 120. The law of 1785 defined a freehold as twenty-five acres of improved or fifty acres of unimproved land.

territory, now included in West Virginia, except that of Philip Doddridge who was ill and absent. When submitted to the people, in April, 1830, and ratified by a vote of 26,055 to 15,563, the vote within the bounds of West Virginia was only 1,383 for ratification and 8,365 against it. Almost all the northwestern counties except Monongalia and Preston were practically unanimous in opposition. In Monongalia, the vote was 410 for and 487 against. Out of a total vote of 646, Ohio county gave only three votes for ratification. Brooke county, the home of Campbell and Doddridge, gave 371 votes against it and no vote for ratification, and Harrison gave only eight for it out of a total vote of 1,128. Logan gave only two votes for it, Cabell only five, Tyler only five, Pocahontas only nine, and Randolph only four. The spirit of Randolph was expressed at a meeting at Beverly which adopted resolutions favoring division of the state in preference to a vote for adoption of the constitution. Hampshire and Jefferson were the only two West Virginia counties which gave a majority for it.

In the entire state the total vote was 41,618, of which 26,055 were for the new constitution and 15,563 against it.

The constitution of 1830 did not settle the differences between the East and West but really extended the center of discontent in the trans-Allegheny region which would not be reconciled to it and continued to talk dismemberment. A writer in the *Wheeling Gazette* of April, 1830, suggested that a convention in the West should be called to appoint commissioners "To treat with the eastern nabobs for a division of the state—peacably if we can, forcibly if we must." A series of essays appearing in many western papers urged that dismemberment alone could bring relief to the West. On October 1, 1830, citizens of Wheeling called a mass meeting to consider the expediency of measures to annex northwestern Virginia to Maryland (north of a line from the mouth of the Little Kanawha to Fairfax stone).

An editorial writer in the *Wheeling Compiler* said: "Should the victory turn out in favor of our opponents, the declared enemies of equal rights and practical republicanism, we still have, provided the entire West will move unanimously with the counties in this section of the state, one chance left, and that is Separation. This will not prove an impractical matter. If the people of the West will it, it is effective."

The *Winchester Republican* suggested that Virginia should let the disaffected population of the northwest go, and suggested that the southwest, deprived of its northern allies, would give up its desire for separation if the desired improvements in the southwest should be completed. On December 3, 1830, just before the meeting of the legislature, the same paper editorially made the following comments in regard to possible dismemberment: "The preservation of the state we believe will depend upon this legislature. Dispute the claims of the trans-Allegheny counties to what they may deem a proper share of the fund for internal improvements and a division of the state must follow—not immediately perhaps, but the signal will be given for the rising of the clans, and they will rise. It is not worth while now to speculate on the mode and manner in which the government will be opposed. Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof. But a crisis is approaching. The northern counties demand to be separated from the state with a view of attaching themselves to Maryland or Pennsylvania; the southwest counties go for a division of the state into two commonwealths. Of the two projects spoken of, that which would be least injurious to the Valley and the state at large, would be to part with the northwestern counties. Let them go. Let us get clear of this disaffected population. Then prosecute the improvements called for in the southwest, and that portion of our state, deprived of its northern allies, would give up its desire for a separation."

Thomas J. Lees of New Jersey and president of Linsly Institute in some notes of 1831 wrote: "That part of Virginia which borders on the Ohio is rapidly improving in wealth and population; its inhabitants

have long been dissatisfied with the selfish policy and the usurpations of the eastern slave holders, whose influence in the legislative body has ever been exerted in the perpetuation of an oppressive aristocracy. The people here are very different from those of the eastern part of the state. Industry is much more encouraged and respected; slavery is unpopular, and the few who hold slaves generally treat them well. The time is not far distant when western Virginia will either liberalize the present state government, or separate itself entirely from the Old Dominion."

In 1831 a writer in the Rockbridge (Lexington) *Intelligencer* suggested to the people of western Virginia the expediency and the necessity for a division of the state, making the Blue Ridge the boundary line. He based his proposition on the differences in the interests of the two sections, and in manners, habits and customs—including the use of slavery in the eastern section. He saw not a single advantage derived from the connection of the two sections and thought that separation would be granted by the state and by the United States if the western division would request it. The Staunton *Spectator* agreed with the writer in the *Intelligencer*, pronouncing the reason substantial. The *Richmond Whig* stated that both sides would vote for the measure whenever submitted.

Naturally the Constitution of 1830 worked unfavorably for the West. The vast resources of western Virginia—forests of excellent timber, deeply buried reservoirs of oil and natural gas, and 16,000 square miles of bituminous coal in workable seams—remained undeveloped because of the short sightedness of eastern leaders. The West with no railroads and no canals especially needed internal improvements[4] but, despite much public agitation and vigorous struggles in the general assembly, it had to remain content with paltry appropriations for turnpikes, obtained by log rolling, while vast sums were spent on badly managed improvements which were undertaken in the East.[5]

In 1831-32 the people of the Kanawha were defeated by the East in their renewed attempt to secure an extension of the Staunton and Potomac railway to the Ohio via the Kanawha valley.

By 1830 the West, including even the Kanawha valley began to attribute their lack of prosperity to their proximity to the slaveholding portion of the state, and favored the expediency of legislation to secure emancipation.

Under the new constitution the present territory of West Virginia received no public buildings, had no representatives in the United States senate and had no opportunity to furnish the governor for the state before the appointment of Joseph Johnson in 1850.

Under these conditions it is not surprising that equal representation on the white basis continued to be the western cry.

In the two decades after 1830 the West grew in population by immigration of industrious, thrifty people including several colonies of Germans who established homes in the northern panhandle, on the Lit-

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[4] An article in the Kanawha Banner of December 31, 1830, referred to this need as follows:

"The interest of the State required that early and vigorous encouragement should be given to the towns in the West. This would have been done most effectually by opening avenues of intercourse between them and the East. A policy the reverse of this has been pursued, and Western Virginia, instead of being built up as a healthful member of the body politic, has been regarded as a frontier waste or terra incognita. It is to this policy that we are to look for the cause of the lethargy that impedes the growth and prosperity of Western Virginia."

[5] Owing to conflicting reports in regard to the relative merits of railways and canals, Virginia in 1832 surrendered its interest in the James River Canal Company to a joint company (the James River and Kanawha Company) which was empowered to continue the work to the Ohio either by a railroad or a canal or by a combination of both. The work of the new company was postponed by lack of capital and the inability to secure it from the banks. In the meantime the management of the Chesapeake and Ohio canal had incurred the displeasure of the federal administration and its president was removed through the influence of Jackson.

tle Kanawha and in Doddridge and Randolph counties. Thus it was stimulated to renew the fight for a larger share in the government. It expected the Assembly of 1841-42, under authority of a clause in the Constitution of 1830, to reapportion representation on a more equitable basis. In this it met disappointment. Its delegates expressed this disappointment by placing upon the journal of the house of delegates a protest, signed by fifty of their number. They then tried to force the call of a constitutional convention but were again defeated by a sectional vote. In response to a call for new action, delegates from ten northwestern counties met at Clarksburg and requested that a poll of trans-Allegheny Virginia to determine the desire of the people on the question of a new constitutional convention. There were many expressions in favor of division of the state, and the editor of the *Kanawha Republican* suggested that the new state should be named "*Appalachia.*" In response to a call made by a public meeting at Charleston, a convention of eighty delegates representing twenty counties met at Lewisburg on August 1, 1842, and adopted resolutions asking the assembly to submit to popular vote the question of a constitutional convention to equalize representation on a white basis, but this proposal was promptly defeated by the Assembly of 1842-43 by a strictly sectional vote.

After the indefinite postponement of the subject by the legislature, which had the power to reapportion the state after 1841, westerners, with sectional feeling more pronounced, finally settled into a decision to endure the evils of the constitution until after the census of 1850, satisfied that the excess of white population west of the mountains would be so great that the East could no longer with any show of justice refuse them their proper share in the general assembly. After another defeat by a strictly sectional vote in the Assembly of 1842-43, they ceased to make a united stand for reform by call of a new constitutional convention.

Meantime, the question of internal improvements was presented to the assembly as a most important state necessity. The following message of Governor McDowell upon the situation was sent to both houses of the assemby on December 2, 1844, and appeared in the *Kanawha Republican* of December 11:

* * * "There is no work which could be better commended to your hands—no one which is more needful to be done, and there is no time for doing it, which is perhaps more propitious than the present one of political relaxation. Under this view of the advantages of the moment I deem it my duty to recommend nothing which is not directly connected with the invigoration of our domestic policy, and to that end, shall invite your attention, chiefly, to those leading interests whose sound condition is indispensable to every well administered and well doing commonwealth.

"Of these interests, '*the internal improvement*' interests of the commonwealth is one—a principal and in some considerable extent, a suffering one. Having adverted to this subject in my former message, though in a particular connection only, I would not recur to it now, but for the conviction, long and habitually entertained, that the internal improvements of the State, by suitable highways for market, is a *State necessity*, which, however, deferred, is absolute and inevitable at last. Let the geographical situation of large and fertile districts beyond the Alleghany, and the many circumstances affecting their population, be considered, and this necessity becomes apparent. If improvements are not to go there, thousands of their people are at once subjected to the alternative, for themselves and their children, of hardships, poverty and ignorance, or immediate emigration. Such a consequence as this might, indeed, be borne upon a small scale without any serious loss, but it cannot be risked upon the territory and population of those immense districts, without risking at the same time and to a fatal extent, the prosperity and power of the State itself. The portions of the State which are most destitute, at present, of commercial highways, and most dependent upon them, comprehend, together with small parts of the Valley, the whole trans-Alleghany country, which does not border upon and enjoy the trade of the Ohio, and form a united whole which is greater in territory than that of half the States; greater in fertility of soil than any equal area of our own State; rich in minerals, water-power and health—in every physical element of wealth which human industry can use, and wanting nothing to render it prosperous and happy, except facilities of intercourse and trade. But in this vital and comprehensive want, itself the parent of so many others, it wants almost everything else.

"Throughout the whole extent of this country, from Harper's Ferry to the State of Tennessee, a distance of more than four hundred miles upon the Alleghany, it

is penetrated by a few earthen turnpikes only, at wide intervals from one another; and of these few, one is unfinished—one just finished, and the oldest of them all has been scarcely twenty years in use.—Perceptibly and advantageously, however, as these turnpikes have aided the purposes of settlement and social intercourse, they have been so inadequately supported, if supported at all, by means of lateral and tributary connections with the vast tracts of the country intervening between them, that except at their eastern and western ends, they never have been used, or used but little, for the transportation of agricultural products. The agriculture of that whole region, therefore, instead of being diversified as it might be, continues to depend, as it has always depended, upon one solitary source—that of grazing alone for all its profits.

"In spite, however, of every disadvantage, and in spite of the disheartening difficulties which have been entailed, for generations, upon the titles of its landed estates under the operation of our own laws, such have been the irrepressible energies of both country and people, that they have gone on steadily increasing in numbers and resources. In twenty years, the trans-Alleghany district (exceeding somewhat the country here spoken of) has added a hundred thousand to its numbers, and has thereby changed its population from one-seventh to one-fifth of the whole population of the State. Ten years ago it paid about thirty-six thousand dollars only, into the treasury, which at that time was not more than the eleventh or twelfth part of the whole revenue. It now pays upwards of a hundred and ten thousand dollars, which is about the sixth part of the revenue."

In 1845 eastern leaders of the democratic party decided to keep control of the reform movement, and they were later able to control the question of change in representation which was the most prominent question between the two sections. They also offered various plans of conciliation, such as the new educational law of 1846. To conciliate the Northwest, the Assembly of 1847 allowed the Baltimore and Ohio railway to select a western terminus on the Ohio below Wheeling—either at the mouth of Grave creek or at the mouth of Fishing creek, provided it built a lateral line to Wheeling, and a later legislature incorporated a branch road located westward from Grafton to a terminal at Parkersburg—the most southern limit which the Richmond government could be induced to concede as an Ohio river terminus of a railroad whose eastern terminus was not at Richmond.

They united in an effort to control the movement for a convention, and favored by lack of harmony in the West, were able to secure a mixed basis of membership for organization of the proposed convention. Although they affirmed not very reverently that to the white basis they could not and would not yield, they gradually advocated many of the reforms which had so startled them when proposed by western members in the convention of 1829-30. They became willing to extend the suffrage to every free white man over twenty-one, allowing him to vote once where he resided and nowhere else; they favored a reform of the county court and the judicial system, the election of the governor by the people, and a more rigid accountability of all the governmental departments. Finally, through their newspapers and through the governors' messages they urged a constitutional convention to bring about these reforms. On the other hand the westerners, who had favored these reforms for years, were unwilling to vote for a convention which was not organized on the white basis and which did not promise to equalize representation.

In the legislature of 1850, the West was again defeated by the passage of a convention bill that adopted for the convention a mixed basis which gave the East a majority of seventeen in the convention (the white basis would have given the West a majority of thirteen). In the western papers this defeat was attributed to the votes of western members who were anxious to secure a convention on any basis. The feeling in the trans-Allegheny region, however, was strongly against "that abominable convention bill" as it was called in the Parkersburg *Gazette,* and the people were urged to repudiate those traitors to the interests of the West and republican principles who had voted for the bill with no provision for a white basis. Anti-convention meetings were held in many of the counties and the people were advised to vote against the constitution. The Parkersburg *Gazette,* exhorting the West to present an unbroken front in opposition to the eastern scheme to avoid the reform most needed, said that it would then remain to be seen

whether the East would have the temerity to stake the integrity of Virginia upon her dogma of "might makes right."

A bill of 1850 provided for a convention of 135 members chosen on the mixed basis—seventy-six from the East and fifty-nine from the West. By an apportionment on the white basis, the West would have had seventy-four delegates and the East sixty-one delegates.

At the April elections, when the bill was submitted for ratification by the people, the trans-Allegheny leaders tried hard to defeat it. Although the majority for the entire states was in favor of the convention, majorities against it were returned by twenty-nine of the forty-three western counties.

In the August elections for selecting delegates to the convention the basis question was the issue. Not one of the thirty-four members elected from the West favored the mixed basis and not one of the 101 members elected from the East, except Henry A. Wise, opposed it. The *Monongalia Mirror* said: "We ask for the right of representation for freemen, instead of being made 'hewers of wood and drawers of water' to those whose chattels are deemed of equal value with ourselves."

Hon. Waitman T. Willey of Monongalia county, in a speech before the convention in 1851 in an impassioned and eloquent argument on the question of "A Just Basis of Representation," expressed the sentiment of the western part of the state that it had been unfairly dealt with by the east. He said:

"More than one-half of the people of Virginia, by at least one hundred and fifty thousand—more than one-half of the voters of Virginia, by at least fifteen thousand—are standing this day knocking at the doors of this hall; after long years of delay, after mature deliberation and a quarter of a century's discussion and patient endurance of their grievances, they are now, to-day, at this moment knocking at the doors of this hall, demanding their proper political power, and an appointment of representation upon the principles of the Declaration of Rights."

The convention of 135 members which met October 14, 1850, adjourned November 4 to await census data, and reconvened on January 6, 1851. On February 6, the committee on basis and apportionment having found itself equally divided in opinion, submitted two reports. The one, favored not only by the western members of the committee but by every western delegate, advocated the white population as the basis for the apportionment of both houses; the other, having the almost equally unanimous support of the East, advocated white population and taxes combined as a basis for both houses (so that every seventy cents of taxes would have a representation equal to one white person). Every day[6] from February 17 to May 10, in committee of the whole, the convention discussed the reports of this committee and the various substitutes; but no conclusion was reached. The East had the power to adopt its basis, but feared that if it should do so the West would secede from the convention. Each side clung to its demands with bulldog tenacity. Feeling was so high that on May 10 the convention was forced to adjourn until the following day. Then a compromise committee was appointed to prevent a split.[7] Finally, the West, unflinchingly refusing to consider any compromise which did not eventually provide for the white basis or for submitting the basis question to the people, partially gained its point. In the plan finally adopted after various attempts at compromise, the apportionment for the house of delegates was based on the white population according to the census of 1850 (giving to the West eighty-three delegates and to the East sixty-nine). The apportionment in the senate was arbitrarily fixed giving thirty to the East and twenty to the West, but in the plan there was a provision that either the legislature should make a reapportionment on the white basis in 1865 or the governor should submit the basis ques-

[6] One session a day proved insufficient for the discussions. The reporter struck for higher wages, and the members enamored with their own verbosity agreed to his demands.

[7] Various plans of compromise were proposed but the West declined any compromise until finally Mr. Chilton of Fauquier came forward with a modified committee report.

tion to the people. Any qualified voter of twenty-five years of age, except a minister of the gospel, or an officer of a banking corporation, or an attorney for the commonwealth, was eligible for election to the general assembly. The delegates were elected biennially; half of the senators were elected every two years and served for four years.

With the amicable settlement of the question which for so many years had been the great disturbing element, the convention was free to express that democratic spirit of the times which had been gradually breaking down old barriers, and which Virginia had not been able to resist as is shown by the work of the legislature of 1849 which abolished imprisonment for debt and granted to women the right to make a will.

The provision extending suffrage to every white male over twenty-one, two years resident in the state and twelve months in the district where he votes not only greatly enlarged the number enjoying the elective franchise but abolished the crying abuse of double and treble voting. A man who before could vote in every district in which he held real or pretended property which he could reach by fast driving or riding on election day could now vote only in the district in which he resided. Although the method of voting was still *viva voce* dumb persons were permitted the use of the ballot—a provision which was evidently suggested by the precedent in the Kentucky Constitution of 1850.

The executive council was abolished, the judicial system reformed, and the county court reorganized. The governor, lieutenant governor (for a term of four years), the twenty-one circuit judges (for a term of eight years), the five judges of the court of appeals (for a term of twelve years) and all local officers—the justices of the peace and attorney for the commonwealth (for a term of four years), the clerk of the court and the surveyor (for a term of six years) and the sheriff and commissioners (for a term of two years)—were elected by the people. Provision was made for the payment of jurors who previously had been chosen from the loungers within reach of the sheriff's voice the day the court opened and who had served without compensation.

The spirit of the times was also reflected in restrictions on the legislature, both houses of which were now for the first time given equal power of legislation. The general demand throughout the United States for less frequent sessions of the legislature was reflected in the provision that the general assembly should meet once in two years, for no longer than ninety days which, however, might be extended for thirty days by the concurrence of three-fifths of the members. To the old restrictions of 1829—habeas corpus, bill of attainder, ex post facto, impairing of contracts, freedom of speech and press, and religious freedom—were added several additional restrictions.

The general assembly was forbidden to pledge the state for debts or obligations of any company or corporation, to grant charters of incorporation to any religious body, to authorize lotteries or to grant divorces, to change names of persons or direct the sale of the estates of persons under legal disabilities. The attitude of the recently admitted states was reflected in the provision prohibiting the legislature to form a new county of less than 600 square miles or to reduce an old county to a lower limit. One restriction, reflecting a phase of the slavery question, forbade the assembly to emancipate any slave or descendant of a slave.

The constitution declared that taxation should be equal and uniform and that all property except slaves should be taxed according to its value. All the resolutions, substitutions and efforts of western members failed to keep this exception out of the constitution. On every slave over twelve was assessed a tax equal to that assessed on land of the value of $300. Slaves under twelve were not taxed.

Thus while the western farmer was taxed on his horse or steer, and every other species of property, at its average market value, the eastern planter was protected by the Constitution itself, from bearing his fair

proportion of the tax burden, by an arbitrary and inequitable valuation of that particular property which constituted his principal wealth. A majority vote of those elected to the assembly could exempt other taxable property from taxation. A capitation tax equal to the tax on land of the value of $200 was levied on every white male inhabitant of twenty-one. One equal moiety of this white capitation tax was applied to the purposes of education in primary and free schools.

Many in the convention would have been delighted to have had a provision for a permanent system of schools incorporated in the constitution, but Virginia was not yet ready for that.[8]

As in Michigan the same year, the constitution provided for a sinking fund by directing the legislature to set aside seven per cent of the state debt existing on January 1, 1851.

The constitution was ratified in October, 1851, by a vote of 75,748 to 11,063. The only counties giving majorities against it were five eastern counties, which could not accept the compromise plan of representation involving the practical surrender of the mixed basis.

In his speech at the close of the convention of 1851, after exhorting the members on their return to their constituents to exert all their influence to allay sectional strife and to promote a cordial fraternal feeling among the people of their beloved commonwealth, President Mason said: "Virginia united has ever been one of the noblest states of the confederacy. I cannot contemplate what she would be if torn by internecine feuds or if frantically seeking her own dissolution. May you long live to see this ancient commonwealth united and happy at home, honored and respected abroad."

In spite of Mason's parting injunction, the rift between the East and the West continued to widen in the decade of political agitation which followed.

Leaders in the West regarded separation as inevitable. Hon. John S. Carlile, in a speech at a convention in Wheeling, in May, 1861, said: "There is no difference in opinion between the advocates of a separation of this State. If I may be allowed, I can claim some credit for my sincerity when I say that it has been an object for which I have labored at least since the year 1850. The convention which met at Richmond in that year, and adopted our present State Constitution, clearly disclosed to my mind the utter incompatibility consistent with the interests of the people of northwestern Virginia of remaining in connection with the eastern portion of the State."

In 1850 a new source of sectional controversy arose. In that year eastern men of influence in connection with slavery problems, advocated secession from the Union. The portion of the state west of the mountains was nearly solid against the proposal. Some of the reasons which induced them to take that stand were set forth in resolutions passed by a mass meeting in Mason county in 1850, which was the forerunner of many similar meetings held in Western Virginia ten years later. The following is an extract from the resolutions in Mason:

"As a portion of the people of the fourteenth congressional district, a part of West Augusta on whose mountains Washington contemplated, if driven to extremities, to make his last stand and plant his last banner in defense of the liberties of his country, we are prepared, in conformity with the parting advice of that same Washington, to stand by the Union; and living in the line between slave holding and non-slave holding states, which makes it certain that in the event of dissolution of the Union, we should be placed in the position of borderers, exposed to the feuds and interminable broils which such a position would inevitably entail upon us, and regard for the safety of our firesides, not less than the high impulses of patriotism, the glorious recollection of the past, and the high anticipation of the future, will induce us to adhere unswervingly to this resolution."

It was immediately after the movement of 1850 for secession that Daniel Webster uttered his oft-quoted prophecy, that if Virginia ever

[8] With the coming of New Englanders and other "foreigners" the free schools became a subject of great concern. The West continued to oppose the demands of the State University and various colleges and academies for greater participation in the benefits of the literary fund.

should join a movement to separate herself from the Union, she would lose her territory beyond the mountains, for it would never go with her.

With the building of the Baltimore and Ohio railroad to the Ohio, the trans-Allegheny Northwest became independent of Richmond. Trade could no longer be diverted from Baltimore to Richmond. The politicians by their narrow dog-in-the-manger policy which for a time had locked sources of Western Virginia, had necessitated the opening of an eastern door which greatly reduced the intercourse between the eastern and the western parts of Virginia except in matter relating to legislation and the revenue. Few northwestern Virginians visited Richmond. "They had no business acquaintances there as many of them had in Baltimore, where they sold their cattle and bought merchandise. Few eastern Virginians crossed the mountains into western Virginia. The line of business separation was drawn a quarter of a century before the act of political separation was accomplished."

Meantime, the fierce controversy over slavery was driving the North and South farther and farther apart and neither the President, nor Congress, nor the Supreme Court could suggest any middle ground which would satisfy both.

Under the administration of Wise, the political hero of the West, efforts were made to conciliate the West and thereby to endeavor to bridge the chasm between sections. The West was exhorted to send her children to Virginian schools taught by Virginians, and various schemes for railroads and canals to connect the West and the East were proposed.

After 1851 the scheme of connecting the western terminus of the James river canal with the Ohio river by a railroad was undertaken at state expense, and from 1850 to 1854 more turnpikes and railroad companies were incorporated with the privilege of constructing works of internal improvement in the West than in all the years preceding. Very liberal appropriations were also made to the western turnpike companies. The internal improvement legislation during the Wise administration was determined largely by a program for a United South. Hence the cherished scheme for completing the Covington and Ohio Railroad to connect the James and Ohio rivers as a defensive measure, to tap the granneries of the Union and to divert the mineral resources of the mountains to Richmond. In 1854 at a convention which met at White Sulphur Springs to consider internal improvements the extension of the Covington and Ohio was urged as a measure to encourage direct trade with Europe, to free Virginia from the thraldom of northern monopoly, to unite her eastern and western interests and to enable her to get control of part of the commerce which was being diverted from the Ohio and the Mississippi to the northern cities of the East.

Under the intensified general belief that dismemberment of the Union was inevitable the assembly of 1857-58 made liberal appropriations for completing the Chesapeake and Ohio railroad and incorporated numerous companies to build branches thereto. At the same time William B. Preston was sent to France as the agent of Virginia to negotiate for the establishment of a steamship line between Norfolk and Nantes.

The assembly of 1859-60 guaranteed the debt of the James river and Kanawha Company and vested the entire control of the management in the stock holders and authorized the company to borrow $2,500,000 to be used in continuing the canal. This action was partly due to the movement of a steamship line between Virginia and France and negotiated by C. J. Faulkner with certain French parties for the purchase by them of the rights and privileges of the James River and Kanawha Company. The Bellot Company of Bordeaux and several parties associated with them had become interested in the "Swan lands" which the assembly had relieved from the penalty of a forfeiture and vested in John Peter Dumas to hold in trust for the heirs and creditors of Colonel Swan, an officer of the American Revolutionary Army. In 1859 M. Bellot and the directors of the James River and Kanawha Canal Company entered into

an agreement for the sale of the companies property to certain French parties and for the creation of a new company, the Virginia Canal company, with a capital stock of not less than $20,000,000. This new company was to complete a continuous waterway to the Ohio within a specified time. Governor Wise made these French negotiations a prominent reason for calling into extra session the assembly which took the initial step to secession on the part of Virginia.

Thus the question of internal improvements was the paramount one in the Kanawha valley at the opening of the Civil war. The lack of commercial connection between the James and the Kanawha contributed to the dismemberment of Virginia by a line along the Alleghenies.

Concerning the Richmond policy of internal improvements, Professor William P. Willey, a son of Senator Willey, and sometime professor of law at West Virginia University, wrote as follows in his "Formation of West Virginia":

"Now having obtain undisputed control of the legislative machinery, and a system of taxation that bore heavily on the west and lightly on the east, let us see how they used this power as between the two sections. They first inaugurated a system of public improvements at the expense of the State Treasury, on a mammoth scale. Railroads, canals, turnpikes, bridges, &c., &c., were built *ad libitum*, from the public revenues. But although the 'Peasantry of the West' were contributing an unequal proportion of the money, none of these internal improvements were located or projected west of the mountains. They were all east of the Alleghenies where no 'Western Peasant' ever traveled, ever used them, or ever saw them. However dire the necessity for State aid in opening and developing the western counties, not a dollar of the appropriations could they get. The eastern section was being traversed by a network of railways, but not even a broad turnpike could be obtained for the western section. This policy continued until a debt approximating forty million dollars was piled up against the State—which is not paid to this day, although the old State has set apart one-third of it which she desires the New State to carry."

The following facts compiled from what appears to be official documents we quote here to show how Virginia used her public revenues during this period:

"Anterior to 1858 the sum of $22,841,474.04 had been expended by the State of Virginia for internal improvements:

To railroads	$13,369,127.50
Navigation companies	4,749,666.30
Plank roads	396,456,44
Turnpikes	2,229,714.13
Bridges	133,100.00
State roads	1,778,906.61

"At the session of 1858 the additional sum of $5,917,000 was appropriated, and since paid:

To railroads	$4,664,000
Navigation companies	647,000
Turnpike companies	166,000

"And to this sum may be added $3,351,000, appropriated to works of internal improvement prior thereto, and not called for, but since demanded—making in the aggregate the total sum of $31,609,474.04 paid by the State for works of internal improvement.

"By an examination of the report of J. M. Bennett, Esq., auditor of public accounts of Virginia, under date of December 10, 1860, it will be seen that the outstanding public debt of Virginia, estimated to the 1st of January, 1861, was $32,188,067.32; that the unfunded debt of the State was about $5,000,000, and that by estimating the back interest it would swell the public debt of Virginia in round numbers to $47,000,000.

"It is not possible to determine what proportion of this vast sum of money was expended west of the mountains, but an intelligent authority has estimated that the entire expenditures by the State for internal improvements west of the mountains from the beginning of the Commonwealth down to the time of the separation, would not exceed $3,000,000 in all, though West Virginia contained one-third of the whole territory of the State."

Professor Willey summarized the question of state division as follows:

"The question of dividing the State on the lines finally accomplished, had been a mooted question for fifty years prior to the war. It had agitated the Legislatures and the conventions of the State. It had been a subject of discussion in political campaigns and in party organizations. It had so embittered the population of the two territorial sections as to threaten the public peace. The motive already existed, at least in the western section, and the purpose was only slumbering awaiting the opportunity, when the war broke out. It was like a great ship that had been strained in many storms which needed only another troubling of the waters to part its timbers.

"In the first place we have the anomaly of a state exercising sovereignty over a territory so geographically divided by a chain of mountains as to effectually cut off communication between its population on the one side and the other. * * * The state government was administered from Richmond and its edicts carried around through the District of Columbia and the State of Maryland to the Western territory under its jurisdiction. * * * There was not only no communication between the two peoples, but there was little or no acquaintance, and absolutely no commercial relations. Western Virginia belonged by nature, not to Eastern Virginia, but to the valley of the Mississippi. Its natural outlets to market were South and West with Cincinnati and Chicago, with Pittsburgh on the North, and with Baltimore on the East.

"How was it possible for a people thus divided, although living under one State government, to develop or maintain any social, business, or political relations?

"It is practically impossible as a political proposition for two peoples to live side by side in harmony for any length of time without either business or social intercourse.

"Moreover, the people of Eastern and Western Virginia were never homogeneous. They were as far apart in tastes and temperament as by geographical conditions. Their peoples were of a different ancestry, different habits, different tastes, different manners and modes of life. The population of the Western section had come, largely from the neighboring States of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and New Jersey. They constituted the 'Yankee' element of the State. They had nothing in common with the population of the Eastern section, and the enforced isolation only served to make this fact more evident and the unnatural alliance more odious. * * *

"This high-strung aristocrat of the East could never have been fashioned into fellowship with his democratic fellow citizen West of the mountains. * * * He regarded his brother West of the Alleghenies with contempt—contempt for his humble ancestry, contempt for his plebeian tastes and occupations, contempt for his want of personal address and the habits of a gentleman, contempt for his calloused hands and his disposition to dirty his clothes with manual labor. They dubbed their Western brethren the 'Peasantry of the West.' They would not have associated with them on an equality. They would not have entertained them in their homes. They regarded them as occupying a lower social plane than themselves—and these aristocratic notions were just as intense as any religious prejudice ever was."

The interests of West Virginia with less than four per cent of her population slave, were those of a northern state. Her sons continued to attend schools in free states rather than across the Blue Ridge. Her markets were in Pittsburgh, Baltimore and Mississippi river towns rather than in Norfolk. Her geographic conditions allied her interests with those of Pennsylvania and Ohio and her industries were those which called for white rather than slave labor. Her natural destiny and future loyalty to the Union and opposition to secession was clearly forecasted by Webster, in his speech at the laying of the corner stone of the addition to the capitol at Washington (in 1851), "And ye men of Western Virginia who occupy the slope from the Alleghenies to the Ohio and Kentucky," said he, "what benefit do you propose to yourself by disunion. If you secede what do you secede from and what do you secede to. Do you look for the current of the Ohio to change and bring you and your commerce to the waters of Eastern rivers? What man can suppose that you would remain a part and parcel of Virginia a month after Virginia had ceased to be part and parcel of the United States." Early in 1860, Isaac N. Smith of Kanawha, speaking in the house of delegates on the Covington and Ohio Railroad Bill said: "As the lineal descendant of the first white man who planted his home in the wilderness of the Kanawha valley. * * * I stand here to say that when Virginia forces the necessity upon us, we can and will fight our battles without help from those who would refuse it now."

Habits of dislike grew and hardened. Lines of cleavage became more and more fixed. Every wedge tending to separation was driven deeper by the weight of years. The old generations in passing bequeathed their likes and dislikes to the new. The interest on the debt of antipathy went on compounding. The eastern flint continued to strike fire from the western steel, and it was only a question of time when the explosion would come. Conciliation would not have been impossible early in the century; but when the eastern habit of injustice had reached a veteran age with no sign of weakening, and the western habit of mistrust and hatred had become second nature, the parting of the ways was inevitable.

As Professor Willey said: "There was no such unnatural and incongruous alliance organized or existing in the Union of States as that

which existed between the two Virginias. The discriminating policy with which the government was administered between the two sections continually intensified the natural conditions of antagonism. It destroyed any possible fraternity. It is not strange that the two sections parted. It is strange that they remained together as long as they did."

Governor Letcher, in his proclamation to the people of northwestern Virginia on June 14, 1861, admitted that their complaints of inequalities were well founded. He said: "There has been a complaint among you that the eastern portion of the state has enjoyed an exemption from taxation to your prejudice. By a display of magnanimity in the vote just given, the East has, by a large majority, consented to relinquish this exemption, and is ready to share with you all the burdens of government." But the belated confession of past sins and promises of better conduct in the future were made too late to prevent the logical result of long years of sectionalism and antagonism.

In 1862 Senator Waitman T. Willey of Monongalia county, speaking in the United States senate in favor of the admission of West Virginia as a state, said:

"These counties of Western Virginia, knocking for admission into the Union as a new state, contain in rich abundance all the elements of a great commonwealth. Why have they remained undeveloped in the oldest state of the American Union? Why are our mines unworked? Why are our waterfalls forever wasting away, unappreciated by the skill of man, chafing and foaming in their channels, as if in conscious rage at the neglect? The answer to these questions is an irrefutable argument in favor of the division desired."

CHAPTER XXI

ACHIEVEMENT OF STATEHOOD

West Virginia, the only distinctively mountainous state of the Appalachian region, is the only state whose formation represents a logical conclusion of the sectionalism which existed before the Civil war in all the Southern states from Pennsylvania southward to Florida. Ten years after Webster's significant utterance of 1851 its people found the occasion which furnished the opportunity for separation from the mother state. Its determination to oppose the secession of the mother state under which its people had so long struggled for adjustment of inequalities and the establishment of better conditions of life was a prominent factor in the preservation of the Union.

The secession of South Carolina and the other cotton states precipitated a crisis which placed upon Virginia a new responsibility of decision. Governor Letcher suddenly called an extra session of the legislature which met January 7, 1861, to determine "calmly and wisely what ought to be done."

Although the ostensible purpose of the session was to enact legislation in connection with the proposed sale of the James River and Kanawha canal to a company of French capitalists—"probably to raise money to promote the arming of the state"—and the larger part of the governor's message was devoted to a discussion of banks and state finance, "the real kernel of the message—not unlike the postscript to a woman's letter—was found in a few paragraphs relating to the question then everywhere uppermost in the public prints and in men's minds —secession." As soon as submitted, this part of the message engrossed the attention of both houses to the exclusion of everything else. A proposition to submit to the people of the state the question whether they wanted a convention was offered in the house but was fiercely opposed by secessionists and was voted down by a large majority. As a lure to catch the western constituencies the convention bill was drawn so as to authorize amendments providing for a fairer system of taxation and for representation in the senate on the white basis. On January 19, the assembly agreed to resolutions resulting in the "Peace Conference" which met at Washington, February 4, 1861, and in which Ex-President John Tyler, William C. Rives, John W. Brockenbrough and James A. Seddon were delegates from the eastern part of the state and George W. Summers represented the Kanawha valley. Among its other acts was one proposing that the United States government, pending the decision of Virginia, should suspend its functions in the territory of seceded states. Its policies were doubtless influenced largely by dictation from J. M. Mason and R. M. T. Hunter, the Virginia senators at Washington who advised pressure for "decided action by the people in convention."

This session authorized an election (on February 4) to choose delegates to a convention to determine the policy of Virginia in the impending crisis. Only three weeks were allowed for the canvass; and the date of the convention was set for February 13, nine days after the election. Doctor Rives suggested that the only amendment needed was one shortening the time for the assembling of the convention.

Although the time was short and the season inclement, a keen interest was excited throughout the state by these summary proceedings. The canvass was brief but sharp. Candidates were required to define

decisively their attitude on the question of secession. The issue was too menacing to admit of indifference or evasion.

It was not to be a convention of unlimited powers. In electing delegates, the people were allowed to vote whether the action of the convention, if anything should be done affecting the relations of the State to the Federal Government, should be referred to the people for ratification before becoming effective. In the West in most of the counties meeting were held vigorously protesting against any convention to consider Federal relations, and condemning the act of the legislature which had called such a convention without previously submitting the question to the people.[1] One of the earliest Union meetings was held at Parkersburg, January 1, 1861. In it Gen. John J. Jackson, Arthur I. Boreman and J. M. Stephenson participated and agreed to the following resolutions:

"That the doctrine of secession had no warrant in the Constitution and would be fatal to the Union and to all the purposes of its creation;

"That the laws of the United States were as binding on South Carolina as before her secession;

"That nothing in the election of Lincoln afforded a reasonable ground for the abandonment of the government;

"That the proposed call for a convention was at the instigation of the enemies of the Union and intended to precipitate secession;

"That the Legislature had no constitutional power to call a convention for the purpose of changing the relation of Virginia to the United States;

"That they would not be bound by the action of such convention unless any proposed alteration of such relation was first submitted to and sanctioned by the people at an election giving ample time for discussion;

"That they demanded the white basis of representation and ad valorem taxation."

Large meetings held at Clarksburg and in the Athenaeum at Wheeling adopted similar declarations.

The following almost prophetic words written by young John J. Davis (who served in both Wheeling conventions and in the house of delegates of the Restored Government of Virginia) appeared in the *Clarksburg Guard* just at the opening of the year, before the meeting of the assembly:

"From numerous articles published in the newspapers—evidently by disunionists—it is believed that a strong effort will be made in the approaching session of the Legislature to induce that body to authorize the call of a convention for the purpose, pretendingly, of determining what course Virginia shall pursue, or what position she will assume, in the present alarming state of affairs existing in the country; and it is believed that the movers of this scheme hope and expect, by the handicraft workmanship of their many dexterous and never-tiring wire-workers and tricksters, to be enabled in the building up of this convention to secure and to mix in its body a majority of members favorable to disunion; and then to decide in favor of disunion and proceed to make the necessary provision for the appointment of vigilance committees and minute-men (another name for Jacobin clubs) in every county and magisterial district in the State, to be set to work in every corner, and to work openly in appearance but secretly as spies; to use all means, whether fair or foul, to inflame the public mind, to excite and arouse the worst and most depraved portion of the population, like the Yancy vigilance committees. And no doubt they expect with this machinery to easily drag Virginia into revolution whether her people are willing or not, if it can be done in no other way."

The *Tyler County Plaindealer* expressed the following sentiments:

"No ties bind us to Eastern Virginia but the unjust laws they have made. In no way are we, nor ever can be, of them. Our location, our trade, our interest in every way, admonish us to separate ourselves, to protect ourselves while the power to protect is left us. We are for secession at once, and let the Blue Ridge of mountains be the line."

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[1] There was a remarkable contest in Mercer county over the election of a delegate to the secession convention. The majority of the people of the county were strongly Union. The contest was between brothers, W. H. and Napoleon B. French, both of whom had been Whigs until a short time before the election when W. H. French left the Whig party and joined the Democrat party. At the time of the election Napoleon B. French was serving in the Virginia legislature as a senator from the district of which Mercer was a part. He won by a majority of over 300.

The *Morgantown Star,* edited by Marshall Dent, a Douglas democrat, who went to the Richmond convention, said:

"The people of West Virginia have borne the burden just about as long as we can stand it. We have been hewers of wood and drawers of water for Eastern Virginia long enough, and it is time that section understood it; and it is time that our would be leaders in our own section understood it."

The tightest resolutions of instruction adopted by any public meeting were adopted at Clarksburg, January 19th. They were offered by John J. Davis, and refused to support for the convention any man who was not unequivocally opposed to secession and will not so pledge himself.

On these resolutions John S. Carlile and Charles S. Lewis were nominated as delegates. Similar resolutions were adopted on January 28 by a meeting in Marshall county.

On January 21, at Parkersburg, at the largest meeting ever held in Wood county, Gen. John J. Jackson was also nominated on a platform of unconditional Unionism.

The theory of secession was stated with precision as follows in the platform upon which Dr. Zadok Kidwell was a candidate for Congress in the Fairmont district, in the Spring of 1861 (till called off by the Richmond Convention). Following is the declaration:

Resolved, That we owe obedience to the Federal Government only because Virginia has commanded us to obey its laws; and, therefore, whenever Virginia shall release us from this obligation, we will acknowledge the binding authority of that Government no longer.

Resolved, That our allegiance is due to the sovereign State of Virginia; and we maintain that Virginia, speaking by her people in sovereign convention assembled, has the right to command the services of her citizens as against any other State, power, government of authority whatever.

The convention assembled at Richmond on February 13, 1861, and began its sessions on February 14. It was really not a secession convention when it first met. The conservative majority desired to secure a peaceful solution of the issue. Outside of the public deliberations, however, radical elements[2] of the convention were planning secession with determined purpose. This minority of "designing and desperate" secessionists contrived to obtain control of the convention in order to obtain authority for what had already been planned without its knowledge. They strained every nerve to secure the passage of the ordinance of secession and gradually won the votes of enough Union members to accomplish their purpose.

The chief means in the convention for coercing Union members was the committee on federal relations on which Unionists had only seven of the twenty-one members and the West had only four. The character and purpose of this committee is illustrated by one of the declarations contained in it which declared that the people of Virginia would "expect, as an indispensable condition that a pacific policy be adopted towards the seceded states, and that no attempt be made to subject them to the Federal authority, nor to reinforce the forts now in possession of the military forces of the United States, or recapture forts, arsenals or

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[2] Many of the radicals who urged secession were reactionaries on the questions of suffrage. The convention had a committee on "constitutional reforms," with Alexander H. H. Stuart as chairman. Through this committee an effort was made to eliminate from the state constitution such democratic features as free suffrage. Some of the committee's conclusions were stated in a report made by Mr. Stuart, including the following:

"In the opinion of your committee, no system of government can afford permanent and effectual security to life, liberty and property which rests on the basis of unlimited suffrage. In the South, all who are in a condition of servitude are necessarily excluded from the exercise of political privileges, and the power of the country is wielded by the more intelligent classes, who have a permanent interest in the well-being of society. Slavery also constitutes an effectual barrier against that tendency to antagonism between labor and capital which exists in the North."

Elsewhere in the South, similar views were urged. A writer in *De Bow's* Magazine declared that the maxim of "the greatest good to the greatest number" and "the majority shall rule" are "pestilent and pernicious dogmas."

other property of the United States within their limits, nor to exact the payment of imposts upon their commerce."

In March, Marshall M. Dent, writing to the *Morgantown Star,* mentioned the following incident as showing the temper of the Richmond populace at that time:

"This afternoon a crowd assembled at the old market and taking down a Union flag which had been floating there for many days, hoisted in its stead, amidst the cheers of the crowd, the rattlesnake flag. Speeches were made by several persons, among whom was Charles Irving, Mr. Clemens' second in the duel with Wise. In the course of his remarks Irving impressed upon the people that resistance was not enough; that the true policy was to drive the convention out of the city at the point of the bayonet. Scarcely had Mr. Irving uttered these words when the crowd shouted 'That's right! That's right! Drive them out!' and these cries were followed by deafening cheers."

On April 1, a Washington dispatch to a New York paper said in regard to the Virginia convention: "All information agrees in representing that a decided reaction has occurred and that the Union sentiment is rapidly losing ground in all parts of the State which have hitherto been opposed to the revolutionary movement in any form." This was probably more apparent than real, the appearance being created by the great activity of secession emissaries throughout the State.

Lang in his "Loyal West Virginia" says: "The policy adopted by the conspirators produced its effect on the people. That portion of society which takes but little interest in public affairs in ordinary times is the element from which the factionists draw the largest agency in furthering their purposes. They are ready to distinguish between ordinary and extraordinary periods in the passing events; and when they discover violent measures controlling the hour, either from timidity or ignorance, they hasten to join themselves with those who are usurping the reins of power or who occupy the largest share of public attention. This class also became attached to the party of the conspirators, and thus swelled to the proportions of respectability, they deemed the hour for action had arrived. A prominent actor in the scenes in Virginia was dispatched to Charleston, South Carolina, to announce that everything was in readiness in Virginia for the inauguration of the final act of the drama."

On April 13 the debate turned to the surrender of Fort Sumter. On April 15 the report of the three commissioners who had been appointed to ascertain the policy of President Lincoln was presented and the question of going into secret session was debated. The principal subject of discussion, however, was Lincoln's telegraphic call for 75,000 men for military duty. On April 16 the convention assembled in secret session and Governor Letcher refused to comply with President Lincoln's request for Virginia's quota of the call for militia for three months service.

The outside rabble, which filled the lobbies and galleries, had finally changed the sentiment of the convention, partly by devices of intimidation. Although the convention still hesitated for a time after the news of the fall of Fort Sumter, it was finally induced by excited leaders to cast the lot of Virginia with the Confederacy. Its adoption of secret sessions on April 16 was a preliminary step. The decisive step was finally taken on April 17, largely through the dramatic speech of Wise who spoke with watch in hand, pistol in front of him, his hair bristling and disheveled and his eye standing out with the glare of excitement.

Granville D. Hall in his "Rending of Virginia" says: "From beginning to end the conspiring, fire-eating minority, with Wise at its head, took the aggressive and employed every element of intimidation to dragoon the majority; while this great imbecile majority accepted the attitude of apologists and were on the defensive from the first. Such Union men as Summers and Willey made pleading and pathetic speeches against secession, when all they had to do to make secession impossible was to muster their majority and adjourn the Convention!

"At last there was no longer even the counterfeit of power to resist; and the helpless Unionists were forced into secret session, where, under intimidation of Wise's horse-pistol, of the conspirators in Metropolitan Hall, of the mobs in the streets, from distrust of one another, knowing their ranks were honey-combed with treachery, they were driven to surrender."

In reference to the reign of terror in and around the convention at this crisis, Mr. Willey, member from Monongalia, some years afterward wrote the following graphic description:

"During the progress of the bombardment of Fort Sumter, the excitement in Richmond and in the Convention was intense. Bonfires and illuminations blazed high in the streets and public squares; the national flag was torn from its place over the dome of the capitol and trampled under the feet of an infuriated mob. Stores and public places were closed and the populace sought the streets to give vent to their feelings. Strangers rushed to the city from all parts of the State and helped to swell the throngs. Many who had come in advance of the call to meet on the 16th of April assembled together in a large hall and sat with closed doors. No ingress could be obtained to the sessions of this mysterious body. The Convention went into secret session. The scenes witnessed within the walls of that room, as detailed by members, have no parallel in the annals of ancient or modern times. On the morning of the 17th, Mr. Wise, the member from Princess Anne, rose in his seat and drawing a large Virginia horse-pistol from his bosom laid it before him, and proceeded to harangue the body in the most violent and denunciatory manner. He concluded by taking his watch from his pocket and, with glaring eyes and bated breath, declared that events were now transpiring which caused a hush to come over his soul. At such an hour, he said, Harper's Ferry and its armory were in possession of Virginia soldiers; at another period the Federal navy-yard and property at Norfolk were seized by troops of the State."

The statement of Wise concerning the seizure of Harper's Ferry was true. The volunteer companies which had been organized in the Shenandoah valley after the raid by John Brown, under orders from some mysterious power, had assembled to the number of two thousand or more, and had moved on Harper's Ferry with the design of seizing the Federal armory and arsenals at that point. The small garrison of marines, after destroying the most valuable property, fired the buildings and fled in precipitate haste.

The convention by a vote of eighty-eight to fifty-five approved the ordinance of secession which was to take effect when ratified by a majority of the votes of the people of the state in an election set for May 23 (the fourth Thursday).

The body of the ordinance was the following: "Now, therefore, we, the people of Virginia, do declare and ordain that the ordinance adopted by the people of this State in convention on the 25 day of June, 1788, whereby the Constitution of the United States of America was ratified, and all acts of the General Assembly of this State ratifying and adopting amendments to said Constitution, are hereby repealed and abrogated; that the union between the State of Virginia and the other States under the Constitution aforesaid is hereby dissolved and that the State of Virginia is in the full possession and exercise of all the rights of sovereignty which belong to a free and independent State. And they do further declare that the said Constitution of the United States is no longer binding on any citizen of this State."

The pretext for the secession was the proclamation of President Lincoln, which secessionists chose to announce and act upon as a declaration of war.

The vote of western members stood 32 to 11 against it (4 not voting). Those voting for secession were: Allen T. Caperton, John Echols, Napoleon B. French, James Lawson, Johnson Orrick, Henry L. Gillespie, Cyrus Hall, Leonard S. Hall, John N. Hughes, Samuel Woods and Franklin P. Turner.

Those voting against it were: Edward M. Armstrong, George W. Berlin, Caleb Boggess, William G. Brown, John S. Burdett, James Burley, Benjamin W. Byrne, John S. Carlile, Sherrard Clemens, C. B. Conrad, James H. Couch, Alpheus F. Haymond, Chester D. Hubbard, John J. Jackson, William McComas, James C. McGrew, Henry H. Masters, Logan Osburn, Spicer Patrick, Edmund Pendleton, George McPorter, Samuel Price, David Pugh, Marshall M. Dent, Ephraim B. Hall, Allen C. Hammond, James W. Hoge, Burwell Spurlock, Chapman J. Stuart, George W. Summers, Campbell Tarr, and Waitman T. Willey.

Those not voting were: Thomas Maslin, Benjamin Wilson, Alfred M. Barbour, and Paul McNeil.

Those who did not change from the negative to the affirmative, but afterwards signed the Ordinance of Secession were: Alfred M. Barbour and Paul McNeil.

Of the members voting against the ordinance, Haymond of Marion, Price of Greenbrier, and Berlin of Upshur, recanted, went back to Richmond and cast their fortunes with the Confederacy.

"Immediately after the passage of the fatal ordinance the convention began to diminish in numbers. The delegates from the northwestern part of the state, from the counties which now compose the state of West Virginia, finding themselves in a hopeless minority, quietly, and in some instances secretly, took their departure for their

native mountains, where their humble yet more faithful constituents received them with open arms and anxious minds."

The night following the passage of the ordinance, Hubbard, Clemens, Carlile, Tarr, Dent and Burdett, of the Northwestern members, seeing that further resistance in the convention was impossible, that the sooner they got home and warned their people the better, and that their personal liberty was no longer secure in Richmond, quietly took a train for the North and were in Washington next morning. Others followed at once.

The Richmond leaders were reported to be indignant because Carlile and Dent, when passing through Washington, had called on President Lincoln and revealed to him the action taken by the convention in secret session.

James C. McGrew, who was a member of the convention, afterwards wrote an account of his observations at the Richmond convention and of the withdrawal of the western members. The chief features appear in the following extracts:

"On the 16th [of February] in obedience to a resolution passed the previous day, the President proceeded to appoint a "Committee on Federal Relations," to which should be referred all resolutions touching Federal relations and kindred subjects. * * *

"The plans of the conspirators were adroitly laid, and successfully put into operation. They evidently knew from the beginning that they would have a strong Union sentiment to combat in the Convention and to overcome, if possible. A part of the machinery prepared for this purpose was the introduction to the Convention, five days after it met, of three commissioners from Georgia, South Carolina and Mississippi: Henry L. Benning, John S. Preston, and Fulton Anderson each of whom addressed the Convention, evidently by prearrangement with the conspirators. * * *

"On the 9th of March the Committee made a partial majority report in which 'sovereignty' was declared to 'rest in the States,' slavery was held to be 'a vital element in Southern socialism,' and any interference by State or Federal Government was offensive and dangerous. * * *

"This committee report, which was made on the 14th of March, was made the order of the day in committee of the whole and at once became the signal for a general onset between the Union men and the Secessionists. The debate began at once and continued for about twenty-two days. It was characterized by great heat and great ability on both sides. The vehemence and malignancy of the conspirators was met by the sturdy determination and eloquence of the Unionists in defense of all that was revered in the history of the country. * * *

"Alarmed at the strength of the Union sentiment in the Convention, the conspirators had early in the session quietly sent out instructions to their friends in the several counties and boroughs in which Union delegates had been elected by small majorities to hold meetings and pass resolutions instructing their delegates. * * * Some of the weaker members were deceived by this device and gave in their adhesion to the cause of secession. Notwithstanding these defections, the friends of the Union still had the majority, and the conspirators found it necessary to adopt still other methods to overcome it. Accordingly a secret circular, signed by six of the conspirators who were members of the Convention, and two who were members of the House of Delegates, was sent throughout the State to such of the citizens as they thought they could rely upon to co-operate with them, requesting them in significant language to present themselves in Richmond on the 16th day of April, to 'consult with the friends of Southern rights as to the course Virginia should pursue in the present emergency, and to send from each county a full delegation of reliable men.' This brought to the city hundreds, if not thousands, of desperate characters, who were prepared to do the bidding of the cabal, whatever it might be. * * *

"This camarilla, thus brought together, held meetings behind closed doors in a hall not far away from the capitol, where the Convention was sitting, to which none but the faithful were admitted, whilst the conspirator Wise and his co-conspirators alternated between the two bodies, no doubt keeping the revolutionary meeting accurately informed of everything that transpired in the lawful one, although the latter was sitting in secret and the members were under their parole of honor to disclose none of its proceedings. * * *

"The conspirators had early adopted a system of tactics calculated and intended to arouse the passions of the 'lewd fellows of the baser sort,' who at once began to carry out the devilish plan, and were soon joined by others of the more respectable classes of the populace; and soon the city became a perfect pandemonium. Howling mobs paraded the streets at night, with drums and horns and cow-bells, 'frightening the ear of night' with discordant noises; going from place to place, denouncing with opprobious epithets the Unionists of the Convention, one of whom they burned in effigy in the street, others of whom they tried to intimidate by suspending ropes with nooses attached to limbs of trees or lamp-posts near their lodgings at night, calling them from their beds and kindly informing them that the halters were for them! Until the Convention went into secret session, the lobbies and galleries of the hall were crowded with this same excited, angry mob—hounded on by negro-

traders—who hissed and howled whilst Unionists were speaking, sometimes compelling them to desist. Upon leaving the hall, Union members were sure to encounter a similar mob in greater numbers about the door outside, who would greet them with insulting remarks, sometimes with threats of personal violence. * * *

"This state of affairs continued up to the passage of the ordinance of secession, the mob continually increasing in numbers and violence. * * * When the 'reliable men' began to assemble they found to their disgust the stars and stripes floating from the flag-staff on the capitol. This they could not tolerate. * * *

"One evening immediately after the Convention adjourned, the mob rushed in through the library, and with axes hewed down the door and went on up to the roof. The flag was violently torn down, amid yells of the maddened crowd below, and the secession emblem hoisted in its place—the canaille cheering as it arose. From that time on the Convention sat under it.

"The newspapers of the city were for secession, and freely joined the mob in abuse of the Unionists. * * *

"Thus, what was a decided Union majority when the Convention first came together gradually melted away. * * *

"Preparation to begin the conflict had already been made, and the bombardment of Fort Sumter began immediately—April 12th—and on the day following Governor Pickens, in a telegram, boastingly conveyed the tidings to Governor Letcher declaring 'War commenced, and we will triumph or perish.' * * *

"On the 16th of April the Convention went into secret session. This increased the excitement and added to the alarm among the remaining Unionists * * * The Union men could now comprehend fully their hopeless position, when they saw those who had been elected as Unionists and who earlier had acted and voted with them, yielding to the storm so furiously raging about them and beating about their heads. * * *

"On the morning of the 17th, Henry A. Wise came into the hall, carrying a large horse-pistol, which, with a flourish, he placed before him on his desk, and proceeded to harangue the Convention in the most vehement and denunciatory manner; and, looking at his watch, he declared that very hour events were occurring 'which caused a hush to come over his soul.'

"It was then the Union men of the Convention saw clearly the object of the other assemblage which had been, and was then, sitting with closed doors, and whose concealed hand was in the act of seizing the reins of government. * * *

"On the afternoon of the 17th of April, the Convention came to a vote on the ordinance. The vote stood eighty-eight for and fifty-five against. * * * Already the Convention had (April 25th) 'ratified' the constitution of the Confederacy and entered into a union with it. * * *

"Late in the afternoon of Saturday, the 20th, some one made the quiet suggestion that the Union members from the Northwestern part of the State get together for consultation, and the Powhattan Hotel, near the capitol, was named as the place of meeting. Accordingly, about twenty, who were hastily notified, quietly and promptly met in Sherrard Clemens' bedroom in the hotel, and organized by electing Gen. John J. Jackson (father of the present United States District Judge of the same name) chairman. After careful deliberation, the meeting decided unanimously that the members present, and such other Union members from the western counties as might be willing to join in the movement (leaving only two in the Convention to give information) should quietly withdraw from the Convention, go home to their constituents, call public meetings, put on foot measures to resist secession, and ultimately bring about, if possible, what had long been talked about and desired—a division of the State.

"John S. Carlile, whose life was thought to be in danger, had been taken by some of his friends the previous day and put on board a railway train and started for his home; and a few other Union members had already left the city. It had now become necessary for those intending to leave to procure permission from the Governor in order to procure railway tickets and get out of the city. Eight members went in a body to the Governor for this purpose, and after being sharply interrogated, a permit signed by the Governor was given them. They were informed by the Governor that they could not get out over the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad, as he had given orders the night before to burn the bridge over the Potomac at Harper's Ferry. * * *

"On Sunday morning, the 21st, a party of fourteen (including two ladies), after encountering some difficulty, got out of the city by two railroads. When they arrived at Alexandria in the afternoon they found the city in an uproar—streets guarded, all public conveyances by land and water discontinued;—and consequently they were compelled to remain over night. * * *

"I left Alexandria next morning at two o'clock for Washington in a buggy with a brisk team driven by a white man who was well known in the city. We were stopped in the suburbs once by a guard, but had no further difficulty until we reached the Long Bridge over the Potomac, which we found guarded by a battery of artillery. There we were again halted and closely interrogated by the officer in command, and finally allowed to proceed. After two or three slight adventures in Baltimore and Harper's Ferry, I reached home the third day after escaping from Richmond, worn in body and sick at heart.

"The party that remained at Alexandria were not permitted to come on to Washington, but were compelled to turn their faces again toward Richmond. Instead of returning to Richmond, when they reached Manassas Junction, they left the

railway train and hired conveyances across the mountain to Winchester, whence they travelled by rail to Harper's Ferry and so on home."

Neither secessionists nor Unionists waited for the popular vote (on the ordinance) which the convention provided should be taken May 23, the date for the regular election of members to the general assembly. Richmond authorities had already taken steps for military control. On April 25, even before the people had heard of the Ordinance of Secession, the convention ratified a secret league entering into a temporary union of Virginia with the Confederate States by which the entire military forces and resources of the Commonwealth were placed instantly and absolutely at the command of the president of the Confederate States.

Even before the passage of the secession ordinance, the insurrectionary authorities at Richmond levied war against the United States by the seizure of United States Property at Harper's Ferry, the capture of the federal buildings at Richmond, Norfolk and Portsmouth, and the attempted seizure of United States ships and other naval property at Gosport.

The seizure of the arsenal at Harper's Ferry and the custom houses at Richmond and Portsmouth and the act placing Virginia under the control of the Confederacy as if she had already become one of its members, justified prompt action for preservation of the Union.

The triumph of secession upon the James led to the triumph of loyalty among the mountains, while Governor Letcher was training the state militia for service against the Federal government. Western leaders who understood the effect of the military league with the Southern Confederacy and the minute plans of the secessionists to force ratification recognized that plans for safety were far more important than the fight against ratification. Even before the withdrawal of the Union delegates of the West, meetings to express Union sentiments had been held. One was held at Pruntytown on April 13 and one at Morgantown on April 17 each declaring that western Virginia would loyally adhere to the United States. After the return of the western delegates to their homes, Union meetings were held all over the western counties for consideration of plans to support the Federal government. In some places Union sentiment met strong opposition and loyal leaders required strong moral courage. Sometimes speakers were mobbed, meetings were broken up, or controversies ended in rough and tumble fights and neighbors and kinsmen were arrayed against each other.

Among the first of a series of public meeting in the West was one held at Wheeling. Mr. Hubbard, returning from Richmond, reached Wheeling on the evening of April 19. The next evening at a public meeting held at American Hall, in the Fifth ward, he was present and gave his neighbors some account of his Richmond experiences, but respecting the injunction of secrecy, did not disclose the fact that an ordinance of secession had been passed. He indicated what might be expected and advised the young men to organize military companies. He said a call would soon be issued from the mountain counties for a convention to form a provisional government.

Similar meetings were held in a number of counties. One of the earliest meetings was held at Morgantown, the home of Hon. W. T. Willey, who had arrived fresh from the Richmond convention. The temper of the citizens of this locality expressed at this meeting was representative of the prevailing sentiment throughout the western section. Commending the firmness of western delegates in resisting the plans for disunion, they entered a solemn protest against the secession of Virginia, denounced such action as treason against the government of the United States, and declared that they would not follow Virginia, but would dissolve their civil and political relation with the East.

On April 22 the *Wheeling Intelligencer* on the basis of letters from several counties announced the existence of a strong trans-Allegheny movement for a general convention at Wheeling early in May to consider problems of public safety. On the same day Senator Stephen A.

Douglas crossing the Ohio at Benwood made a Union address which encouraged loyalty to the government at Washington.

Deserted by Wise its leader of the decade before and seeking other wise leaders for the future, the West was soon largely under the general direction of John S. Carlisle after his safe return from the Richmond convention. To inaugurate the movement already suggested, Carlisle called a meeting at Clarksburg. This meeting was held on April 22, was attended by 1,000 or 1,200 men and its proceedings gave immediate cohesions and directions to the views and purposes of Union men throughout northwestern Virginia. Its resolutions were drawn by Carlisle who had just returned from consultation with leading men in the upper panhandle, and whose appeal saved many wavering ones to the cause of the Union. It urgently requested that each county of northwestern Virginia should send at least five delegates to Wheeling on May 13 to determine what action should be taken in the emergency. Express riders were immediately started to give notice of the movement to all the counties in the district. There was great enthusiasm. When the call was made for express riders, a sufficient number volunteered instantly, and old farmers who were never known to be excited before, contributed their money to pay expenses and offered horses: and in a short time the express riders were on their way to their different destinations.

Other counties quickly followed the lead of the Clarksburg meeting and appointed delegates to the proposed Wheeling convention.

In places of divided sentiment, there was a feeling of danger which expressed itself in proposals for the organization of Union clubs for defense. In Lewis county secessionists burned the barns of Cabel Boggess, a Union delegate. In Marion county, much excitement was produced by a rumor of secession plans to use force to intimidate Union men, and Rev. Jeremiah Simpson of the Methodist Protestant Church there reported at Clarksburg that the situation might precipitate a riot at any minute. At Clarksburg there were threats to burn the town which caused some fear of night mobs from "across the river." In Barbour county Union men feared to organize in the face of strong secession sentiment.[3] The Philippi court house was a storm center of the secession

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[3] Finding that no public meeting to uphold the Union cause could be held in Philippi without danger of interruption by secessionists, a small number of Union citizens met secretly for the purpose of appointing delegates to the Wheeling Convention. This meeting was afterwards styled, the "Shoeshop Convention," because it met secretly and at night in a shoeshop belonging to Martin Myers. The windows were darkened and the door locked, and only sufficient candle light was used to enable the clerk to do what writing was necessary. Not one word of the proceedings of the meeting have been preserved in writing. The minutes and resolutions were taken to Wheeling and were lost. Not many persons were there. The list, so far as it can be now ascertained, consisted of the names of Martin Myers, Hanson L. Hoff, William K. Hall, Edwin Tutt and Spencer Dayton. Mr. Hoff was chairman and the resolutions were written by Mr. Dayton. Delegates to the Wheeling convention were appointed, namely, H. L. Hoff, Joseph Teter, Sr., Rev. Alpheus Zinn and Spencer Dayton. * * *

The delegates to Wheeling met in Philippi to make ready for the journey. As yet it has not become public that a Union meeting had been held, but it was suspected that Barbour would likely be represented at Wheeling, and the closest watch was kept to thwart any attempt in that direction. Guards were posted at the bridge and no one, suspected of being a Union man, was permitted to cross unchallenged. When the delegates-elect had reached Philippi and held an informal conference on a street corner, and when the difficulties and dangers in the way of going to Wheeling were understood, all the delegates, except Mr. Dayton excused themselves from going. Mr. Dayton said he would go if it cost him his life. At night after the other delegates had returned to their homes, he prepared to leave Philippi. He saddled his horse and waited till long after midnight when the streets were quiet, and when he supposed the guards at the bridge would be asleep. When he reached the vicinity of the bridge, he "laid whip to his horse and went through at a dead run, and out upon the pike to Webster." When Mr. Dayton returned from the convention, he reached home late at night, and hoped to enter his house undiscovered; but in this he was not successful. The next day Confederate soldiers went to his house to arrest him, but he was in hiding up stairs and they did not find him. On that evening, at dusk, he escaped to the hill back of his house, and succeeded in making his way to Grafton which had been occupied by the advance guard of McClellan's army.

movement west of the mountains. From its dome floated the first Confederate flag which was raised on territory of West Virginia. In it secessionists held their meetings, passed resolutions and formed plans. At one of these secession meetings in which no voice had been raised for the Union, Spencer Dayton attempted to speak in favor of the Government at Washington and finding himself confronted by a leveled musket was forced to escape by jumping through the window.

On Monday, April 30, the *Wheeling Intelligencer* informed the general public of what had been done at Richmond by reprinting from the *Baltimore American* of April 28 a copy of the ordinance of secession. In the same issue the editor published the following stirring appeal:

"Fellow-citizens, language fails us in our desire to put the whole height and depth of this stupendous infamy before you. Read it, and re-read it, and see what a mockery and scorn has been made of your decree solemnly recorded by a majority of 60,000 on the 4th of February last that no ordinance of secession should be binding until passed upon and ratified by the people. Instead of this, all the power you reserved to yourselves has been usurped. More than a week ago, before the ordinance itself had leaked out from the dark recesses of that star chamber of despotism at Richmond, you were told by the *Richmond Enquirer* that the ordinance was to be submitted, 'but simply as a matter of form and not of contest.'

Old Washington Hall Birthplace of West Virginia, May-June, 1861

"The State is in revolution now. The ordinance is worded to take effect from its passage. It is as much in effect now as it ever will be. Under it our Congressional elections have all been abolished.

"Union men of the Northwest! We conjure you as you have any manhood—as you have any hope for yourselves or your children—in this hour of our deadliest peril—to throw aside and trample under foot the last vestige of partyism. Let it be blotted out from your remembrance that you have ever been divided as partisans, but keep simply and only before your minds the one great, momentous truth that if you falter or fail now your all is gone. Organize and enroll yourselves everywhere in Union organizations. Summon every energy of your mind and heart and strength, and let the traitors who desecrate our borders see, and let history in all after time record it, that there was one green spot—one Swiss canton—one Scottish highland—one county of Kent—one province of Vendee—where unyielding patriotism rallied, and gathered, and stood, and won a noble triumph."

Meantime, the Richmond convention was preparing to take a recess. On May 1, it adjourned to meet June 1, presumably to await the result of the vote to be taken on the fourth Thursday of May on the question of secession! The people were allowed formally to participate in the farcical proceedings of approving or rejecting what had already been consummated beyond recall, without their consent and even without their knowledge.

Wheeling, by reason of its geographical location and equally because of its resolute Unionism, was the city of refuge toward which the alarmed loyalists throughout northwestern Virginia turned their eyes with a view to concerted action for public safety. To it, on May 13, in response to the recommendation of the Clarksburg meeting flocked

400 delegates (from the region north of the Kanawha and from Wayne county) some of whom had been pursued by secession troops. Here amid great demonstrations, with flags and banners flying, bands playing and people cheering they assembled as a "mass convention" in Washington Hall, and promptly organized by the election of all the machinery of a parliamentary body. They declared their adhesion to the United States, denounced the action at Richmond as usurpation, illegal and void, appointed a central committee to exercise their powers in organizing resistance to the usurpation of the state government and in supporting the Federal Government, and provided for an election on June 4 to select delegates to a second convention whose date of meeting was set for June 11.

The following narrative of the opening session was written by Granville D. Hall who served as a reporter of the *Wheeling Intelligencer* at the meeting:

"The delegates assembled in Washington Hall at eleven A. M., May 13. The great audience room was filled with an eager, expectant fluttering mass. The wide stage, on which sat many of the most eminent citizens of the Northwest, was decorated with the national colors. In front of the stage on the main floor were tables for the press; at which, during the sessions, besides reporters of the city papers, sat the following from other cities:

Mr. Glenn, of the New York Herald;
Edward F. Underhill, New York Times;
Ainsworth R. Spofford, Cincinnati Commercial;
J. J. Henderson, Cincinnati Gazette;
Daniel O'Neill, Pittsburg Chronicle;
Fred Foster, Pittsburg Dispatch;
S. D. Page, Cleveland Leader;
John D. M. Carr, Chicago Press and Tribune.

"Chester D. Hubbard, of Wheeling, came forward on the stage and nominated for temporary chairman William B. Zinn, of Preston County—a rugged old mountaineer, who afterwards represented his county in the June Convention and House of Delegates. Mr. Zinn was escorted to the chair by Hon. John S. Carlisle, of Harrison.

"George R. Latham, at that time editor of the *Grafton West Virginian*, commissioned in May, 1862, Colonel of the Fifth Cavalry, afterwards member of the United States House of Representatives and later Minister to Melbourne, was made temporary secretary.

"At the suggestion of Gen. John J. Jackson, of Wood, Rev. Peter T. Laishley, a delegate from Monongalia, offered prayer.

"At the opening of the afternoon session Andrew Flesher, of Jackson, chairman of the committee, reported the following nominations:

"For permanent president, Dr. John W. Moss, of Wood.

"For permanent secretaries, Col. C. B. Waggener, of Mason; Marshall M. Dent, of Monongalia, and Gibson L. Cranmer, of Ohio.

"The report as to permanent officers was adopted and Dr. Moss was conducted to the chair by Messrs. Carlisle, Pierpont and McNeill (of Monongalia). The organization was completed, on motion of Mr. Burdett, by the appointment of James M. Ewing as sergeant-at-arms and S. Clems and R. Higgins as doorkeepers."

The membership of the convention reported by counties was as follows:

Barbour County—E. H. Menafee, Spencer Dayton and John H. Shuttleworth.

Berkeley County—A. R. McQuilkin, John W. Dailey, and J. S. Bowers.

Brooke County—Adam Kuhn, David Hervey, Campbell Tarr, Nathaniel Wells, J. R. Burgoine, James Archer, Jesse Edington, R. L. Jones, James A. Campbell, Robert C. Nicholls, Joseph Gist, John G. Jacob, Eli Green, John D. Nichols, Bazeleel Wells and Montgomery Walker.

Doddridge County—J. Cheveront, S. S. Kinney, J. Smith, James A. Foley, J. P. F. Randolph.

Frederick County—George S. Senseney.

Hampshire County—Owen D. Downey, George W. Broski, Dr. B. B. Shaw, George W. Sheetz, George W. Rizer.

Hancock County—George McC. Porter, W. L. Crawford, Louis R. Smith, J. C. Crawford, B. J. Smith, Thomas Anderson, William B. Freeman, W. C. Murry, J. L. Freeman, John Gardner, Geo. Johnston, J. S. Porter, James Stevenson, J. S. Pomeroy, R. Brenemen, Daniel Donahoo, D. S. Nicholson, Thayer Melvin, Ewing Turner, James H. Pugh, H. Farnsworth, James G. Marshall, Samuel Freeman, John Mahan, David Jenkins, William Hewitt, William Brown, A. Moore, D. C. Pugh, Jonathan Allison, John H. Atkinson, Joseph W. Allison.

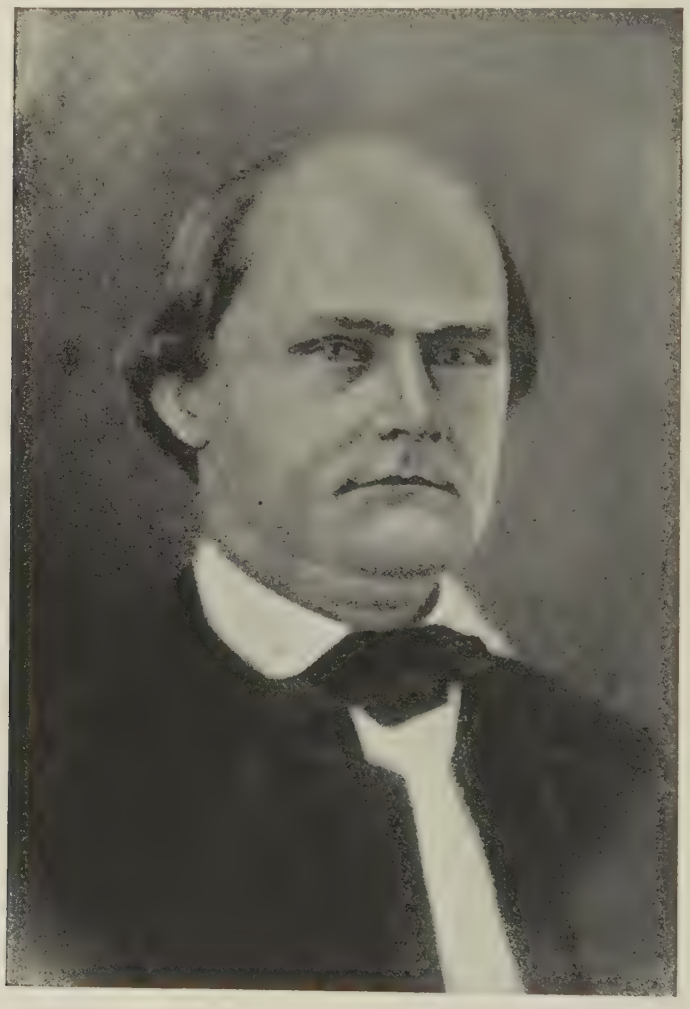
Harrison County—John S. Carlisle, Thomas L. Moore, John J. Davis, Solomon S. Fleming, Felix S. Sturm, James Lynch, William E. Lyon, Lot Bowen, Dr. Duncan, Waldo P. Goff, Benjamin F. Shuttleworth.

Jackson County—Andrew Flesher, David Woodruff, C. M. Rice, Geo. Leonard, J. F. Scott, G. L. Kennedy, J. V. Rowley.

Lewis County—T. M. Chalfant, Alexander Scott Withers, J. W. Hudson, Perry M. Hale, J. Woofter, W. L. Grant, J. A. J. Lightburn.

Marion County—R. R. Brown, J. C. Beeson, Isaac Holman, Thomas H. Barnes, Hiram Haymond, Harvey Merrifield, G. W. Jolliffe, John Chisler, Thomas Hough, William Beatty, James G. Beatty, Aaron Hawkins, Jacob Sturm, Francis H. Pierpont, Jesse Shaw, Joshua Carter.

Marshall County—John H. Dickey, John Parkinson, Thomas Morris, W. Alexander, John Laughlin, W. T. Head, J. S. Parriott, William J. Purdy, H. C. Kemple, Joseph Turner, Hiram McMechen, E. H. Caldwell, James Garvin, L. Gardner, H. A. Francis, Thomas Dowler, John R. Morrow, William Wasson, Nat Wilson, Thomas Morgan, S. Dorsey, Jr., R. B. Hunter, J. W. McCarriher, J. B. Morris, R. C. Holliday, William Collins, W. R. Kimmons, G. W. Evans, William McFarland, J. Hornbrook, John Reynolds, Remembrance Swan, J. B. Hornbrook, James Campbell, F. Clement, J. Winders, William Baird, Dr. Marshman, William Luke, J. Garvin, S. Ingram, William Phillips, Jr., A. Francis, Thomas Wilson, Lot Enix, G. Hubbs, John Wilson, John Ritchie, J. W. Bonar, J. Alley, S. B. Stidger, Asa Browning, Samuel Wilson, J. McCondell, A. Bonar, D. Price, G. W. Evans, D. Roberts, George Hubbs, Thomas Dowler, R. Alexander, E. Conner, Charles Snediker, John Winters, Nathan Fish, V. P. Gorby, Alfred Gaines, J. S. Riggs, Alexander Kemple, Joseph McCombs, W. Alexander.



Dr. John Wm. Moss, President of First Wheeling Convention

Mason County—Joseph S. Machir, Lemuel Harpold, William E. Wetzel, John Godley, Wyatt Willis, William Wiley Harper, William Harpold, Daniel Polsley, Samuel Davies, J. N. Jones, Samuel Yeager, R. C. M. Lovell, Barney J. Rollins, David C. Sayre, Charles H. Bumgardner, John O. Butler, Timothy Russell, John Hall, A. A. Rogers, William Hopkins, Eugene B. Davis, David Rossin, Asa Brigham, Charles B. Waggener, John M. Phelps, Stephen Comstock, W. C. Starr, John Greer, Appolo Stevens, Major Brown, John J. Weaver.

Monongalia County—Waitman T. Willey, James Evans, Leroy Kramer, William A. Hanaway, William Lazier, Elisha Coombs, George McNeeley, Henry Dering, Dr. H. N. Mackey, Evans D. Fogle, James T. M. Laskey, James T. Hess, Charles H. Burgess, John Bly, William Price, Dr. A. Brown, Dr. J. V. Boughner, D. P. Fitch, E. B. Taggart, Alpheus Garrison, Dr. John McCarl, J. A. Wiley, Joseph Snyder, Joel Bowlsby, Amos S. Bowlsby, A. Derranet, N. C. Vandervort, Daniel White, Dr. D. B. Dorsey, Jacob Miller, Dr. Isaac Scott, Marshall M. Dent, Rev. Peter T. Laishley, Edward P. St. Clair, William B. Shaw, P. L. Rice, Joseph Jolliffe, William Anderson.

Ohio County—John Alman, L. S. Delaplain, J. R. Stifel, Gibson Lamb Cranmer, Alfred Caldwell, John McLure, Jr., Andrew Wilson, George Forbes, A. J. Woods, Thomas H. Logan, James S. Wheat, George W. Norton, N. H. Garrison, E. Buchanan, John Pierson, P. Witham, Perry Whitten, E. McCaslin, A. B. Caldwell, John R. Hubbard, A. F. Ross, William B. Curtis, John Steiner, Daniel Lamb, Chester D. Hubbard, H. Armstrong, S. H. Woodward, James W. Paxton, A. A. Handlan, Stephen Waterhouse, J. Hornbrook, L. D. Waitt, John K. Botsford, George Bowers, Robert Crangle, J. M. Bickel, James Paull, John C. Hoffman, Jacob Berger, A. Bedillion, Sr., George Tingle, Samuel McCulloch, J. C. Orr.

Pleasants County—Friend Cochran, Robert Parker, R. A. Cramer, James W. Williamson.

Preston County—Harrison Hagans, R. C. Crooks, W. H. King, James W. Brown, Charles Hooton, Summers McCrum, William B. Zinn, W. T. Brown, Reuben Morris, D. A. Letzinger, John Howard, G. H. Kidd, James A. Brown, William P. Fortney.

Ritchie County—Noah Rexroad, D. Rexroad, J. P. Harris, A. S. Cole.

Roane County—Irwin C. Stump.

Taylor County—J. Means, J. M. Wilson, T. Kennedy, Thomas Cather, John S. Burdett, J. J. Allen, B. Bailey, George R. Latham, T. T. Monroe, J. J. Warren.

Tyler County—Daniel D. Johnson, Daniel Sweeney, V. Smith, W. B. Kerr, J. C. Parker, James M. Smith, J. H. Johnston, Isaac Davis, S. H. Hawkins, D. King, William Prichard.

Upshur County—W. H. Williams, C. P. Rohrbaugh.

Wayne County—William W. Brumfield, C. Spurlock, F. Moore, William H. Copley, Walter Queen.

Wetzel County—F. E. Williams, Joseph Murphy, Elijah Morgan, William Burrows, B. T. Bowers, J. R. Brown, J. M. Bell, Jacob Young, Reuben Martin, R. Reed, Sr., Richard Cook, A. McEldowney, B. VanCamp, John McClaskey, S. Stephens, R. W. Lauck, John Alley, Thomas McQuown, George W. Bier, William D. Walker, R. S. Sayers.

Wirt County—Henry Newman, E. T. Graham, B. Ball.

Wood County—S. L. A. Burche, John J. Jackson, Sr., J. D. Ingram, A. Laughlin, Wellington Vrooman, J. C. Rathbone, G. E. Smith, D. K. Baylor, M. Woods, Andrew Alls, Joseph Dagg, Jr., N. W. Warlow, Peter Riddle, John Paugh, T. E. McPherson, Thomas Leach, S. S. Spencer, E. Deem, N. H. Colston, A. Hinckley, Bennett Cook, George W. Henderson, George Loomis, J. L. Padgett, S. D. Compton, S. N. Peterson, G. H. Ralston, V. A. Dunbar, A. R. Dye, W. H. Baker, William Johnston, Jr., Dr. Jesse Burche, S. Ogden, Sardis Cole, P. Reed, John McKibben, W. Athey, C. Hunter, W. P. Davis, R. H. Burke, George Compton, C. M. Cole, Roger Tiffins, Edward Hoit, W. B. Caswell, Peter Dils, W. F. Henry, A. C. McKinsey, Rufus Kinnard, John J. Jackson, Jr., C. J. Neal, J. G. Blackford, Henry Cole, W. E. Stevenson, Jesse Murdock, J. Burche, J. Morrison, A. H. Hatcher, A. Mather, Charles B. Smith, Arthur Drake, H. Rider, B. H. Bukey, John W. Moss, R. S. Smith, M. P. Amiss, T. Hunter, J. Barnett, T. S. Conley and J. J. Neal.

The members of this irregular convention, although they agreed upon the necessity of separation from Virginia and the formation of the new state, were divided on the question of what should be done first. Their conflicting ideas and plans were disclosed in a torrent of resolutions. Many, led by John S. Carlile, insisted on the immediate formation of a new state by the simple edict of the convention without the delay and inconvenience which would result from adherence to constitutional provisions. The Wood county delegation carried a banner which bore the inscription "New Virginia, now or never." Others, led by W. T. Willey, were opposed to immediate action, feeling that the time called for thoughtful, guarded deliberation. They declared the execution of Carlile's plan would be "triple treason"—treason against the state, against the United States, and against the Confederacy if it should succeed in maintaining itself.

The following abstract from Hall's account presents some of these differences:

"General Jackson, obtaining the floor, made a lengthy speech defining his position. He was opposed to the Convention taking any decisive action; thought it would be premature, revolutionary and altogether unwise. He was in favor of the Convention passing a series of resolutions expressive of the wrongs of the Northwest, and then adjourning at least until after the election;

"Mr. Carlile replied to General Jackson. No people who contented themselves with paper resolves, while bayonets were bristling all around them and war was being brought to their very doors as rapidly as it could be, ever maintained their freedom in this way. 'Let this Convention show its loyalty to the Union and call upon the government to furnish them with means of defense, and they will be furnished.'

"This declaration was received with loud and continued applause.

"Waitman T. Willey obtained the floor and proceeded to address the Convention, taking substantially the position taken by General Jackson against any immediate measures looking to an independent State organization.

"The second day of the Convention was opened with prayer by Rev. Wesley Smith, of the Methodist Church.

"Mr. Willey, rising to a privileged question and referring to his remarks the previous evening, said he had been misunderstood to say that his view of the proper course for the Convention to pursue was that it should adjourn until after the ensuing election without taking any action whatever. But he wished to declare a distinct and unequivocal position in condemnation of the usurpation at Richmond and lay down a platform upon which to organize the public sentiment for a separation from the rest of the State. He would ask to be released from the position assigned him upon the Committee on State and Federal Relations.

"Mr. Carlile, resuming said that it was due to a correct understanding on the part of the country and to the position he occupied before the country, that he be permitted to make an explanation.

"It is represented, he said, that a proposition looking to a separate State government is revolutionary. I deny it. It is the only legal, constitutional remedy left this people if they do not approve of the action of the Virginia Convention. Like the gentleman from Monongalia, I desire to exhaust all legal and peaceful remedies before we are compelled to the ultima ratio of nations. But can there be anything revolutionary in availing ourselves of the constitutional means provided in the organic law of the land for the very purpose of protecting our interests? The Constitution of the United States is also the constitution of Virginia; is the supreme law of the land; is to be obeyed and respected by all, even by the constitutions of the several States. It makes null and void every constitutional provision of a State and every Legislative enactment which is in conflict with it. It provides expressly and in terms plain and unmistakable for the separation of a State and the erection of a new State within the boundaries of a State out of which the new State is to be formed. Then where is there anything revolutionary in discussing and deliberating and exercising a privilege thus secured us by that instrument?"

After a debate which lasted three days the "mass convention" changed its mind on the Carlile plan but reached the same object in another way. Hon. F. H. Pierpont came forward with some resolutions which were in the nature of a substitute for the Carlile plan, providing for a new convention to which delegates should be regularly chosen by all the loyal counties and which should devise such measures as the welfare of the people of the northwestern counties should demand. This proposition left the question and method of separation from the old state to be determined by the new convention itself. This proposition met with the approval of the convention, and it made a call upon all the western counties disposed to co-operate to send delegates to the new convention. Delegating the execution of the plan to a well-chosen executive committee this remarkable and historic convention adjourned amidst a blaze of enthusiasm accompanied by the singing of "The Star Spangled Banner." The recommendation of the committee that (if the ordinance of secession should be ratified on May 23) there should be an election on June 4 to select delegates to a new convention to reorganize the government, was put into operation.

The central committee appointed by the chairman of the convention consisted of John S. Carlile, James S. Wheat, Francis H. Pierpont, Campbell Tarr, George R. Latham, Andrew Wilson, S. H. Woodward, and James W. Paxton. It actively opened communications with county organizations and otherwise prepared to secure a full anti-secession vote at the election of May 23. On May 21, it distributed widely pamphlets containing an address of Mr. Carlile on the crisis, emphasizing ing the immediate duty to repudiate the unwise act of the Richmond convention which by proposing secession threatened war and its consequential evils.

The Virginia politicians having fully made up their minds that Virginia should secede, ordered a close censorship of the United States mails in order to seize for destruction all papers and documents supposed to

Founders of West Virginia.

be hostile to the cause of secession. In Philippi the postmaster refused to deliver such papers to the persons to whom they were addressed, but turned them over to secessionists who publicly burned them in a street bonfire. A similar course was pursued in other towns of West Virginia. Because of the situation in Virginia in May, before the ratification election, the post office department at Washington discontinued mail service in Virginia by the following order which indicated a desire to recognize the loyalty of the West:

"All postal service in the seceding states will be suspended from the 21st instant. Mails sent to offices closed by this order will be sent to the Dead Letter office, except those in Western Virginia, which will be sent to Wheeling. It is not intended by this order to deprive the Union men of Western Virginia of their postal service."

Secessionists used several kinds of pressure to force the ratification of the ordinance of secession. One kind is illustrated by the following letter published by ex-Senator James M. Mason:

"Winchester, Virginia, May 16, 1861

To the Editor of the Winchester Virginian:

The question has been frequently put to me, What position will Virginia occupy should the ordinance of secession be rejected by the people at the approaching election? And the frequency of the question may be an excuse for giving publicity to the answer.

The ordinance of secession withdrew the State of Virginia from the Union, with all the consequences resulting from the separation. It annulled the Constitution and laws of the United States within the limit of this State and absolved the citizens of Virginia from all obligations of obedience to them.

If it be asked, What are those to do who in their conscience cannot vote to separate Virginia from the United States? the answer is simple and plain. Honor and duty alike require that they should not vote on the question; and if they retain such opinions, they must leave the state."

Other kinds are mentioned in the following extract from an address issued by the June convention regarding the conduct of the election:

"Threats of personal injury and other intimidations * * * were used by the adherents of the conspirators in every county in the State. Judges charged the grand juries that opposition to disunion would be punished as treason against the Commonwealth; and the armed partisans of the conspirators in various places arrested, plundered and exiled peaceable citizens for no other crime than their adherence to the Union. * * * We are not apprised by any official announcement of the vote taken under such circumstances; but whatever the result may be, we denounce it as unfair and unjust and as affording no evidence of the will of the people on the subject actually presented for their suffrages, and much less of their consent to their transfer to the self-constituted oligarchy of the South. * * *"

Senator Willey in a public speech said that on the day of the vote on the ordinance by the people, "30,000 glittering bayonets surrounded the polls from the Chesapeake to the summit of the Alleghenies and portions of the Confederate forces pushed across the Alleghenies into Northwestern Virginia."

On the day of the election Confederate troops to the number of about one thousand arrived at Webster from the South on their way to Grafton to rendezvous—"to defend the place against Northern aggression." Already there was a force of two hundred at Fetterman, including William P. Thompson's "Marion Guards."

In the remoter southwestern counties of what is now West Virginia, it was probably dangerous to cast a vote against ratification of secession. One can understand the situation better by recalling the fact that the vote was taken viva voce (not by ballot). Mr. Hagar of Boone county, in the Constitutional Convention at Wheeling said that in his county the vote would have been heavily against secession if the mode of voting would have been by ballot. He stated that the Union men, in the face of threats and in fear of a drunken secession mob at the court house, did not have the courage to vote. He reported that at Chapmanville, in Logan county, only one of fifty Union men there had the courage to cast his vote, and that he saved his life only by cancelling the vote.

The vote against secession was very small at Richmond and other points in eastern Virginia. Many Union men felt that it was utterly useless to exercise their privilege as voters, and quietly acquiesced in the secession movement whose leaders were so determined to win.

It is doubtful whether the vote at the polls really settled the matter. The election was simply a farcical proceeding which was intended to give authority for what had already been consummated at Richmond beyond recall, without the consent of the people and even without their knowledge.

Probably no complete official statement of the vote on secession was ever made. The journal of the convention does not disclose the full vote. It certainly does not disclose the vote by counties. John Minor Botts once said to the Joint Committee on Reconstruction, "I have never seen the vote, nor have I seen anybody who has seen it. Whether that vote included the majority of the legal voters of the state, I have never had any means of ascertaining."

A "Schedule" which was adopted by the Virginia Convention April 24, 1861, and which is to be found on pages 3-4 of "Ordinances Adopted by the Convention of Virginia in Secret Session in April and May, 1861" (Richmond, 1861), provided that the election officers should make return of the vote "to the clerks of their respective counties and corporations," that those clerks should transmit to the governor copies of the returns, and that the governor should "make proclamation of the result, * * * to be published in such newspapers in the state as may be deemed requisite for general information." The proclamation (by Governor John Letcher) called for by that "Schedule," which bore date of June 14, 1861, may be found on pages 155-156 of volume 11 (edited by Secretary of State H. W. Flournoy) of "Calendar of Virginia State Papers and Other Manuscripts" (Richmond, 1893). That proclamation stated that "the returns of several counties have not been received, and of others cannot be obtained," and declared that "the aggregate vote aforesaid was found to be" 125,950 in favor of secession and 20,373 against it. To his proclamation the governor appended an estimate of the vote of the counties from which returns had not been received, but that appendix is not given in Mr. Flournoy's volume, he, instead, giving, in an editorial note (on page 156), the estimate made by the governor of the vote in those counties, which was 11,961 for secession and 3,234 against it. It is seen that, according to Governor Letcher's proclamation, including the appendix to it, the total vote of the state was 137,911 for secession and 23,607 against it.

Hall in his "Rending of Virginia" says: "In the paper written by John Goode he claims the popular vote on the ratification of the ordinance was 125,950 for and 20,373 against. Mr. Goode's figures, however, appear to be incorrect. The vote as announced in the Convention June 25, 1861, was: For ratification, 128,884; against, 32,134. These figures will also be found in the American Cyclopedia. This made a total vote of 161,018; majority, 96,750. It is not probable that these are honest figures. The Presidential vote in Virginia the previous November had been 167,223. Under the conditions prevailing, it is impossible to believe so nearly the whole vote of the State was cast on the ordinance. The conspirators had full control of the returns and could cook the result to suit themselves."

The *Daily National Intelligencer* of Wednesday, May 29, 1861, had "official returns" from seventeen counties. Fragmentary returns of the vote were also given in the *Daily National Intelligencer* of May 27, 28 and 30 and June 10, but they were not "official."

On May 31 the *Wheeling Intelligencer* announced that the majorities against the secession ordinance in 26 counties of Western Virginia were as follows:

Barbour	350	Monongalia	2,200
Berkeley	700	Morgan	400
Brooke	600	Ohio	3,300
Cabell	650	Pleasants	145
Doddridge	550	Preston	500
Hancock	771	Ritchie	378
Harrison	1,097	Taylor	700
Jackson	400	Tyler	755
Lewis	300	Wayne	800
Kanawha	1,200	Wirt	400
Marion	450	Wetzel	610
Marshall	1,851	Wood	1,696
Mason	1,725		
Total Union Majority			13,378

On Jnne 1, it announced the following official returns chiefly from western counties:

County	For Secession	Against It	Union Majorities	Secession Majorities
Alexandria	983	106		877
Brooke	109	723	614	
Berkeley	428	1,226	1,198	
Clarke	3	553	550	
Harrison	694	1,691	997	
Hancock	23	743	720	
Jefferson	813	365		448
Mason	119	1,844	1,725	
Monongalia (about)	100	2 200	2,100	
Marshall	142	1,993	1,851	
Morgan	126	533	407	
Ohio	157	3,368	3,212	
Preston	63	2,256	2,193	
Pleasants	158	363	205	
Tyler	125	880	755	
Wood	257	1,955	1,698	
Wetzel	180	790	610	
	4,480	21,529	18,835	1,325

It explained that reception of the result of the vote in eastern counties had been prevented by interruption of the mails from that section of the State, but expressed the expectation of a large majority there in favor of secession.

After June 1, the *Intelligencer* evidently ceased to publish reports of election returns, probably because the fight at Philippi and other military events diverted the popular interest from the election. Files of the Richmond newspapers furnish the following additional reports on the vote of counties of western Virginia on the question of secession:

	For	Against
Jefferson	813	365
Fayette (all but 3 precincts)	407	129
Pocahontas	360	13
Hardy	768	538
Greenbrier	1,000	100
Monroe	1,085	79
Randolph	200 majority	

Other sources indicate that Mercer county cast only seven votes against. Probably other counties south of the Kanawha were also strongly for secession. According to the *Richmond Dispatch* the vote in nearly all eastern counties was practically unanimous in favor of secession. Among the exceptions were the following:

	For	Against
Alexandria	950	106
Norfolk	901	74
Rockingham	3 010	22
Abington	1,907	20
Frederick	1,503	360

Curiously, Rockbridge county gave only one vote against secession, and Clark county only three. Louden county gave a majority of 1,000 against secession.

On June 14 Governor Letcher issued a proclamation announcing that the secession ordinance had been ratified by popular vote of 125,950 against 20,373 and declared the Confederate constitution to be in full force in Virginia. He explained that in consequence of the presence of hostile force election returns from some counties including thirty-four counties in Western Virginia had not been received.

At the same time he attempted in vain to win western Virginia to the cause of the South by promise of larger privileges and by appeal to past friendships and historic memories. In his proclamation of June 14, which was published at Huttonsville in Randolph County and at other points, he stated that the East was willing to agree to relinquish unjust exemptions from taxation and to share all the burdens of government.

The Richmond convention (reduced to 81 members) reassembled,

signed the ordinance of secession and promptly chose delegates to represent Virginia in the Confederate congress. It expelled members who had represented western Virginia in the sessions previous to April 17 and had been absent since that date. Its remaining membership which signed the ordinance included two or three western Virginia delegates. The convention adjourned on July 1 to meet on November 13.[4] Throughout the seceded part of the state a deluge of paper money soon appeared as evidence of the coming of the new era of inflation.

In western Virginia, which in its total vote of 44,000 at the election gave a majority of 40,000 against the ordinance, the determination of the people not to accept secession was immediately evident—even before the arrival of returns of the election. From some sections radical secessionists promptly withdrew. On May 27, the *Wheeling Union*, which had claimed to owe obedience to the Federal government only through command of Virginia, suspended publication. Its editor, Philip Henry Moore, promptly left for the South by river steamer. There was a general impression that Virginia's control west of the mountains had ended.

The advance of United States troops simultaneously from Parkersburg and Wheeling, on May 27, cleared the Confederate forces out of Northwestern Virginia and left the people free to organize.

The people of the northwest did not wait for further news from Richmond. On June 4, on call issued by the Central Committee, addressed to all the loyal people of Virginia, elections were held for delegates to the convention to meet at Wheeling, June 11, in accord with the following resolution of the First Wheeling Convention:

"8. RESOLVED. That in the event of the Ordinance of Secession being ratified by a vote, we recommend to the people of the Counties here represented, and all others disposed to co-operate with us, to appoint on the 4th day of June, 1861, delegates to a General Convention, to meet on the 11th of that month, at such place as may be designated by the Committee hereinafter provided, to devise such measures and take such action as the safety and welfare of the people they represent may demand,—each County to appoint a number of Representatives to said Convention equal to double the number to which it will be entitled in the next House of Delegates; and the Senators and Delegates to be elected on the 23d inst., by the counties referred to, to the next General Assembly of Virginia, and who concur in the views of this Convention, to be entitled to seats in the said Convention as members thereof."

On June 11th seventy-seven representatives from thirty-nine counties assembled at Wheeling as members of the Second Wheeling Convention. The following is the list arranged by counties:

Alexandria County—Henry S. Martin, and James T. Close, delegates.

Barbour County—Nathan H. Taft, and D. M. Myers, members of the House of Delegates, and John H. Shuttleworth and Spencer Dayton, delegates.

Brooke County—Joseph Gist, Senator, H. W. Crothers, member House of Delegates, and John D. Nicholls and Campbell Tarr, delegates.

Cabell County—Albert Laidley,[5] member House of Delegates.

Doddridge and Tyler—Chapman J. Stuart, senator, William J. Boreman, member House of Delegates, and Daniel D. Johnson, and James A. Foley, delegates.

Fairfax County—John Hawxhurst and Eben E. Mason, delegates.

Gilmer County—Henry W. Withers, delegates.

Hampshire County—James R. Carskadon, senator, and Owen D. Downey, George W. Broski, James H. Trout and James J. Barracks, delegates.

Hancock County—George McC. Porter, member House of Delegates, John H. Atkinson and William L. Crawford, delegates.

Hardy County—John Michael, delegate.

Harrison County—John J. Davis, and John C. Vance, members House of Delegates, and John S. Carlile, Solomon S. Fleming, Lot Bowen,[6] Benjamin F. Shuttleworth, and Charles S. Lewis, delegates.

Jackson County—Daniel Frost, member House of Delegates, and James F. Scott and Andrew Flesher, delegates.

Jefferson County—George Koontz, delegate.

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[4] At its November meeting the Richmond convention framed a new constitution for Virginia and adjourned *sine die* on December 6, 1861.

[5] Albert Laidley who had been elected as delegate to the legislature from Cabell did not take the oath of loyalty and did not remain at Wheeling. He went to Richmond where he occupied a seat in the General Assembly, session beginning December 2, 1861, as the delegate from Cabell County.

[6] Lot Bowen resigned August 13, 1861, because of a connection with the Army, and was succeeded the following day by Charles S. Lewis.

Kanawha County—Lewis Ruffner, member House of Delegates, and Greenbury Slack, delegate.

Lewis County—Blackwell Jackson, senator; Perry M. Hale, and J. A. J. Lightburn, delegates.

Marion County—Richard Fast and Fountain Smith, members House of Delegates, and Francis H. Pierpont,[7] Ephraim B. Hall, John S. Barns, A. F. Ritchie, and James O. Watson, delegates.

Marshall County—Remembrance Swan, member House of Delegates, and E. H. Caldwell and Robert Morris, delegates.

Mason County—Lewis Wetzel, member House of Delegates, and Charles B. Waggener, James Smith, and Daniel Polsley, delegates.

Monongalia County—Leroy Kramer and Joseph Snyder, members House of Delegates, and Ralph L. Berkshire, William Price, James Evans and Dennis B. Dorsey, delegates.

Ohio County—Thomas H. Logan and Andrew Wilson, members of House of Delegates, and Daniel Lamb, James W. Paxton, George Harrison, and Chester D. Hubbard, delegates.

Pleasants and Ritchie—James W. Williamson, member House of Delegates, and C. W. Smith and William Douglas, delegates.

Preston County— Charles Hooten and William B. Zinn, members House of Delegates, and William B. Crane, John Howard, Harrison Hagans, and John J. Brown, delegates.

Putnam County—George C. Bowyer, member House of Delegates, and Dudley S. Montague,[8] delegate.

Randolph and Tucker—Solomon Parsons, member House of Delegates, and Samuel Crane, delegate.

Roane County—T. A. Roberts, delegate.

Taylor County—Thomas Cather, senator, Lemuel E. Davidson, member House of Delegates, John S. Burdett and Samuel Todd, delegates.

Upshur County—Daniel D. T. Farnsworth, member House of Delegates, John L. Smith and John Love, delegates.

Wayne County—William Ratcliff, member House of Delegates, and William W. Brumfield, and William Copley, delegates.

Wetzel County—James G. West, member House of Delegates, and Reuben Martin, and James P. Ferrell, delegates.

Wirt County—James A. Williamson, member House of Delegates, and Henry Newman, and E. T. Graham, delegates.

Wood County—John W. Moss, member House of Delegates, and Arthur I. Boreman, and Peter G. Van Winkle, delegates.

The following officers were chosen for the permanent organization:

Dennis B. Dorsey of Monongalia County	Temporary President.
Gibson Lamb Cranmer of Ohio County	Temporary Secretary.
Arthur I. Boreman of Wood County	Permanent President.
Gibson Lamb Cranmer of Ohio County	Permanent Secretary.
Thomas Hornbrook of Ohio County	Sergeant-at-Arms.

All the members before taking their seats, were required to take an oath to support the Constitution of the United States as the supreme law of the land, notwithstanding anything to the contrary in the Ordinance of Secession passed at Richmond on the 17th of April, 1861.

Two plans were presented to the Convention: that of immediately forming a new state out of the counties represented in the convention, after the Carlile plan; and the other of reorganizing the Virginia state government and assuming that these counties represented in the convention were the state. The majority of the convention soon shifted to the support of the proposition for reorganizing the Virginia government out of the loyal counties, vacating the offices and taking possession of the whole machinery under the name of the government of Virginia. By this method they controlled a state already organized, and quite sure of the recognition of the Federal government in preference to that purporting to be the government of Virginia at the city of Richmond. The commonwealth of Virginia could be legally dismembered only by its own consent. If the people west of the mountains represented the state in the Union they could easily get the consent for division. To this end the convention adopted with great unanimity, and promulgated

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[7] Francis H. Pierpont, having been elected Governor, resigined August 19, 1861, and was succeeded by Ephraim B. Hall.

[8] Another delegate from Putnam County qualified and took his seat, August 12, 1861, but his name has not been ascertained.

an address or declaration of their motives and purposes, and a statement of the grievances which impelled them to this course. It framed and passed, without a dissenting vote, an ordinance which set forth in detail the scheme of the convention for reorganizing the state of Virginia: the appointment of a governor, lieutenant-governor, and attorney-general to continue in office for six months; the requirement of a test oath of all officers then serving under the Virginia government with a provision authorizing the governor to appoint successors to all incumbents who refused to take the oath; and an early meeting of the legislature to provide for a speedy general election to fill all offices of the government. Under this plan the Convention on June 20, unanimously elected the following state officers:

Governor—Francis Pierpont.
Lieutenant-Governor—Daniel Polsley.
Governor's Council—Peter G. Van Winkle, William A. Harrison, William Lazier, Daniel Lamb, James Paxton.

Later James S. Wheat was selected for Attorney-General.

To each of these was administered the oath of office by which they agreed to support the United States constitution and laws made in pursuance thereof as the supreme law of the land. On June 25 the Second Wheeling Convention adjourned to August 6.

After establishing the new government, the convention then formally declared all ordinances, acts, orders, resolutions and other proceedings of the Richmond convention illegal, inoperative, null and void.

With a view of taking up in earnest the work of erecting a new state, the convention adjourned on June 25 to reconvene at the same place on August 6 following.

At this time the people of western Virginia, under the reorganized government, were without a judiciary, without sheriffs and without legal protection of life, liberty and property.

After his election and installation by the Convention, Governor Pierpont at once entered upon the duties of his office. From the collector of the port he accepted at the Custom House an office with a bare table, a half quire of paper and pen and ink.

Some friends who came to congratulate him remarked that he was the first man they had ever known to thank men for putting a rope around his neck. The Governor replied that "success was never convicted of treason." He immediately addressed a letter to the President of the United States, informing him that there was insurrection and rebellion in the State, that certain evil-minded men had banded themselves together and had joined with like-minded men from other States, that they had formed strong military organizations and were pressing Union men into their army and taking their substance to support their organizations, that their object was to overthrow the government of the State and of the United States, and that he had not sufficient military force at his command to suppress the rebellion. He called upon the President for military aid, and signed his letter, "F. H. Pierpont, Governor of Virginia."

One of the first problems was to obtain money for expenses. Some members of the Convention did not have money to pay hotel and boarding house keepers who were expecting payment at the end of the week. When this situation was presented to him, Governor Pierpont said to Mr. Van Winkle: "We must have money. I want you, after breakfast, to go with me to N. W. and M. M. banks, and endorse my notes for $5,000, one on each bank. I intend to have $10,000 from these banks." Van Winkle said he would do it. They got the cashiers together. The Governor told them what he wanted. They raised the objection that they could not make the loan to the State without a vote of the stockholders. The Governor replied: "I want it on my own individual note and Mr. Van Winkle will endorse it. I want it to pay the mileage and per diem of the members of the convention. If my government succeeds you are sure of your money. If it does not succeed, your money is not worth a bubble." One of the cashiers replied: "You shall have five thousand from this bank. What shall we do with it?" The Governor replied: "Place it to my credit officially, and I will so draw my checks." The other cashier said he would like to do the same thing, but nearly all his directors were of the Secession party, and they would not meet until Thursday. Governor Pierpont said, "Please give to them my compliments, and tell them to place the money to my credit, and that I don't want any higgling about it." On Wednesday the cashier informed him that $5,000 was placed to his credit in the other bank. The Governor went immediately to the convention, asked the President to inform all the members that if they would obtain from the Sergeant-at-arms a certificate of the mileage and per

diem due them, and would bring it to him, he would give them a check for the money.

On June 24 the *Intelligencer* announced that Governor Pierpont and his council were hard at work on business of the government. A few days later immediate financial needs of the new government were relieved by arrival of funds which the Richmond government had on deposit at Weston. On June 28 the seventh Ohio, marching via Grafton and Clarksburg, arrived at Weston. James Jackson and six other secessionists were immediately arrested and sent to Grafton. Other prominent men of the town, who were also arrested, were released after an examination. R. J. McCandlish, the cashier of the Exchange bank branch, was arrested and forced to hand over $28,000 of its funds. Governor Pierpont, upon being notified of the action, sent John List to Weston to take possession of the money "on behalf of its rightful owners, the true and lawful government of Virginia." The money was taken to Wheeling and deposited in banks there to the credit of the state. It was used in paying the salaries of officers, and other expenses incident to setting the restored government in operation.

The old Atheneum at Wheeling was converted into a war prison in which to keep the Confederates captured. Its interior business was a marked contrast from the great political conventions recently held within its walls. By the autumn of 1861, there were forty prisoners confined there. The sight of men and blankets strewn about over the bare floors of this historic old hall was a reminder of the horrors of civil war.

The convention reassembled on August 6, and, after much discussion concerning the legality of such an act, on August 20 passed an ordinance providing for the formation of a new state and adjourned on August 21. On October 24, the people living within the boundaries of the proposed state ratified the ordinance by a vote of 18,408 to 781 and at the same time elected delegates to a constitutional convention which met at Wheeling on November 26, 1861.

On May 13, 1862, the legislature of the restored government passed an act giving the formal consent of Virginia to the erection of a new state out of her territory. This territory included 48 counties of northwestern Virginia and made provision for including three more—Jefferson, Berkeley and Frederick—when they should vote to come in. [Jefferson and Berkeley subsequently voted in favor of the proposition, but the county of Frederick never voted on it.] The assent of these fifty counties by a formal vote to the formation of a new state led to steps preparatory to the formation of a constitution of the new state.

In pursuance of the ordinance of the June convention, the first legislature under the reorganized government of Virginia met at Wheeling on July 1, 1861. Governor Pierpont sent an elaborate message, among other things informing the legislature that he had communicated to the President of the United States the purposes and acts of the convention and of the people of the northwest counties in endeavoring to preserve the state of Virginia to the Union, and had received his assurance that they should have such assistance from the Federal government as could be given under the authority of the constitution.

Only July 9, the legislature of the two houses proceeded to complete the organization of the government by filling the offices that were vacant. After appointing various state officers, it proceeded to choose successors to R. M. T. Hunter and James M. Mason, who had vacated their seats in the United States senate and were engaged in the effort to overthrow the Federal government. To fill these vacancies it elected Waitman T. Willey and John S. Carlile, who proceeded to Washington, presented their credentials from the Virginia government at Wheeling, and were duly admitted by the United States Senate as senators from Virginia.

The new government also obtained the official recognition of the House of Representatives at Washington, through the admission of three members of Congress chosen in the northwestern districts in the May elections in defiance of Richmond authorities, and commissioned by Governor Pierpont under seals procured by him.

Thus the way was prepared for the formation of a new state under forms of legality.

The first constitutional convention of West Virginia assembled at Wheeling on November 26, 1861, remained in session until February 18, 1862, reassembled on February 12, 1863, and adjourned *sine die* on February 20, 1863. Its president was John Hall of Point Pleasant; its secretary, Ellery R. Hall of Pruntytown; its sergeant-at-arms, James C. Orr of Wheeling. It had sixty-one delegates, representing 47 counties (all but Webster) as given in the adjoining table.

	Name	Age	Nativity	Occupation	County	Postoffice
1	Gordon Battelle	47	Ohio	Minister	Ohio	Wheeling
2	John L. Boggs*		Virginia		Pendleton	
3	James H. Brown[1]	42	Virginia	Lawyer	Kanawha	Charleston
4	John J. Brown	35	Virginia	Lawyer	Preston	Kingwood
5	Richard L. Brooks*	52	Virginia	Farmer	Upshur	Rock Cave
6	Wm. W. Brumfield	33	Virginia	Farmer	Wayne	Ceredo
7	E. H. Caldwell	52	Virginia	Lawyer	Marshall	Moundsville
8	Thos. R. Carskadon	24	Virginia	Farmer	Hampshire	New Creek Sta.
9	James S. Cassady[2]	40	Virginia	Farmer	Fayette	Fayetteville
10	H. D. Chapman	63	Mass.	Physician	Roane	Spencer
11	Richard M. Cook[3]		Virginia	Farmer	Mercer	
12	Henry Dering	50	Virginia	Merchant	Monongalia	Morgantown
13	John A. Dille	40	Penn.	Lawyer	Preston	Kingwood
14	Abijah Dolly	44	Virginia	Farmer	Hardy	Greenland
15	D. W. Gibson*			Physician	Pocahontas	
16	Samuel T. Griffith*			Physician	Mason	W. Columbia
17	Robert Hagar	51	Virginia	Farmer	Boone	Boone C. H.
18	Ephraim B. Hall	39	Virginia	Lawyer	Marion	Fairmont
19	John Hall	56	Ireland	Farmer	Mason	Point Pleasant
20	Stephen M. Hansley	42	Virginia	Farmer	Raleigh	Marshall
21	Thomas W. Harrison	37	Virginia	Lawyer	Harrison	Clarksburg
22	Hiram Haymond	55	Virginia	Farmer	Marion	Palatine
23	James Hervey	41	Ohio	Lawyer	Brooke	Wellsburg
24	J. P. Hoback[4]		Virginia	Farmer	McDowell	
25	Joseph Hubbs	54	Penn.	Farmer	Pleasants	St. Marys
26	Robert Irvine	47	Virginia	Lawyer	Lewis	Weston
27	Daniel Lamb	51	Penn.	Cashier	Ohio	Wheeling
28	R. W. Lauck	49	Virginia	Lawyer	Wetzel	Martinsville
29	E. S. Mahon	45	Maryland	Farmer	Jackson	Ravenswood
30	Andrew Mann[5]				Greenbrier	
31	J. R. McCutchen[6]		Virginia	Farmer	Nicholas	
32	Dudley S. Montague	61	Virginia	Hotel keeper	Putnam	Red House Sh'ls
33	Emmett J. O'Brien	42	Virginia	Mechanic	Barbour	Burnersville
34	Granville Parker	51	Mass.	Lawyer	Cabell	Guyandotte
35	James W. Parsons	49	Virginia	Farmer	Tucker	St. George
36	James W. Paxton	40	Virginia	Merchant	Ohio	Wheeling
37	David S. Pinnell*				Upshur	
38	Joseph S. Pomeroy	40	Penn.	Minister	Hancock	Fairview
39	John M. Powell	36	Virginia	Minister	Harrison	West Milford
40	J. Robinson				Calhoun	
41	A. F. Ross*			Teacher	Ohio	West Liberty
42	Lewis Ruffner	64	Virginia	Salt Manf'r	Kanawha	Kan. Salines
43	Edward W. Ryan[7]		Virginia	Minister	Fayette	
44	Geo. W. Sheetz	38	Virginia	Carpenter	Hampshire	Piedmont
45	Josiah Simmons	47	Virginia	Farmer	Randolph	Leedsville
46	Harmon Sinsel	44	Virginia	Carpenter	Taylor	Pruntytown
47	Benjamin H. Smith[8]		Virginia	Lawyer	Logan	Logan C. H.
48	Abram D. Soper	66	New York	Lawyer	Tyler	Sistersville
49	Benj. L. Stephenson		Virginia	Farmer	Clay	Clay C. H.
50	Wm. E. Stevenson	40	Penn.	Farmer	Wood	Parkersburg
51	Benjamin F. Stewart	52	New York	Merchant	Wirt	Newark
52	Chapman J. Stuart	41	Virginia	Lawyer	Doddridge	West Union
53	Gustavus F. Taylor	26	Virginia	Lawyer	Braxton	Braxton C. H.
54	Moses Tichenael*			Minister	Marion	Fairmont
55	Thomas H. Trainer	42	Virginia	Minister	Marshall	Cameron
56	Peter G. Van Winkle	53	New York	Lawyer	Wood	Parkersburg
57	William Walker	34	Virginia	Lawyer	Wyoming	Oceana
58	William W. Warder	40	Virginia	Farmer	Gilmer	Troy
59	Joseph S. Wheat*		Virginia		Morgan	Berkeley Spr'gs
60	Waitman T. Willey	50	Virginia	Lawyer	Monongalia	Morgantown
61	Andrew J. Wilson	60	Virginia	Farmer	Ritchie	Pennsboro

* Occupied seats in the Second Session of the Convention, which convened February 12, 1863, and adjourned February 20, ensuing; but not in first session.

[1] James H. Brown resigned his seat February 18, 1862.

[2] James S. Cassady resigned February 1, 1862.

[3] Richard M. Cook was admitted to a seat January 21, 1862.

[4] J. P. Hoback was admitted to a seat January 21, 1862.

[5] Andrew Mann was admitted to a seat February 14, 1863, his credentials being a petition signed by fifty citizens of Greenbrier county.

[6] J. R. McCutchen was admitted to a seat January 11, 1862.

[7] Rev. Edward W. Ryan was admitted to a seat February 3, 1862.

[8] Benjamin H. Smith resided in Kanawha county, but had petitions signed by citizens of Logan county, praying that he represent them in this Convention, and he was thereupon admitted to a seat.

The report of the Committee on Credentials on the contest between Dr. D. W. Gibson and Samuel Young, for a seat in the Convention from Pocahontas County, is indicative of the times. The Committee said:

"The facts are in brief, that last October, in view of the probable recalling of the Convention, some twenty-five citizens of Pocahontas county drew up and signed a petition that Samuel Young, of that county be permitted to occupy a seat on the floor of the Convention as the delegate from that County. That petition was drawn by Dr. Gibson, of Pocahontas county, present contestant for a seat, and was signed by him. Since a short period after that time, Mr. Young has not been in Pocahontas County and people there knew nothing of his whereabouts. On the day of the recent election to fill vacancies, a number of refugees from Pocahontas, who were in Upshur county, to make sure of being represented in the Convention, and having by consultation with an attorney, ascertained that a delegate so elected would probably be received, held an election at Buckhannon, and elected Dr. D. W. Gibson. Both these gentlemen believing themselves entitled to seats by the best expression that could be obtained, had come in and made application."

Dr. Gibson was awarded the seat, while the Convention paid the mileage and three days *per diem* of Mr. Young.

The constitution framed by the convention was far better than the prejudices of many of the members as reflected in the debates might have indicated. Unfortunately there was no official provision for the publication of the debates of the convention.[9] Perhaps the reasons for this neglect are reflected in the remarks of three of the members. Chapman J. Stuart, representing Doddridge county, speaking without historical foresight said in the convention that to publish the debates which no one would ever read would be an unnecessary expense. James H. Brown of Kanawha, untrained in historical perspective, said that after the vital point—the success and excellence of the constitution—had been attained the debates by which it had been attained were "immaterial and unimportant." Hall, a stickler for impromptu and informal discussion opposed publication because he feared it would lead to "set speeches."

The name selected for the new state was not the only one proposed. The name Kanawha which had been used in the ordinance for the formation of the state was rejected—probably because there was already in the state a county and a river by that name. Mr. Willey said that some of his constitutents along the Monongahela thought that Kanawha was too hard to spell. There was objection also to the name of West Virginia. Many felt that as immigrants held the name Virginia in disrepute, thousands, believing that the Virginian policy still prevailed, would be kept away if that name were retained. Others feared that the sobriquet "west" would disgrace the new state in comparison with Virginia. The question was finally settled however by the sentiment of those who had long lived in the Old Dominion and who revered the memories of its most honored citizens.[10]

The question of boundaries was a source of considerable debate. On the day that the convention assembled, the *Wheeling Intelligencer* urged that the people wanted a homogeneous state. Such they could not have by including the eastern valley where, contrary to conditions in northwestern Virginia, negroes were the staple, and where the people could not agree with the trans-Allegheny counties on the question of prohibiting slavery in the new state. Yet several attempts were made in the convention to include the valley counties, together with additional counties in the southwest. Through the influence of the Baltimore and Ohio Railway, whose officials were desirous of getting the road out of Virginia, the proposition was made to include, by a majority of the votes of each county, Pendleton, Hardy, Hampshire, Morgan, Berkeley, Jefferson and Frederick.[11] The same day that this proposition was carried (February 11, 1862) Brown of Kanawha, who at first had contended that the Blue ridge should be the eastern boundary, moved to include, under like conditions, seventeen additional counties: nine in the southwest (Lee, Scott, Wise, Russell, Buchanan, Tazewell, Bland, Giles and Craig), three between the Allegheny and Shenandoah mountains (Allegheny, Bath and Highland) to fill in the niche between Monroe and Pendleton counties, three extending along the Potomac to a point below Washington (Loudon, Alexandria and Fairfax), and the two counties of the eastern shore (Accomac and Northampton). The majority of the members of the convention, believing that if these counties were included the new state movement would fail, disapproved and defeated Mr. Brown's motion.

Important changes in the electorate and in the election were made. Desiring to accelerate the retarded development which had resulted from tide-water policies and the long-delayed execution of projected intra-state improvements in western Virginia, the new state made a jeal-

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[9] The stenographic notes of the debate, made by Granville D. Hall, the thoughtful and industrious reporter of the *Wheeling Intelligencer*, are in manuscript in the department of Archives and History of West Virginia.

[10] Harmon Sinsel, the eccentric member from Pruntytown was in favor of Virginia as part of the name because it reminded him of the Virgin Mary.

[11] Hardy county included Grant which was formed from it in 1866; and Hampshire included Mineral which was formed from it in the same year.

ous bid for thrifty immigrants by extending the rather liberal suffrage provision of the Virginia constitution of 1851. The residence qualifications for a voter, which had been fixed at two years in the state and twelve months in the voting district, were reduced to one year in the state and thirty days in the district. *Viva voce* voting, "that old aristocratic thumbscrew which had kept a large part of the voters of Virginia virtually slaves," and without which it was generally believed that Virginia could never have passed the ordinance of secession, was replaced by the ballot system.[12] The date of elections was changed from May to October, which was considered a more convenient time for farmers to meet, and which also was more suitable to the convenience of candidates and politicians.

The legislative body, the name of which was now changed from "general assembly" to "legislature," was to meet annually for not longer than forty-five days unless three-fourths of the members concurred to lengthen the session. Annual sessions were favored on the ground that they would prove less expensive than the biennial sessions which had been tried under the constitution of 1851. For the first time, representation in both houses was to be based on the white population. The delegates were to be elected for a term of one instead of two years, and the senators (half each year) for a term of two years in place of four years. To the age and district residence qualifications for legislators, which remained as in the Virginia constitution of 1851, was added the provision that a senator should be a citizen of the state five years next preceding his election or at the time of the adoption of the constitution.

The clause of the constitution of 1851 which had debarred ministers and bank officers from seats in the legislature was dropped, but a provision was borrowed from the constitution of Indiana debarring any person who had been entrusted with public money and had failed to account for and pay over such money according to law. A new anti-duelling clause disqualified from holding office any person who had been concerned in a duel.[13]

To the previous Virginia restrictions on the legislature prohibiting it to authorize a lottery, to grant a charter to a religious denomination, or to grant special relief in matters entrusted to the circuit court (to grant a divorce, to change the names of persons and to direct the sale of estates of persons under legal disability), or to form a new county of less than minimum size, were added other restrictions: the prohibition of all special legislation, and of any law which would make the state a stockholder in any bank, or grant the credit of the state in aid of any county, city, town or township, corporation or person, or make the state responsible for their debts or liabilities, or contract any state debt—except to meet casual deficits in the revenues, to defend the state, and to redeem a previous liability of the state (including an equitable portion of the public debt of Virginia prior to January 1, 1861).

In one instance, the convention, after much debate, increased the power of the legislature by giving it the additional, but as yet unused, power to pass laws regulating or prohibiting the sale of intoxicants in the state.

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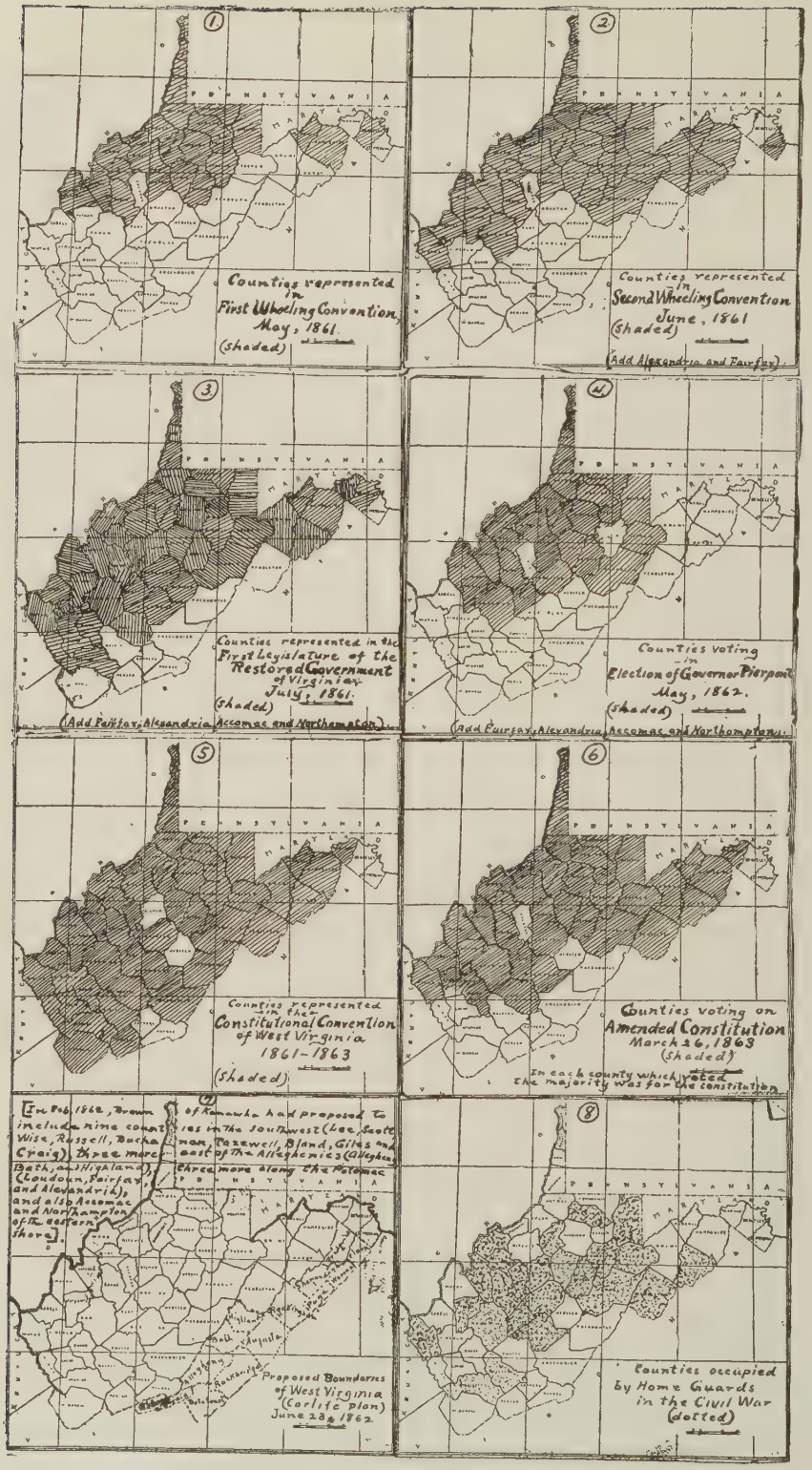
12 When the ballot method was adopted the *Wheeling Intelligencer* made this comment:

"Had this been done years ago, we never would have been in revolution to-day. A large part of the voters of this State by virtue of the viva voce system have been its veriest slaves. Thousands of men have voted every year contrary to their convictions in order to make their peace or secure the good will of those who had them in some way and in some degree in their power. It was called by its adopters a system that preserved 'the healthful influence of the landlord over the tenant,' or in other words made the tenant a slave to vote as he was told. Such a system was a disgrace to our statute-book. It was one of those old aristocratic thumbscrews of Eastern Virginia engrafted by her and preserved by her in our early and later constitutions to prop up her despotic influence."

13 The reason for inserting this disqualifying clause in the constitution was explained in the report from the committee. The constitution of 1851 had given the legislature the power to pass laws disqualifying persons concerned in a duel; but the legislature, although it had passed such laws, had been accustomed to repeal them temporarily whenever a favorite so disqualified became a candidate for office.


1
Counties represented in First Wheeling Convention, May, 1861. (shaded)
2
Counties represented in Second Wheeling Convention June, 1861 (shaded)
(Add Alexandria and Fairfax)
3
Counties represented in the First Legislature of the Restored Government of Virginia July, 1861. (shaded)
(Add Fairfax, Alexandria, Accomac and Northampton)
4
Counties voting in Election of Governor Pierpont May, 1862. (shaded)
(Add Fairfax, Alexandria, Accomac and Northampton)
5
Counties represented in the Constitutional Convention of West Virginia 1861–1863 (shaded)
6
Counties voting on Amended Constitution March 26, 1863 (shaded)
In each county which voted the majority was for the constitution
7
Proposed Boundaries of West Virginia (Carlile plan) June 22d, 1862
8
Counties occupied by Home Guards in the Civil War (dotted)

COUNTIES REPRESENTED IN WHEELING CONVENTIONS

The term of the chief executive was changed from four years to two, his term to commence March 4 instead of January 1, and his salary to be reduced from $5,000 to $2,000 per year.[14] His powers and duties remained as under the previous Virginia constitution except that the clause providing that he should be commander-in-chief of the naval forces of the state was omitted. He still had no power to veto an act of the legislature. The office of lieutenant-governor which was considered a very unnecessary appendage was abolished without debate. In opposition to the wishes of Brown and others, who favored their election by the legislature as in Virginia, the convention decided that the secretary of state, the treasurer, and the auditor should be elected at the gubernatorial election for a term of two years. The attorney-general was to be chosen at the same time, and for the same term.

The whole judicial power of the new state was vested by the constitution in a supreme court of appeals (of three judges, but otherwise the same as in the Virginia state constitution), in circuit courts, and in justices of the peace. The nine circuit judges were to be elected for six instead of eight years and the court was to be held at least four times instead of twice a year. Both the much disliked county court and the Virginia district court (created by the constitution of 1851) were abolished without mention.

In the constitution one may see the evidence of the earlier opposition to the inequalities of the Virginia system of taxation. Paxton, in reporting from the committee on taxation and finance, said that no feature of the constitution of 1851 was so odious as that which discriminated in taxation—taxing slave property much lower that the *ad valorem tax* on all other property. Therefore, the constitution clearly provided that all property, both real and personal, should be taxed in proportion to its value, and that no one species of property should be taxed higher than any other species of property of equal value. It also provided that educational, literary, scientific, religious and church property might be exempted from taxation by law.

In its provisions for the local government, the constitution showed distinct departure from the previous provisions of the Virginia constitutions. In place of the county court system, which, although much remedied in 1851, was still very objectionable to many of the people of northwestern Virginia, the convention adopted the "Yankee institution" of townships as sub-divisions of the counties with provision for regular township meetings and for various officers chosen by the people of each township; a supervisor, a clerk, surveyors of the roads and an overseer of the poor, elected annually; one or more constables elected biennially; and one or more justices elected quadrennially. The county officers retained in the new system were a sheriff (elected for four years and ineligible for the succeeding term) and a prosecuting attorney, a surveyor of land, a recorder and assessor (all elected for two years).

On the question of education the convention took advanced ground. In this it was much influenced by Mr. Battelle, who, favoring greater financial encouragement than was finally secured, said in the convention that to his certain knowledge people were leaving West Virginia in droves, largely influenced by the fact that elsewhere they could educate their children. The educational question was not new. The earlier discussions had finally resulted in the beginning of a Virginia system of common schools in 1846. Thereafter, the West had continued to agitate for reform of this system, which Mr. Johnson of Taylor county, on March 11, 1850, in the house of delegates, had said was properly called a system from the poor and might as properly be called a poor system—one calculated to create and keep up distinctions in society, and one so abhorent to the feelings of the poorer class of people that

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[14] Stevenson, who doubtless changed his mind later when he become governor of the state, said in the convention that, as the governor might be at work but one month in the year and could occupy himself with something else the other eleven months, surely $1,600 would be enough for him.

the children of the poor man dreaded to come within the pale of its provisions. Consistent with the policy of the West, expressed in long-continued agitation, the convention provided for the establishment of a thorough efficient system of free schools supported by interest from an invested school fund, net proceeds of all forfeitures, confiscations and fines, and by general personal and property taxes.

In the convention, no one question caused more concern and division than that of slavery.[15] On the one hand, some strongly urged that the new state should be free from slavery, sustaining their view with the argument that the convention was providing for the future of a region capable of becoming one of the most wealthy and important parts of the Union, and which would long ago have been such had it not been for the curse of slavery which repelled from its borders the white population which had built up half a dozen states in the northwest. "Make West Virginia free," they said, "and she will invite immigrants. Her coal and her iron can be mined only by free labor. Negro slavery is wasteful everywhere, but less profitable in West Virginia than in any other part of the southern states." Some also feared that Congress might refuse the admission of the new state if it should appear so wedded to slavery that it could not apply for admission with a free state constitution. On the other hand, many in the convention, believing perhaps that slavery would gradually become extinct, thought it unnecessary to make any provision for it. The convention finally inserted in the constitution a clause forbidding the importation or immigration into the state of any slave or free negro with a view to permanent residence; but, feeling that there might be some objection to this clause in Congress, it adjourned (on February 18, 1862) subject to recall by the chairman in case any change should be necessary.[16]

The remaining steps necessary to secure statehood, were promptly taken. On the fourth Thursday of April the constitution was ratified by the people by a vote of 18,062 to 514. On May 13 the reorganized legislature of Virginia, in extra session, gave the state's consent to the formation of the new state. On May 29, Senator Willey, representing reorganized Virginia, in a speech ably setting forth the causes and conditions which led to the request, presented to the United States Senate West Virginia's petition for admission to the Union.

The whole question regarding the admission of West Virginia was laid before the Committee on Territories, of which Senator John S. Carlile was a member. Carlile, who was expected to prepare the bill, neglected to do so until nearly a month had passed and the session of Congress was drawing to a close. Although he had been an ardent new-state man, he now lost the confidence of his colleagues. In the bill which was finally reported in June, 1862, from the Committee on Territories, he inserted a provision that before the state should be admitted its boundaries should be extended to include the fifteen valley counties, a new convention held, and a new constitution framed with the provision that all children of slaves born after July 4, 1863, should be free. It was evident to those who understood conditions that such a bill even if desirable was unpracticable and could not succeed, and some even asserted that its intent was to block admission. The proposed fifteen additional counties were Berkeley, Jefferson, Clarke, Frederick, Page, Shenandoah, Rockingham, Augusta, Highland, Bath, Rockbridge, Botetourt, Craig, Allegheny and Warren. The bill required that the proposed new constitution after being framed by the proposed

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[15] The total population in the forty-eight counties represented in the convention included 12,771 slaves and 334,921 whites.

[16] The convention determined that the constitution should be silent on the question of slavery, and that at the time the constitution should be submitted to a vote of the people on its adoption, a kind of side vote should be taken for emancipation and against emancipation. When the vote was taken it was 6,052 for emancipation to 610 against, or ten to one in favor of a free state. The vote on the adoption of the constitution taken at the same time was 18,862 in favor to 514 against it.

new constitutional convention should be submitted to the people of the several counties at a new popular election for ratification, and after ratification should be submitted to the Virginia assembly for its assent through legislative act.

Apparently the bill was designed to defeat the plan for a new state. It was generally believed that the people of the fifteen valley counties were hostile to such an act. This Carlile should have known.

On June 26, 1862, Senator B. F. Wade of Ohio called for the bill and Senator Charles Sumner arose in his seat and protested against the gradual emancipation clause, and proposed to substitute the exact wording of the Ordinance of 1787, providing for the organization of the Northwest Territory, as follows: "Within the State there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude other than punishment of crimes whereof the party is convicted." This, many believed, would not be sanctioned by the voters within the territory proposed for the new State. Advocates of the new state were dismayed. Mr. Carlile now had openly denounced the measure. Senator Willey stood firm, but the members of the House, Brown, Blair and Whaley, were forced to believe that the lower House would not vote for it. Senator Willey made another heroic effort, and on July 1 called up the bill for consideration. A heated debate followed. In it Senators Wade, Hale, Collmar and Willey participated. Willey closed his speech with what later was styled the "Willey Amendment," which was in reality a substitute for the Carlile Bill. It omitted the fifteen counties which Carlile had added and also contained Senator Wade's amendment, "that all slaves under twenty-one years July 4, 1863, shall be free on arriving at that age." Senator Carlile as a last resort then delivered a speech favoring the postponement of the matter until the first Monday in December following. He was answered in eloquent, well-timed speeches by Senators Wade and Ten Eyck. Carlile then opposed the bill on the grounds that if passed it would impose upon the people of the new State a clause of the constitution not of their making and which they had not ratified. But this argument was deprived of its force by the offer to submit the proposed amendment to the people of West Virginia for their approval.

After the several debates (on June 26 and July 1, 7 and 14) the bill, amended to conform with the boundaries provided in the constitution and to provide for gradual emancipation, passed the Senate on July 14, 1862—although opposed by Carlile. The vote was 23 for and 17 against, giving a majority of 6.

On July 16, six days after the passage of the bill, the Senate reported it to the House. As an adjournment was near at hand, the House, by a vote of 63 to 33 postponed it until the second Tuesday in December.

On December 9, 1862, the bill was debated in the House all day and far into the night hours.

On December 10, it safely passed the House by a vote of 96 to 55. As passed it contained a condition requiring that the Willey clause which Congress had prescribed relating to slavery should be inserted in the constitution of the constitutional convention and adopted and ratified by a majority of the voters, and that after this was done and duly certified the President of the United States could lawfully issue his proclamation by which the act should take effect and be in force on and after 60 days from the date of said proclamation.

President Lincoln requested the opinion of the members of his cabinet. He obtained opinions from six members, three of whom recommended approval and three advised a veto. Evidently he was somewhat undecided for a time until friends of the proposed new state became alarmed. On the last day of the year he spent three hours with three friends of the bill—from seven until ten, devoting much of the time to comment upon the humorous features of the contest, but also disclosing a wise and shrewd appreciation of the questions involved.

This final crisis in the struggle for statehood, the question of President Lincoln's decision, is well presented in the following narrative of

Senator Willey of a personal visit to the White House on December 31, 1862, in company with Hon. Wm. G. Brown of Preston County and Hon. J. B. Blair of Wood County, who were members of the House of Representatives representing the Reorganized Government of Virginia:

"The bill still remained in the hands of the President until the last day of grace, under the Constitution, when we became so apprehensive of a veto that we determined to wait on him and make a last appeal for mercy. We found him busily engaged with public men and public affairs. But he said he was glad to see us, and greatly desired to have a full and free conference with us about the new State, and that he would be obliged to us if we would call at his office that evening at seven o'clock, when and where we could discuss the matter at leisure and without interruption.

Promptly at the time appointed, Mr. Brown, Mr. Blair, and myself were at the White House. The President received us in his usual genial and familiar way. Our conference had not proceeded very far until he said that he had received the written opinion of each member of his cabinet, and that inasmuch as they were brief he would read them to us without disclosing any names. He did so. We had no difficulty, however, in assigning to each paper the author thereof. Mr. Seward, Secretary of State, Mr. Chase, Secretary of the Treasury, and Mr. Stanton, Secretary of War—mighty men—were for the approval of the act. Mr. Wells, Secretary of the Navy, Mr. Bates, Attorney-General, and Mr. Blair, Postmaster-General, were opposed to it—three for, and three against. Pausing awhile, the President said he had another paper from which he would read a little, and taking from the drawer of the desk by which he was sitting several sheets of manuscript, he began to read from them very deliberately, stopping quite frequently to make comment on the propositions. Of course we knew that he had written this paper himself, and, therefore, supposing that it would reveal his final purpose, our interest in it was intense. But before he had read it all through, and before reaching an ultimate conclusion, if, indeed, he had yet reached any such conclusion, he laid it aside. Mr. Brown at this point remarked that he considered this paper by far the ablest of all. "Yes," said Mr. Lincoln, with that quizzical expression of face and voice which usually come to him when anything amused him, "yes, Mr. Brown, I suppose you think this is the odd trick." Whereupon Mr. Blair rejoined, "And that is the trick we want." And I, not being an expert in that kind of nomenclature, held my peace, lest I should disclose my ignorance.

And now the President required us to state to him the reasons, in full, upon which we justified the creation of this new State. We did so to the best of our ability. We assured him that the desire for a division of the State of Virginia was not a sudden, recent impulse, excited by the rebellion then raging, but was an inveterate sentiment of half a century's growth among the people of the State, having its origin in geographical, social, economical, and political antagonisms, which could never be reconciled, at least while slavery existed; that the great majority of the slaves were held in the eastern section of this State, whilst there were very few slaves in the trans-Allegheny section out of which the new State was to be taken; that this condition must necessarily remain so, because the climate, soil, and staple productions of the latter were not adapted to slave labor, and, especially because its interjection between the State of Ohio on the one side, and the State of Pennsylvania on the other side of it, afforded such ready and convenient facilities for escape that few slaves would ever be brought there; that thus, "the inevitable conflict," which was then deluging the nation with blood would be perpetuated in Virginia as long as slavery continued; that under the apprehension that if ever Western Virginia obtained a numerical majority in the Legislature, their "peculiar institution" would be endangered, the eastern slaveocracy had, by the most arbitrary and despotic proceedings, persistently withheld from our western people their rightful and equal participation in governmental affairs; that the public revenues had been mainly expended in the eastern sections of the State; that the development of the rich natural resources of wealth in our section of country had been designedly hindered and delayed lest its increase in wealth and population should become so overwhelming that our claim for a just and equal share of the political power of the State could be no longer resisted; that there was, in fact, no homogeneity of social, industrial, political, or geographical relations between the two sections and under the then existing circumstances could not be.

Mr. Lincoln listened to us patiently, and not without apparent interest in what we said. We also described the anomalous and perilous condition of the people living within the boundaries of the proposed new State; that they were subjected to the conflicting claims to their fealty and service of the Confederate States government and of the United States and were especially annoyed by the Confederate States government at Richmond, Virginia, which had been making provisions for the establishment of a regular police in every county who might arrest and carry away from the vicinage, to be tried in any other county in the State, all persons suspected of disloyalty to the Confederate authorities; that large parts of said territory were frequently overrun by marauders and guerrillas, harassing, robbing, and sometimes murdering the people, under pretense of military warrants to do so. We suggested that our organization as a State duly recognized by the United States would go far toward arresting these disorders, would encourage, consolidate and strengthen the friends of the Union, intimidate their adversaries, and be a potent factor in a military point of view of suppressing the rebellion. And so we discussed the question pro and con for three hours or more.

The evident drift and tendency of the President, remarkable through the description, and especially in so much of his own manuscript as he read to us, were in the direction of approval. It was very apparent that he would like to find satisfactory reasons for giving his assent, and his significant references to the Act as a judicious "war measure" gave us assurance that in his view of it, if from no other consideration, he was finding a sufficient justification of approval."

The enthusiastic and impulsive Mr. Blair in response to an arrangement with the President, called at the White House early on the following morning (January 1, 1863) to learn the fate of the bill. His colleagues are authority for the statement that finding the doors not yet open he informally climbed through a window in his eagerness to reach the President. After the President showed him the signature "Approved, Abraham Lincoln," he returned with a light heart to the National Hotel to rejoice with his colleagues.

On December 31, 1862, President Lincoln gave his own views on the question, in the following language: "The consent of the Legislature of Virginia is constitutionally necessary to the Bill for the Admission of West Virginia becoming a law. A body claiming to be such Legislature has given its consent. We cannot well deny that it is such, unless we do so upon the outside knowledge that the body was chosen at elections in which a majority of the qualified voters of Virginia did not participate. But it is a universal practice in the popular elections in all these States to give no legal consideration whatever to those who do not choose to vote.

"Hence it is not the qualified voters, but the qualified voters who choose to vote, that constitute the political power of the State. Much less than to non-voters should any consideration be given to those who did not vote in this case, because it is also matter of outside knowledge that they were not merely neglectful of their rights under and duty to this government, but were also engaged in open rebellion against it. Doubtless among these non-voters were some Union men whose voices were smothered by the more numerous Secessionists, but we know too little of their number to assign them any appreciable value.

"Can this Government stand if it indulges constitutional constructions by which men in open rebellion against it are to be accounted, man for man, the equals of those who maintain their loyalty to it? Are they to be accounted even better citizens, and more worthy of consideration, than those who merely neglect to vote? If so, their treason against Constitution enhances their constitutional value. Without braving these absurd conclusions we cannot deny that the body which consents to the admission of West Virginia is the Legislature of Virginia.

"But is the admission of West Virginia into the Union expedient? This, in my general view, is more a question for Congress than for the Executive. Still I do not evade it. More than on anything else, it depends on whether the admission or rejection of the new State would, under all the circumstances, tend the more strongly to the restoration of the National authority throughout the Union. That which helps most in this direction is the most expedient at this time. Doubtless those in remaining Virginia would return to the Union, so to speak, less reluctantly without the division of the old State than with it, but I think we could not save as much in this quarter by rejecting the new State as we should lose by it in West Virginia. We can scarcely dispense with the aid of West Virginia in this struggle; much less can we afford to have her against us, in Congress and in the field. Her brave and good men regard her admission into the Union as a matter of life and death. They have been true to the Union under very severe trials. We have so acted as to justify their hopes, and we cannot fully retain their confidence and co-operation if we seem to break faith with them. In fact they could not do so much for us if they would. Again, the admission of the new State turns that much slave soil to free, and this is a certain and irrevocable encroachment upon the cause of the rebellion. The division of a State is dreaded as a precedent. But a measure made expedient by a war is no precedent in times of peace. It is said that the admission of West Virginia is secession. Well, if we call it by that name, there is still difference enough between secession against the constitution and secession in favor of the constitution. I believe the admission of West Virginia into the Union is expedient."

The bill passed by Congress and signed by President Lincoln provided that the new State should become a member of the Union when a clause concerning slavery, contained in the bill, should be made a part of the constitution and be ratified by the people. Therefore, the convention, which had framed the state constitution and had adjourned to meet at the call of the chairman was reconvened at Wheeling on February 12, 1863, and promptly added to the constitution the clause providing for gradual emancipation.[17] This action was ratified by the

[17] The clause concerning slavery, as adopted by the constitutional convention at Wheeling, was as follows: "The children of slaves, born within the limits of this State after the fourth day of July, 1863, shall be free, and all slaves within the said

people on March 26, by a vote of 23,321 to 472, and the result was promptly certified to the President. The convention before its adjournment provided for an election, to be held on the fourth Thursday of May following, to choose members of both branches of the Legislature, a Governor and other State officers, judges of the Supreme Court of Appeals, judges of the various circuit courts, and county officers.

Senator Carlisle, who had refused to resign his seat in the Senate when asked by the Virginia Legislature to do so, opposed by delay every plan looking toward an immediate admission of West Virginia. On February 14, he presented a resolution proposing the postponement of the President's proclamation until the counties of Boone, Logan, Wyoming, Mercer, McDowell, Pocahontas, Raleigh, Greenbrier, Monroe, Pendleton, Fayette, Nicholas and Clay, then in possession of the Confederate States and over which the Restored Government of the State of Virginia had not been extended, should vote and ratify the constitution. His resolution, however, was lost by a vote of twenty-eight to twelve.

On April 20, 1863, President Lincoln issued his proclamation by which West Virginia sixty days later, without further legislation, became the thirty-fifth state of the Union.

On May 9, a state political convention assembled at Parkersburg to nominate officers. Its deliberations, which were shortened by the arrival of a Confederate force under General Jones within forty miles of Parkersburg, resulted in the nomination of the following candidates:

Arthur I. Boreman, of Wood County, for Governor; Campbell Tarr, of Brooke County, for Treasurer; Samuel Crane, of Randolph County, for Auditor; Edgar J. Boyers, of Tyler County, for Secretary of State; A. B. Caldwell, of Ohio County, Attorney General; for Judges of the Supreme Court of Appeals, Ralph L. Berkshire, of Monongalia County; James H. Brown, of Kanawha County, and William A. Harrison, of Harrison County.

These officers were elected late in the month of May without opposition. Judges were also elected in all the circuit but two, which latter were in the disputed ground between the contending forces of the war.

At high noon on June 20, 1863, West Virginia began its legal existence. The new state government replaced the reorganized government of Virginia, which, directed by Governor Pierpont folded its tents and moved from the new state and located at Alexandria. The service of Governor Pierpont in the formation of the state won him a place in Statuary Hall at Washington.[18]

The state had a government consisting of all departments—legislative, executive and judicial—as provided for by the Constitution. Its financial needs were supplied by two acts of the general assembly of the Reorganized Government of Virginia—one of February 3, 1863 which granted to it all the property and the proceeds of fines, forfeitures, confiscations and uncollected taxes within the boundaries of the new state and another of February 4 appropriating the sum of $150,000 from the treasury.

The first legislature, which assembled on June 20, consisted of 20 senators and 51 delegates.

State who shall, at the time aforesaid, be under the age of ten years, shall be free when they arrive at the age of twenty-one years; and all slaves over ten and under twenty-one years shall be free when they arrive at the age of twenty-five years; and no slave shall be permitted to come into the State for permanent residence therein."

[18] The first suggestion that a statue of Governor Pierpont should be one of West Virginia's contributions to the National Hall of Fame was contained in a resolution adopted by the Society of the Army of West Virginia at its meeting in Fairmont in 1900. At the ensuing session of the legislature $5,000 was appropriated for the statue. Later, when a clay bust has been made, the deceased governor's relatives and friends added to the appropriation $3,000 in order that the work might be done in pure marble. The work was executed in Rome, Italy, by Franklin Simmons and was completed in the autumn of 1903. The final work was delayed until March 8, 1910. The unveiling exercises occurred April 30, 1910. A granddaughter of Governor Pierpont, Miss Frances Pierpont Siviter, cut the cords and recited an original poem.

One of the first needs was a seal for legal authentication of state documents. On the third day of the first session of the legislature of the new state which convened at Wheeling in the old Institute building on June 20, 1863, Peter G. Van Winkle a member of the house of delegates, offered the following:

"Resolved, with the concurrence of the Senate, That a committee be appointed to devise suitable devices and inscriptions for the seals of the State, and report the same to the legislature; and that until such seals are adopted and ready for use, the Governor be authorized to affix his private seal to all instruments otherwise requiring the seal of the State."

Under this resolution a joint committee of six were appointed, three by each house.

The joint committee held several meetings, and as the members differed somewhat radically in their tastes and views of what would be appropriate for the seal, another senator and two delegates were called into consultation with the committee, and a device for the seals was finally agreed upon. J. H. Diss Debar,[19] a foreigner, who was at the capital contesting the seat of one of the delegates, and who was an expert draughtsman, was selected to execute the original design, working in the various emblems which had been decided upon by the committee together with appropriate inscriptions. During a recess of the legislature he completed the drawing of the seal and photographed it for inspection of the members. On September 23, the joint committee submitted to the House a report designating a seal with an obverse and reverse side, "to be used when the coat of arms is made in the form of a medallion," and also giving a full description of the seal.[20] On September 26, the legislature by joint resolution adopted the legend, mottoes and devices reported by the committee on the subject, as the great and less seals, and in the coat of arms of the State, respectively; and the Governor was authorized and requested to have engraved a great and

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[19] Mr. Diss DeBar, the designer of the Coat-of-Arms, was an educated Frenchman who brought a Swiss colony to Santa Clara, Doddridge County, West Virginia. He was appointed by Governor Boreman to act as commissioner of immigration.

[20] The description was as follows: "The disc of the Great Seal to be two and one-half inches in diameter. The obverse to bear the legend 'State of West Virginia,' the Constitutional designation of our Republic, which, with the motto 'Montani semper liberi,' ('Mountaineers are always free') is to be inserted in the circumference. In the center a rock with ivy, emblematic of stability and continuance, and in the face of the rock the inscription, 'June 20, 1863,' the date of our foundation, as if 'graved with a pen of iron in the rock forever.' On the right of the rock, a farmer clothed in the traditional hunting shirt peculiar to this region, his right arm resting on the plow-handles, and his left supporting a woodman's axe, indicating that while our territory is partially cultivated it is still in process of being cleared of the original forest. At his right, a sheaf of wheat and a cornstalk. On the left of the rock a miner, indicated by a pickaxe on his shoulder, with barrels and lumps of mineral at his feet. On his left, an anvil partly seen, on which rests a sledge-hammer, typical of the mechanic arts, the whole indicating the principal pursuits and resources of the state. In front of the rock and figures, as if just laid down by the latter, and ready to be resumed at a moment's notice, two hunter's rifles, and surmounted at the place of contact by the Phrygian Cap or 'Cap of Liberty' indicating that our freedom and independence were won and will be maintained by arms.

"The reverse of the Great Seal to be encircled by a wreath composed of laurel and oak leaves, emblematic of valor and strength, with fruits and cereals, productions of our state. For device of landscape: In the distance on the left of the disc, wooded mountains; and on the right a cultivated slope with the log-frame house peculiar to this region. On the side of the mountain a representation of the viaduct on the line of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad in Preston County, one of the great engineering triumphs of the age, with a train of cars about to pass on it. Near the center a factory, in front of which a river with boats on the bank, and to the right of it, near the foreground, a derrick and shed appertaining to the production of salt and petroleum. In the foreground a meadow with cattle and sheep feeding and reposing, the whole indicating the leading characteristics, productions and pursuits of the State at this time. Above the mountains, the sun emerging from the clouds, indicating that former obstacles to our prosperity are disappearing. In the rays of the sun the motto 'Libertas e fidelitate' ('Liberty from Loyalty') indicating that our freedom and independence are the result of faithfulness to the principles of the Declaration of Independence and the national Constitution."

less seal, of the dimensions, and bearing the devices, etc., recommended by the committee in their report, and these were declared to be the only legal official seals of the state.

Meantime, steps had been taken to enlarge the state by the annexation of Berkeley and Jefferson counties. In July, 1863, Governor Pierpont certified to Governor Boreman that Berkeley county in accord with an act of the Restored Government of Virginia of January, 1863, had held an election to determine the question of annexation and that a "very large majority of the voters" favored the proposition. Later, a similar result of an election was certified for Jefferson county. Both counties were admitted by acts of the West Virginia legislature.

On August 4 the legislature elected two United States senators Waitman T. Willey and Peter G. Van Winkle who after some formal objection were duly admitted. Soon thereafter each of the three newly formed congressional districts elected delegates who were promptly admitted to the House of Representatives.

First State Capitol Building, Wheeling (Linsly Institute), Erected in 1858

An interesting question concerning the date at which salaries of certain state officers should begin arose for discussion soon after the inauguration of the government of the new state. The ordinance of February 19 which provided for the organization of the government by an election of officers on May 28, specified that the term of the officers elected should begin on the sixty-first day from the date of the President's proclamation but should "continue and be computed as if the same had begun on March 4, 1863. One of the officers, taking advantage of the indefinite language of this clause of the ordinance, presented a request for salary from March 4 to June 20. On October 15, 1863, the legislature undertook to settle the question by a resolution declaring that "the term of all officers, legislative, executive and judicial, elected on May 28, 1863, began on June 20, 1863, and not previously." Later, on November 12, it took steps to induce the official to refund the money received by him for the period before June 20. The Auditor answered that on August 10, 1863, the secretary drew compensation for services for the period between March 4, 1863, and June 20, 1863, at the rate of $1,300 per annum and that he had not refunded the same as required by the joint resolution of the Legislature passed on the 12th November, 1863, which provided that the secretary was not to receive any further compensation for services until he did so refund to the treasury.

The Court of Appeals held, that the term of office and the salary of the Governor, Secretary of State, Auditor and the salary of the Governor, Secretary of State, Auditor and Treasurer, began March 4, 1863, more than three months before the state began its legal existence, and nearly three months before the date of the election of these officers.

The selection of a permanent capital for the new state was long delayed. Wheeling remained the capital until 1870, although never selected by any legislative act. The first and second Wheeling conventions had been held in Washington Hall. The first and fourth sessions of the General Assembly of the Restored Government of Virginia had convened in the United States Court Room in the Custom House, and the second and third in Linsly Institute building. The constitutional convention had held its sessions in the Custom House.

Linsly Institute, which had been erected in 1858, was the first capitol (State House) of West Virginia. It was the capitol from June 20, 1863, to April 1, 1870. In front of it, on a large platform Governor Boreman delivered his first inaugural address on June 20, 1863; and within it the first legislature of West Virginia met on the same day.

In his first message to the legislature Governor Boreman recommended speedy action in the establishment of a permanent seat of government, which he considered especially important in order to avoid possible political contention on the subject. The legislature, however, confined its action to a joint resolution authorizing the Governor to use rooms in Linsly for executive offices. Again, on January 16, 1866, two years before the expiration of the lease on Linsly, Governor Boreman suggested to the legislature the propriety of early action in selecting a permanent location. In his annual message each year thereafter, with a desire to end this source of sectional controversy and irritation which had retarded the improvement and prosperity of the State, and in some quarters had even shaken confidence in the permanent existence of the State, he renewed his recommendation and continud to urge upon the irresponsive legislature the importance of definite and final action on the question.

Finally, in February, 1869, a few days before the close of Boreman's term of office as governor, the legislature enacted a law locating the permanent seat of government at Charleston, effective April 1, 1870.

By legislative act of 1875 Wheeling again became the capital but under an act of 1877, providing for a popular vote upon the question Charleston again became the capital after May 1, 1885.

In the new state was included several counties which neither supported the new state movement nor sympathized in any large degree with the federal cause. Among these were Monroe, Greenbrier and Pocahontas which at first the Wheeling authorities probably did not plan to include. In the three Wheeling conventions and the constitutional convention of 1862-3, Monroe county had no representation. Its sympathies were largely with the Confederate portion of the mother state. During more than a year and a half (after the close of the war) it had no local government.

The situation in Pocahontas is illustrated by the story of the migrations of the county records. At the opening of the war in 1861 William Curry was county and circuit clerk of Pocahontas. Finding that the Federals were liable to invade the county, he took the records to a place of supposed safety—the residence of Joel Hill, on the Little Levels. Here they remained until January, 1862, when Mr. Curry becoming alarmed for their safety removed them to Covington, Virginia, where for a short time they were in the Allegheny county court house. Later they were taken to the storehouse of Captain William Scott. In September, 1863, when General Averill's command reached Covington, Mr. Curry again removed the records, first to the house of William Clark, then to a stack of buckwheat straw in which they lay concealed for three weeks, and finally into the mountains where they were stored in the house of a Baptist minister until the surrender at Appomattox. In June, 1865, Mr. Curry returned the records, depositing them at the house of Joel

Hill. A month later the records were taken to a vacant house belonging to Rev. Mitchell Dunlap and there left until September, 1865. The first county court, after the war, convened in November, 1865, in the Methodist church at Hillsboro. From that time the records were kept in the old Academy building until June, 1866, when they were taken back to the county seat and deposited at the house of John B. Garey.

In the convention at Wheeling Captain Richard M. Cooke, of the county of Wyoming, was admitted as a delegate from Mercer county by authority (as he claimed) of a petition of a few people in the western portion of Mercer, but there was no vote by which the people of the county elected, authorized or commissioned any person to represent them in the convention. No election was held by the people of the county upon the question of the ratification or rejection of the constitution. Both the Virginia government at Richmond and the reorganized government at Wheeling (and later the government of the new state) attempted to exercise jurisdiction over the territory. This led to the arrest of many citizens by both sides for alleged political offenses, each government charging treason.

There were probably only a few of the people of Mercer who favored the North. There was an apparent unanimity of sentiment among the people in favor of Southern rights and armed resistance to any Federal attempt at coercion. Some of those who enlisted in the Confederate army later deserted to the Federals. Some became outlaws, thieves and robbers and made incursions into the county for indiscriminate plunder.

In August, 1861, after the retreat of General Wise's forces from the Kanawha, Parkinson F. Pennington, a farmer of Mercer county, who resided on Laurel creek, took a load of produce to the valley of the Kanawha, to purchase goods and salt. On his route home he expressed Northern views obnoxious to some of his Southern neighbors, who arrested him without warrant and charged him with being a spy. His captors, headed by Captain James Thompson, an ardent secessionist of tremendous size, started for the courthouse, but becoming incensed by his views convicted him by drumhead court and hung him with hickory bars on a dogwood tree by the way near Concord Church (now Athens). At the close of the war, Pennington's father and eighteen Union soldiers started to the house of Captain Thompson to arrest him (all others of the party having been killed in the war). Thompson, attempting to escape, was shot and killed by one of the vigilance party.

On September 11, 1863, in the New River valley, in the region later included in Summers county, Samuel Richmond was killed by secessionists. He was a Union man, and opposed to the severance of the Union and the secession of the Southern States. With the Richmond characteristics, he left no doubt in the minds of the people as to his beliefs, but proclaimed them far and wide. Being over the age at which he could be required to serve in either of the armies, he remained at home. He owned a large buhr hewed-log grist-mill, located at the lower side of the falls, which was patronized for many miles around by the people on both sides of the river, and especially when other mills were out of commission by reason of the low water and dry weather. In this region feeling was intense and much bitterness had been engendered between the partisans of the Southern and Northern cause. On the day of his death, Richmond ferried Allen Vincent across New river from the Raleigh side. His wife urged him not to cross, fearful that some harm would result, but he disregarded her warning. He went down to the ferry, some half mile below the residence, got into his canoe, ferried Mr. Vincent across to the Summers side and started to row back. He was shot from ambush by two persons who were hid on the mountain side. Being a man of powerful determination and physique, he rowed his canoe back to the opposite side. He was carried home, and there died instantly from the result of the wound. This murder was regarded as cold-blooded and unprovoked. It was committed in the heat of partisan passion, when the woods were full of bushwhackers ready at any moment (when they believed the interests of their partisans' sides

demanded it) to commit cruel, unnecessary and unprovoked destruction of human life and of private citizens' property. Many acts of that character committed during the strife were unpunished. Samuel Richmond and his descendants were good citizens and people of strong personality. William C. Richmond, son of Samuel Richmond, was arrested at one time by the Confederate bushwhackers or scouts, and was taken on horseback behind one of the soldiers. In traveling through the mountains, after night, astride the horse, holding to the man who held the bridle, in front, he took out his knife and deliberately cut the man's throat from the rear, "slid" off his horse and escaped. The man whose throat was cut fortunately did not die from the wounds.

Augustus Pack, an old man and noncombatant, a resident of Boone, was arrested often by both sides and kept busy taking the oath of allegiance to the government of his captors.

Pend'eton county practically remained under jurisdiction of Virginia

Wheeling in 1870

until the close of the war. In Pendleton county at the opening of 1864, the county court adjourned to the Vint schoolhouse and then to a private house. Only three members were present. Another session was planned at the same schoolhouse, "providing the presence of the public enemy prevents its meeting at the courthouse." Owing to the insecurity of the Franklin jail, use was now made of the jail at Staunton. In October the Franklin jail was burned. Its destruction was attributed to the Home Guards, some of whom had been imprisoned there when taken captive.

February 9, 1865, the sheriff was "notified to have the courthouse windows returned and replaced, the house cleaned, and if Imboden's wagon train be not removed from the courthouse yard, it will be moved by him. Soldiers who will pledge their honor that they will not in any way deface the property belonging to the courthouse will be allowed the privileges heretofore granted them."

April 6, 1865, the last session of the county court under the laws of Virginia met and reported a settlement with the sheriff. As they proceeded the sessions of the court had grown infrequent, and in the territory controlled by the Home Guards the county government was little heeded.

In Barbour county after the opening of the Civil war several county officers deserted their official duties for service in the Confederate cause, leaving no one to execute their legal duties. Lawyers left their offices and books. For a short time before June 3, the courthouse was used as an arsenal for storing the scanty and almost worthless supplies which were furnished to Colonel Porterfield, who was in command of Confederate forces in that region. After the town was occupied (on June 3) by Federal troops, however, it remained free from Confederates, except during a few hours in 1863 at the time of the raids of Imboden and Jones, when Spencer Dayton carried the court records on horses into the hills to save them from danger of destruction. Apparently, after an adjournment on May 8, the county court had no meeting for business of record until October 7. At an election held on September 27 "to fill vacancies," Lewis Wilson was elected clerk and James Trahern was elected sheriff, Nathan Taft prosecuting attorney, and Joseph L. Hawkins and Samuel S. Lackney assessors. This was the first election under the Reorganized Government.

In the winter of 1862-3 Sheriff Trahern was taken from his home by a detail of seven Confederates sent for that purpose by General Imboden, who was in winter camp in Augusta county. He was taken to Richmond and was held for some time, but was later allowed to return home. Five of his captors were Barbour County men, and after his return he informed on four of them, who were compelled to leave Barbour. The fifth man befriended Mr. Trahern, and gave him money to mitigate his suffering while a prisoner, and his name was not with the other four, who were compelled to leave. At the close of the war, he remained in Barbour, and became one of the prominent business men of the county.

The kidnaping of the sheriff had deplorable results. The next night two prominent citizens of Barbour, Henry Bowman and Henry Wilson, who were Southern in their sympathies, were assassinated under the mistaken belief that they had been implicated in the kidnaping of Trahern.

On the Minute book of the county court under date of June 2, 1862, the following resolution, offered by Spencer Dayton, is recorded:

"Whereas, on this date one year ago our court-house and county were in possession and under the domination of organized bands of rebels who, by force of arms, deprived our citizens of their peaceful rights of resort to courts of justice, and in effect declared war against existing laws and authority, and against citizens who recognized or appealed to such laws; and in place of the Federal banner, they unfurled from the roof of this house a miserable badge of disloyalty and treason. But, on the following day, June 3, 1861, the traitors were routed and driven from our midst in base and cowardly confusion by volunteer soldiery of the United States, through whose timely aid our citizens were relieved from an abhorred despotism and have since enjoyed protection and the rights and blessings of civil liberty under the government to which they were reared.

"Now, therefore, we the body of Justices for the County of Barbour, State of Virginia, as a court, this day assembled at Philippi, do for ourselves and on behalf of the people, enter in our record our sincere thanks to the Federal soldiers engaged in the battle of Philippi, and to their national-head and commander-in-chief, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States."

Considerable damage was done in Braxton and other counties by partisan bands. The Braxton County records early in the war were removed to Weston for safe keeping.

One of the officials of Lewis county refused to recognize the existence of the new state of West Virginia and paid to the Virginia Government at Richmond the sum of $3,575.30, on judgments of commissioners of delinquent taxes and forfeited land.

In many communities there was an absence of bitterness which seems remarkable at the time of such tension. In many counties the board of supervisors refused to take action against the property of former residents who were serving in the Confederate army and which under the law of 1863 was declared forfeited. In Lewis County, even Jonathan M. Bennett, who continued to serve as First Auditor of the Virginia

government at Richmond throughout the war, lost none of his property during his absence.

The increase in the number of officials under the new township system contributed to make the system unpopular. The number of new officials for each township made the amount expended for salaries appear disproportionate to the services rendered. The failure of the system was partly due to the failure of the county officials to deliver books to the new Justice of the Peace.

A question of the limits of the freedom of the press arose in Wheeling. July 11, 1864, the *Wheeling Daily Register* was seized by government orders and its doors were closed until further orders. Its editors and proprietors, Lewis Baker and O. S. Long, were arrested and placed in Camp Chase military prison and held several months by order of General Kelly, because they had published articles which were regarded as unfriendly to the Union cause, but about September 1 they were released by General Sheridan.

In the National Union Convention, which met at Baltimore on June 8, 1864, to nominate a president and a vice president, the new state had ten delegates including General Kramer who cast the entire vote of the delegation for Lincoln and Johnson. In the presidential election of 1864 the vote of West Virginia by counties was as follows:

County	Lincoln	McClellan	County	Lincoln	McClellan
Barbour	393	298	Mercer	...	...
Boone	...	...	Monongalia	1,321	705
Braxton	...	...	Monroe	...	...
Brooke	464	401	Morgan	205	...
Berkeley	726	...	Nicholas	148	...
Cabell	191	...	Ohio	2,188	2,008
Calhoun	...	...	Pendleton	211	...
Clay	73	...	Pleasants	267	215
Doddridge	...	...	Pocahontas	...	...
Fayette	...	...	Preston	1,612	569
Gilmer	224	...	Putnam	388	109
Greenbrier	...	...	Raleigh	...	...
Hancock	224	...	Randolph	177	50
Hampshire	163	7	Ritchie	678	216
Hardy	254	...	Roane	275	31
Harrison	1,323	863	Taylor	56	36
Jackson	760	190	Upshur	819	60
Jefferson	174	91	Wayne	76	...
Kanawha	1,421	26	Wetzel	329	755
Lewis	649	448	Webster	...	...
Logan	...	...	Wirt	262	209
Marion	1,082	511	Wood	1,496	591
Marshall	1,407	770	Wyoming	...	...
Mason	1,346	362			
McDowell	...	...	Total	23,228	10,487

Apparently every newspaper in the state supported Lincoln for the second term. Among these besides the Wheeling papers were the *Wellsburg Herald, Fairmont National, Monongalia Press, Ritchie Press, Grafton State Journal, Clarksburg Telegraph, Upshur County Republican, Parkersburg Gazette, Point Pleasant Registrar, and Charleston Republican.*

CHAPTER XXII

STRATEGY OF WAR

The formation of West Virginia had an important relation to the movements of armies in the momentous struggle of the Union against secession, and it was not accomplished without the opposition of the State Government at Richmond which represented the eastern end of the state in its cooperation with the Southern Confederacy.

In the war of secession, which furnished the opportunity for statehood, the West Virginians in proportion to their number and wealth did as much as the people of any other state. That they were not friendly to secession was shown by their vote of ten to one against the Virginia ordinance of secession. That the determined character of this opposition to the action of Virginia was underestimated by the authorities at Richmond was shown by the persistent efforts of Virginia to secure control of her western counties and to collect forces therein for the Confederacy after the region had slipped from her grasp. Not until the failure of the Imboden raid was the true sentiment of West Virginia understood by the Confederates. To the Union army she furnished over 30,000 regular troops, exclusive of the 2,300 Home Guards consisting of 32 companies organized to defend 32 home counties from invasion. For the Confederate service she furnished between 7,000 and 10,000 men, nearly all of whom enlisted before the close of 1861. The importance of West Virginia's contribution to the war cannot be estimated alone by the number of men which she furnished. The failure of the Confederates to hold the territory and to secure the Baltimore and Ohio Railway gave the Union forces a great advantage in the transportation of troops between Ohio and the East.

At the opening of the war the strategic Monongahela region became the theatre of contending armies in a series of introductory episodes which were larger in significance than in size of forces engaged or extent of territory covered. The geographic position of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad, crossing the region of the Monongahela drainage system and the eastern panhandle, and connecting Washington with the Ohio, made it of inestimable value as an aid in the military operations of the United States government throughout the war and at the same time determined to a large extent the theatre of Confederate operations, especially at the inception of the war. The results of the campaign, in which the battle of Philippi occupied a prominent place, determined the control of northwestern Virginia including the western division of the Baltimore & Ohio Railway, contributed largely to the control of the remainder of the Baltimore and Ohio route from the mountains eastward to Baltimore, encouraged the movement for the formation of a new state west of the mountains, and influenced the result of later important military events of the war.

The secessionists very early in the war saw the importance of establishing their lines along the border of Ohio and Pennsylvania which they hoped to make the battle ground. At the same time they underestimated the strength of the opposition which the people of northwestern Virginia would offer to the attempt to join them to the fortunes of the Southern Confederacy. They especially desired to control the Baltimore and Ohio railway which had a geographic position of great strategic importance, and by which they particularly hoped to prevent the concentration of Federal troops on Maryland and Virginia.

Following the approval of a secession ordinance by the constitutional

convention at Richmond, the Richmond government directed the movement of forces into western Virginia both to encourage enlistments and to guard the Ohio-Pennsylvania frontier. Therefore, on April 39, 1861, General Lee ordered Major Boykin of Weston[1] to call out volunteers and assume command at Grafton and took steps to control the Ohio terminals of the main road at Wheeling and the branch road at Parkersburg. On May 4, he directed Colonel Porterfield, of Harper's Ferry, to call out additional volunteers to rendezvous at Grafton, to assume general command over Boykin and others in the vicinity, to distribute 200 muskets which at the request of Boykin had been sent to Colonel Jackson at Harper's Ferry, and to issue requisitions for additional arms. On May 11, he ordered 400 rifles and ammunition from Staunton to Major Goff at Beverly to be placed at the disposal of Colonel Porterfield for use in the vicinity of Grafton.

In the meantime Boykin had encountered great difficulty in assembling a force in the vicinity and had made a request for companies from other parts of the state—a request to which General Lee did not think it wise to comply.

On May 16, Colonel Porterfield reported from the region near Grafton, stating that he discovered great diversity of opinion and much bitterness of feeling and that he was seriously disappointed to find that Major Goff at Beverly had received no rifles and had no information that any had been sent. Both at Pruntytown and at Philippi he found a company organized and awaiting arms; and he was assured of another company which was forming at Clarksburg, but which was without either arms or uniforms. He reported that two companies were marching toward Grafton to aid him: that of Captain Boggess, of Weston, which had only flint-lock muskets, in bad order and without ammunition; and that of Captain Thompson, of Fairmont, which had better guns but little ammunition. Although urging the need of the best rifles, he doubted whether there would be much use of the bayonet in the hills, and thought that the rifles which had been in the fire at Harper's Ferry would do if fitted up.

On May 23, Porterfield moved from Philippi to Webster and on May 24 united with Captain Bill Thompson who had collected 200 men at Fetterman. On May 26, he entered Grafton, from which Colonel George R. Latham had retired with his company on the night of May 23 to muster into the Federal service at Wheeling. He held the town until May 30 when the advance guard of Kelley's force from Wheeling arrived. He was disappointed by failure to receive a supply of arms which he expected to receive from Harper's Ferry but which could not pass the Federal forces holding the railroad at Cumberland.

Ordered to advance to Wheeling, Porterfield, before he had time to act and while disappointed with the failure of his appeals to secure adequate arms and ammunition, found it necessary to fold his tents and fall back toward Philippi before a superior force of troops from Wheeling—the vanguard of the army of McClellan—under Colonel Benjamin F. Kelley who proceeded to occupy Grafton without firing a shot. Porter-

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[1] Major T. F. Lang relates his experiences as a Federal recruiting officer at Weston [in May or June, 1861] as follows: I distributed printed circulars through the town, calling a general meeting at the court house for the following day. This was the first official visit that quiet town had received from the "Lincoln Hirelings," and this innovation upon my part so incensed the great men (officers) of the town that they waited upon me with "official" importance, and informed me that I could not hold my advertised meeting in the court house, and that if I attempted to enter it for such an unholy purpose my arrest would soon follow and in place of the court house I would find myself in the county jail.

I challenged their authority to interfere with even so small a part of the United States as a recruting officer, and I don't know whether it was my determination or their timidity, but the advertised call was held at the court house and no interference was offered. * * * Soon after I procured the services of a fifer and drummer, and treated the town to a parade. I then secured transportation, and with colors flying left for Clarksburg with my recruits, much to the indignation of the Secession element and the gratification of the loyal men, and that event proved to be only the introduction that finally secured 750 men to the credit of Weston and Lewis counties to the Union cause.

field had burned two bridges four miles east of Mannington; but failing in his plans to execute Governor Letcher's order to destroy the railroad at Cheat river, and blow up the tunnel through Laurel Hill, west of Rowlesburg, he was unable to prevent the Baltimore and Ohio from falling into the control of the Federal forces, which thus obtained a great advantage in the transportation of troops between east and west in the operations of the war.

In the closing days of May, General McClellan's 20,000 troops had crossed the Ohio at Parkersburg and Wheeling; and on June 1, about 4,000 of these under General Thomas A. Morris, of Indiana, reached Grafton. Early in the evening of the following day, 3,000 of these marched by two routes on Philippi (twenty miles southward) where Porterfield had halted with his poorly equipped forces to resist the further advance of the Federals.

The plan of the Federals was to capture the Confederates. With this purpose in view, the attacking forces advanced in two columns, one east of the river under Colonel Kelley, consisting of 1,600 men, and the other west of the river, under Colonel Ebenezer Dumont, with 1,450 men, and two brass six-pounders. Colonel Kelley's troops left Grafton on the morning of June 2, on the cars going toward the east. It was announced that they were going to Harper's Ferry. This was to deceive any spies who might be waiting to communicate with Confederates at Philippi. The soldiers left the cars at Thornton, about six miles east of Grafton, and under the guidance of Jacob Baker, a citizen of Cove District, Barbour County, set out upon the march for Philippi under orders to camp in the afternoon where the men could rest and eat, and resume the march in time to reach Philippi at exactly four o'clock the next morning. This column was instructed to approach on the road leading by the cemetery, but before reaching that point to cross the hill to the eastern and southern end of town in order to cut off retreat on the Beverly road. The column under Colonel Dumont left Grafton on the cars on the evening of June 2, and moved to Webster, five miles west, and there left the cars, under orders to march upon Philippi with plans to arrive before the town at precisely four o'clock, and to divert the attention of the Confederates until the real attack could be made by Colonel Kelley.

At Philippi an attack was expected on the night of June 2. Captain James Dilworth, who had been a militia officer, collected about fifty men at a point seven miles west of Philippi, on the Clarksburg pike, and prepared to dispute the passage of the Union army, which was then supposed to be marching toward the neighborhood. Colonel Porterfield sent a picket down the road toward Webster, and also sent Captain Jenkins with a strong cavalry picket to a point on the Clarksburg road and toward Elk City. With full confidence in the pickets, he lay down to sleep in fancied security, believing that ample notice of any danger would be given.

Just before the dawn of June 3, the two Federal columns converged upon the town, after a march over muddy roads, and fired the opening guns of the first inland battle of the war. The heavy storms which had impeded their march and tested the physical endurance of the young army, had caused the Confederate pickets to retreat from their posts to find shelter at Philippi. Colonel Dumont's force reached the top of the hill overlooking the town and on the opposite side of the river, undiscovered, and placed the two cannon in readiness for the fight as soon as Colonel Kelley's force should be in position. But the attack was made a few minutes sooner than was intended.

The rapid race of the Federals to Philippi, succeeded by the brief battle in which not a single person was killed, was promptly followed by the precipitate retreat of the stampeded Confederates who abandoned their baggage in their narrow escape from capture on the Beverly road and left the Baltimore and Ohio free to transport armies for the preservation of the Union. The Confederates, having strict orders not to waste powder, began their retreat upon the first fire. While their forces were decamping before the fire from the hill beyond the river, Colonel Kelley's troops began to arrive. One body came over the hill back of the court house, and another passed through the gap further south, and opened fire. Although they were too late to cut off the retreat, they were in ample time to accelerate it. Colonel Kelley at the head of his troops reached the main street before the Confederates were out, and while pressing the pursuit was shot through the breast by a man who was making his escape from an orchard at the rear of the school house.[2]

[2] As the Federal army moved into West Virginia, a foolish and unnecessary fear seized the people that a terrible example was to be made of them. Reports flew

The surprise was complete. The Confederates were stampeded, and in their precipitate retreat abandoned more than half of the few and worthles guns they possessed and all their tents and baggage. So narrow was their escape that a delay of ten minutes would have cut off their retreat on the Beverly road and would have resulted in the capture of the whole regiment.

From the rapid advance of the Union troops and the still more rapid retreat of the Confederates the affair was called "The Philippi Races." Although in comparison with later battles of the war, this skirmish appeared insignificant, its result was especially important in encouraging loyalty to the Union in Northwestern Virginia [3] and in revising the opinions of many who had been inclined to favor Virginia in its act of secession.[4]

Colonel Porterfield retreated from Philippi to Huttonsville in Randolph County, forty miles south of Philippi, and halted at the base of Cheat Mountain. His forces were so few and were so poorly armed and equipped that resistance to the advance of the large army which General McClellan was pouring into West Virginia could not be undertaken with probability of success. He was blamed by those in power at Richmond for not making a stand, and soon after his retreat from Philippi he was superseded in command by General Robert S. Garnett, who was expected to hold the Union forces in check and to recover the lost ground in West Virginia. Unable longer to endure the censure which was probably undeserved, he demanded a court of inquiry which met at Beverly, June 20. This court found that although he had taken ordinary precaution against surprise, and had acted with coolness on the occasion of the surprise and had conducted the retreat in good order, he had erred in not taking extraordinary precautions in face of the threatened attack. The main fault was with those who sent him to the front and utterly failed to support him, expecting him, with raw untrained troops, in a hostile country, to withstand an attack from the larger number of troops which could be thrown against him.

On June 22 McClellan crossed from Ohio with his official staff, and on June 23 he established his headquarters at Grafton. A few days later he established headquarters at Buckhannon, which had an important strategic position in covering his base of operations and supplies in the July campaign. From this point he directed commanding officers at Grafton, Webster, Clarksburg and other points.

Clarksburg became the most important military post in West Virginia. It was the base of supplies for quartermaster and commissary stores during that series of battles which began at Philippi and included Rich Mountain, Laurel Hill and Carrick's Ford. It continued to be an important military headquarters until the close of the war. Weston was also an important strategic center, the possession of which by the Union forces gave them a certain security and a point of vantage for further movements into the Confederate territory of the northwest. It was an important outpost for the protection of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad because of its location on the Staunton and Parkersburg turnpike, by which Confederate raiding parties aiming at the Northwestern

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thick and fast. One was that sixty thousand Union troops had been scattered along the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad with orders to sweep southward and destroy all property of Southern sympathizers, and drive the people from their homes.

In Barbour County several families congregated at one place in expectation of meeting death from the advancing Federals, while the men, with what guns they had, stood ready to fight for their families till death.

[3] In expression of their appreciation the West Virginia soldiers made Colonel Kelley a present of a splendid horse which he named Philippi in commemoration of his victory, and which he rode the night of February 20, 1865, when it was taken at Cumberland, Maryland, by sixty-one Confederates under Lieutenant Jesse McNeill—who also kidnapped General Kelley and General Crook in the midst of an army of 4,000 men and carried them to Staunton.

[4] About a dozen of Captain Jenkins' men who were Union in sentiment and unwilling to fight for the Confederacy deserted before reaching Huttonsville. When this was reported, Colonel Porterfield sent for Captain Jenkins and upbraided him for having a company of abolitionists. In the quarrel which ensued he asked for Captain Jenkins' commission, wrote his discharge across the face of it, handed it back to him, and discharged the whole company. Captain Jenkins sold his horse and returned to Philippi, where he was arrested by the Federals as a spy, but after a trial he was set at liberty, took the oath not to take up arms against the United States, and during the remainder of the war he remained at his home at Elk City.

Railroad west of Clarksburg were likely to approach. Most important of all, it was the junction of the Weston and Gauley Bridge turnpike with the state road and was the gate to the northern approach to the Kanawha valley and the center from which the secession territory to the south and west could be most easily commanded. Although troops were first sent to Weston primarily for the purpose of securing the Virginia funds in the Exchange bank, they were not withdrawn. Other troop movements showed that the Union leaders did not intend easily to relinquish the advantage gained.

General Robert Garnett, who superseded Porterfield at Huttonsville on June 14 and reinforced his army to over 6,000 by troops from eastern Virginia, completely failed with inadequate forces to recover an important strategic position. He planned to established a base at Evansville in Preston county.[5]

Early in July, 1861, Garnett fortified two positions to prevent the Union forces from moving southwest. One fort was constructed at the western base of Rich Mountain (five miles west of Beverly), on the Staunton and Parkersburg turnpike between Beverly and Buckhannon. The other position was at Laurel Hill (Belington) on the road between Beverly and Philippi, just over the line in Barbour county. The two fortified positions were twelve miles apart, but no road connected them except in a round-about way. The stronger Confederate force was placed on the road leading from Philippi because that was the direct route to the south.

Lang in his "Loyal West Virginia" says of these Confederate fortified positions: "To have held the position selected for General Garnett after the battle of Philippi, except with a force so large as to make defeat impossible, was simply a military blunder. Camp 'Rich Mountain' is a gap in the Laurel Hill range, where the Staunton and Weston turnpike crosses it, about five miles west from Beverly. Garnett regarded this pass as naturally very strong and easily held; he therefore intrenched about 2,000 of his men and 4 pieces of artillery under command of Colonel Pegram of Virginia forces, while he himself, with about 6,000 men and 4 pieces of cannon, occupied Laurel Hill, fifteen miles further to the westward. This place was very strongly fortified; in fact, both at Rich Mountain and Laurel Hill the Confederate commander had selected the very strongest natural position for defense to be found in that part of the country. * * * The fortifications consisted of heavy breastworks of timber and earth; but the stupid part of the whole business just referred to was that they had completely isolated themselves from all accessible base of supplies, with but one rough road as a line of advance or retreat, and this in face of the fact that the first principle in military operations is to be sure of your base of supplies and lines of retreat. * * *"

McClellan, upon taking the field in his campaign against Beverly, Rich Mountain and Laurel Hill, had about 20,000 men, consisting of 16 Ohio regiments, 9 from Indiana, and 2 from West Virginia, with 4 batteries of artillery of 6 guns each, and 2 troops of cavalry. Of these forces about 500 were guarding the railroad under the command of

[5] Garnett had been an officer in the United States army, but had resigned to accept service under the Confederacy. Early in July he had been re-enforced by troops from eastern Virginia until he had six thousand men, exclusive of a few companies of local militia who were expected to scout and to do picket duty. He hoped to prevent the Federal forces from advancing further, and he formed plans to capture the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad and either hold it or destroy it. His design was to establish a base at Evansville in Preston county, from which he could strike in different directions, and in case of being overpowered in front, or threatened from the west, he intended to retreat up Cheat river. His engineers surveyed the wagon road from Rowlesburg to St. George with that object in view. General Lee wrote as late as July 1, urging that the railroad be cut at Rowlesburg, saying that the rupture of the railroad at that place would be worth an army to the Confederacy. General Garnett soon satisfied himself that he could not push forward to the railroad with the force at his disposal; and instead of improving the Cheat river road for his own use, as he had contemplated, he blockaded it to prevent its use by General McClellan who might have reached the Confederate flank by that route. He felled trees across every road crossing Laurel Mountain between Cheat Mountain and St. George. He wrote to Lee that he did not believe the Union forces would advance south of Philippi, for the simple reason that they probably had as much of Northwestern Virginia as they wanted. Lee replied that the Federal forces would not be satisfied with what they already held, but would push over the mountains to Staunton unless prevented from doing so. Events proved that Lee's judgment was right.

Brigadier-General C. W. Hill of Ohio. Brigadier-General Morris of Indiana was at Philippi with a strong brigade, and the rest of the forces were designated into three brigades, forming the immediate command of General McClellan. The brigade commanders were Brigadier-General W. S. Rosecrans, U. S. A.; General Newton Schleich of Ohio, and Colonel Robert L. McCook of Ohio.

McClellan's forces advanced in two columns against the Confederates, designing to attack both positions at once. Four thousand men under General Thomas A. Morris marched from Philippi against the force under Garnett fourteen miles beyond on the road to Beverly; and ten thousand men under McClellan marched by way of Buckhannon to execute the contemplated movement to Beverly and to attack the Confederates at Rich Mountain.

On July 11 an attack was made on the Confederates at Rich Mountain, and after a sharp fight the Union troops gained a victory. The Confederate force at that place was destroyed. About 600 surrendered two days later, after vainly trying to escape through the mountains. After defeating a detachment under Colonel John Pegram at the battle of Cheat Mountain. McClellan pursued the retreating force through Beverly and Huttonsville, seized the summit of Cheat Mountain and intrenched a part of his command on the main Staunton turnpike leading over the mountain. At one o'clock on July 12 he reached Beverly, and thus cut off Garnett's retreat over Cheat Mountain as he had planned. But Garnett was no longer at Laurel Hill.

When news of this defeat reached Garnett at the other camp at Laurel Hill, he abandoned his position without a fight and retreated eastward into Tucker county toward the Northwestern turnpike, hoping to escape by that route. He blockaded the road behind him by felling trees across it, to hinder pursuit; but General Morris followed with 3,000 men, cutting out the blockades, and pressing so hard upon the rear of the retreating army that Garnett was obliged to offer battle at Carrick's Ford on Cheat river, in Tucker county.[6] The Confederates were defeated and Garnett was killed (on July 13). The remnant of the army rapidly fled, abandoned its baggage, threw away guns, left the sick to fall in the hands of the pursuing Union troops, and after reaching the Northwestern turnpike crossed into Maryland and back into Virginia, finally crossed the Alleghenies into Hardy county and thence passed through Pendleton county and arrived at Monterey in a demoralized condition. In Highland county it met reenforcements which were hurrying from Staunton to help drive McClellan's army back; but the battle had been already lost, and the campaign was over.

The Federals under Morris were not in condition to continue the pursuit beyond Carrick's Ford. They were starving, and returned to Belington by way of St. George and Clover Run.

Garnett, in his report from Laurel Hill, informed General Lee that the lack of enlistments and aid to the Confederate cause indicated that he was in a foreign country. After his retreat there were few Confederates in West Virginia west of the Alleghenies and north of the Kanawha valley.

After the brilliant campaign of Union achievements which terminated at Carrick's Ford, the Union troops in Randolph were several weeks "principally engaged in driving from the country the bushwhackers, and in protecting the peaceable citizens in their pursuits of farming, merchandising, etc."

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[6] Late in May a Confederate flag was raised over the court house at St. George in Tucker County by Abe Bonnifield and others, but on June 10, 1861, it was captured by a body of forty men from Rowlesburg who acted on the invitation of Union men at St. George.

As the war spirit grew the old officials of the county ceased to function. About June 28, the Union men proceeded to hold elections in the county. To prevent these elections Robert McChesney was sent into Tucker County from Garnett's neighboring forces. Eight miles below St. George (at Hannahsville) he was killed by an opposing force which fired upon his small force of ten men.

On July 14, McClellan, leaving 6,000 men as guards and reserves at Clarksburg, Webster, Grafton, Rowlesburg and other points, moved southward with 14,000 men and occupied Huttonsville, followed by the line of military telegraph by which throughout his brief campaign he had been able to keep in touch with Grafton and to announce to the excited country the news of his victories—which, although small in comparison with many later victories of the war, were important as a preparation for some of those later victories, and were significant in their larger results which contributed to the integrity of the Union.

As a result of his victories, McClellan suddenly became prominent and was soon called to Washington to command the Army of the Potomac in the advance on Richmond. He was succeeded by General Rosecrans in command in West Virginia, and General J. J. Reynolds in command of the Union troops holding intrenched positions on Cheat Mountain summit, Elk Water and Huttonsville.

The Confederates, encouraged by their victory at Bull Run, south of Washington, decided upon a new attempt to drive all Union forces from Virginia. For that purpose General Robert E. Lee was sent into Randolph county via the Staunton and Beverly turnpike with 14,000 men to recover the ground lost. There he met 9,000 Federal troops under General Reynolds who had constructed two fortified camps (seven miles apart)—one at Cheat Mountain guarding the road from Staunton and the other near the source of Tygart's Valley river guarding the road from the Kanawha valley.

In his plans of this campaign Lee did not exhibit the military genius which characterized his later campaigns in the war. In September he advanced toward the camps, with expectation of a success which would have opened the way to Grafton and Clarksburg, but disappointed by rains and other unfavorable conditions he retreated with his entire army without striking a blow.

Two Confederate columns were sent by the Staunton road against Cheat summit and one by the Lewisburg and Huntersville road against Elk Water. At the same time another column was ordered to pierce the line between Elk Water and Cheat summit a distance of eight miles through a trackless mountain forest, to gain the rear of both positions. The movement began on September 11. A part of Lee's command succeeded in reaching the rear of the Union troops at the Summit, and a part attacked by the Staunton road in front. Both were repulsed. The column sent against Elk Water appeared before that position, but, because of the failure of the other columns, made no attack. On September 15, all the columns retired to their old positions.

A party of Lee's retreating force fortified a camp on Greenbrier river in Pocahontas county thirteen miles from Cheat Mountain. At this camp they successfully resisted the attempt of Reynolds to dislodge them but fell back and established a winter camp on top of the Allegheny Mountain. After repulsing an attack of General R. H. Milroy (successor of Reynolds) they faced Milroy's camp at Huntersville all winter but in the spring moved eastward over the mountains beyond the borders of West Virginia and were soon followed by the Federals.

Aside from the influence on the success of the Reorganized Government of Virginia in western Virginia and on the consequent organization of a new state, the chief immediate result of the campaigns of 1861 in the Northwest was the control of the trans-Allegheny lines of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad for the Union, whose success in the struggle against secession was largely dependent upon rapid communication between Washington and the West. The Federal control of this portion of the railroad line facilitated the problem of keeping the road open east of the mountains from Piedmont to Harper's Ferry, where the Confederates seized every opportunity to blockade the national capital by destroying this means of transportation between East and West, and finally resulted in continuous uninterrupted communication for strategic military purposes between Washington and the Ohio. Although the road was closed to ordinary traffic from May, 1861, to April, 1862, the company, under guard of Federal troops commanded by General Kelley, was rebuilding bridges and replacing what had been de-

stroyed by the Confederates, it was in good condition for business for the remainder of 1862. On April 2, 1862, upon the completion of the work of repair, one hundred guns were fired in celebration of the event of the first regular train that ran from Baltimore and safely arrived at Wheeling. For later repairs and replacements the road spent large sums. In 1862-3 its losses from Confederate attacks were heavy. It lost 42 locomotives, 386 cars, 127 spans of bridges, aggregating 4,713 feet, 36 miles of track, and the water stations and telegraph lines for a distance of 100 miles were destroyed. During the period of the war its fine bridge at Harper's Ferry was twice destroyed.

A supreme test of the railroad's strategic importance occurred in September, 1863, when it became necessary to send two army corps from the Army of the Potomac to reinforce General Rosecrans at Chattanooga, who had been defeated at Chickamauga by General Bragg, and was in peril. It was of supreme importance that large reinforcements should be sent to Chattanooga within a few days. An appeal for help was presented to the railroad officials. "At a consultation President Lincoln seemed almost in despair," says Professor Draper in his "History of the Civil War." "I advise," said Stanton, Secretary of War, "that the powerful detachment be sent from the Army of the Potomac to open the road." Lincoln smiled incredulously: General Halleck considered such an attempt impracticable. "I do not," said the Secretary of War, "offer you this opinion without first having thoroughly informed myself of all the details. I will undertake to move 20,000 men from the army on the Rapidan, and place them on the Tennessee near Chattanooga within nine days." Not without reluctance, Lincoln gave his consent that the eleventh and twelfth corps should be moved.

The account of how the army was transferred has been given by President Garrett, as quoted by Thomas Scharf:

"I arrived at the very moment when they were at issue as to the possibility of making so large a transfer in so short a time. In response to their questions, I replied that I could put 30,000 men in Louisville, Ky., in ten days, provided I was clothed with absolute power over the whole route, as well as all military authority, not even excepting that of General Halleck, then general-in-chief; that the lines of railroad and telegraph should be under my sole control and command, and should be protected at night at threatened points with lanterns to warm the approach of any danger; that no military officer should give any orders not subject to my control, and that I be empowered to seize and run cars, stop the mail and passenger trains, government freight and all other trains; that full authority be given me to seize wagons, lumber, and impress men on the Ohio river for the purpose of building a bridge.

"The secretary of war, who was much pleased with the prospect of accomplishing this great feat of transportation contrary to the expressed opinion of General Halleck, replied that he would grant me everything and hold me responsible for success. General Hooker, who was to command the expedition, replied that while he had great respect for me personally, he would not as long as he held the rank of major general, become the subordinate of any civilian, and that he would there and then tender the resignation of his commission if any such authority was to be given me. I replied that it was only with such authority that I would be responsible for the success of the movement, and without that authority I would not attempt the transfer of so many troops in such a short time.

"It was because I knew that absolute authority over every appliance for the movement, as well as every man to be moved, was necessary, that I insisted on dictatorial powers. That I was not mistaken was made apparent at the very outset of the movement, when it became necessary to threaten several colonels with arrest, and embarrass the transfer; and again at Grafton a train was stopped by telegraph from a general officer until he could catch up with his command. Such interference, you can see, would have been fatal to the operations of a movement of 30,000 men over more than 1,000 miles along a single track railroad, as well as dangerous to the lives of large numbers. Mr. Stanton settled the matter with General Hooker in a private interview, upon returning from which he asked me to recommend four men of prominence for appointment as captains on the staff of General Hooker.

"Clothed with full power over men, material, and railroads, I repaired to Camden Station, Baltimore, and there took up my abode and did not leave the station, except to go to Washington, for five days, sleeping in my chair when I could, and eating at the depot as opportunity offered. I dispatched Mr. Wilson, master of transportation, to the Ohio river with power to seize flat boats and lumber, to construct a bridge over the river to be in readiness for the first train of cars that arrived with troops; and when, on the third day of my labor, I repaired to Washington to attend a cabinet meeting, I was met by Mr. Stanton and General Halleck with the remark: "Well, you have failed. It is impossible to have the bridge com-

pleted over the Ohio before the troops arrive there on the cars.'' I was surprised and almost confused. Something, I thought, had gone wrong or been omitted, and yet I could not think where or by whom the error or omission had been made. However, while the discussion was going on, we were interrupted by the hurried entrance of a messenger with a dispatch for me, announcing the completion of the bridge and the passage of the troops without the least delay. The entire two corps were landed safely in Louisville within the time stipulated by me, without accident or injury.''

To transfer the two army corps from Washington to Stevenson, Alabama, a distance of 1,192 miles in seven days, it was necessary to connect diverging railroads with improvised tracks, to build temporary bridges across large rivers, to pass through half a dozen states, and to cross the Ohio twice. The troops were accompanied by their artillery, baggage, and animals.

In the contest to gain and retain control of the Kanawha valley the Confederates also lost. The policy of Lee was to hold the valley by posting a force below Charleston. General Henry A. Wise, who was ordered to the Kanawha early in June, 1861, experienced considerable difficulty in raising and equipping soldiers in that region, but finally secured an army of eight thousand men (including about 2,000 militia from Raleigh, Fayette and Mercer counties) with which he planned an advance against Parkersburg. His orders were to proceed with the force placed at his command, and to rally the people of the Kanawha to resist the invading army. With the meagre nucleus of an army he advanced to Lewisburg, thence down the Kanawha valley, his force gradually increasing until, by the accession of Colonel Tompkins' detachment, already in the valley, it numbered full 4,000 men, including considerable cavalry and four batteries of artillery. General John B. Floyd, of Virginia, who had been secretary of war under President Buchanan, was assigned to the protection of the line of the Tennessee & Virginia Railroad. The two commands were expected to consolidate when necessary, and at one time they were expected to proceed northward to Parkersburg and Clarksburg, and even to Wheeling.

With a Confederate force of about 2,700 men, Wise established headquarters about two miles below Charleston, but soon found it necessary to retire eastward up the Kanawha.

McClellan originally intended to conduct his campaign in West Virginia by way of the Kanawha valley, but his plans were postponed by the gathering of the Confederates near Beverly. Later when his flank was menaced by the presence of Wise in the Kanawha valley, General J. D. Cox was ordered (on July 2) to cross the Ohio from Gallipolis with a brigade to conduct a campaign against Wise, and on July 6 he was ordered to march on Charleston and Gauley Bridge. Crossing the Ohio with about 3,000 men, he drove back some of Wise's advance detachments, and on July 11 moved up the Great Kanawha river in transports. On the evening of July 16 he reached the mouth of the Pocotaligo where he heard that some of Wise's forces were in a position above the mouth of Scarey creek on the south side of the Kanawha and about three miles distant. Landing troops on the south side of the river on July 17, he attacked but was repulsed with a loss of fourteen killed and forty-seven wounded. Delayed by this check until he could get land transportation which arrived on July 23, he advanced on July 24, took Charleston on July 25, and reached Gauley Bridge on the morning of July 29. Wise, retreating before him, did not halt until he reached Greenbrier and the White Sulphur Springs, where he was joined by General Floyd.

A few days later Wise's plans were further threatened by another Federal force which advanced southward from Clarksburg.[7] On

[7] The commands of Generals Wise and Floyd, being sorely pressed by the enemy, the militia brigades of General Alfred Beckley and Augustus A. Chapman were called into service in August, 1861, and sent to Cotton Hill, in Fayette county.

A vivid and perhaps exaggerated picture of the drastic treatment of Unionists in the Kanawha valley by General Wise in the summer of 1861 appeared in the following editorial from the *Wheeling Intelligencer* of November 29, 1861, based upon a report of a gentleman residing in that region:

August 13, Colonel E. B. Tyler, with the Seventh Ohio Infantry, was ordered by General Rosecrans to occupy a position at Cross Lanes (in Nicholas county) covering Carnifex Ferry on the Gauley river, twenty miles above General Cox's position at Gauley Bridge.

The Confederates soon tried to secure control of the Gauley. On August 26, General Floyd with 2,500 Confederates attacked Colonel Tyler at Cross Lanes and compelled him to retreat to Charleston, but a few days later Wise failed in an attack upon the forces under General Cox at the mouth of Gauley, and on the same day (September 3) General Rosecrans started for Clarksburg on a march via Weston, Bulltown, Sutton, and Summerville to Nicholas—a march which resulted in a drawn battle at Carnifex Ferry and the withdrawal of Floyd into Greenbrier after burning the bridge behind him to prevent pursuit.

In the following November, Wise was defeated by Rosecrans at Gauley Bridge in a final battle of a campaign which left the lower valley in the hands of the Federals. After the defeat of Wise and Floyd in detail, facilitated by their own continual lack of concert and cooperation, the Confederates were finally pushed over the Alleghenies in this region and never again obtained a permanent foothold.

In his message to the legislature in December, 1861, Governor Pierpont, referring to the condition of the southern section of the state which had been overrun by the secession forces, said:

"There seems to be no doubt that nearly all the able-bodied men between sixteen and sixty have been forced into the Confederate army, including thousands who are at heart true to the Constitution and the Union. * * * A large proportion of the slaves have been sent farther south for security. All the live stock within the rebel lines has been seized for the use of the army. Farms have been stripped of horses, wagons, fencing and timber, and the houses of the people of blankets and even clothing—whatever, in short, could be made useful to the soldiers. The property of men known or supposed to be true to

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"Since early in the summer, the valley has been the scene of warfare. Wise came among the people as a besom of devastation. He literally laid bare the country all around him. His worthless promises to pay are left widespread among the people; but their corn, their wheat, their oats, their hay, their bacon—their all—is gone, to be heard of no more. He took horses, mules, wagons, and impressed them in his service, both as he came and as he left. He paid for nothing the whole time. His cavalry, sustained themselves by depredating first upon one farm and then upon another. They roved from field to field, from locality to locality, like droves of grasshoppers. They let down fences, entered and fed their horses from grain in the shock. They took corn and oats from the barns. They quartered themselves at the tables of the farmers like so many brigands and footpads, never even giving so much as a slip of Wise's script in return. Their trail was desolation everywhere. The infantry were provided for by the script system. Foragers stay and make valuation on farm products, to store houses of provisions, etc., and give the owners certificates therefor. If the owners objected, the property was considered sold in spite of the objection, and was transferred to the wagons just as though it had been paid for in gold. Nothing was allowed to interfere. In like manner clothing and everything else that was of value was taken.

In the town of Charleston, the case of two young Jews, clothes dealers, afforded a distressing example of Wise's brutalism. He got hold of a letter which one of them had written to a dealer in the East, at the bottom of which was a note indicating his sympathy with the Union. Wise had him and his brother arrested and thrown into prison; and on being visited by a lawyer on their behalf, revealed a depth of devilish brutality that astounded his visitor beyond belief. He said he intended to have these Jews shot unless they made over their stock of goods to him; that if they would assign the goods, he would not shoot them; but that he wanted it understood that either through blood or an instrument of writing he intended to have the goods. The lawyers (from whose own lips we have these facts) went back to the poor fellows and told them the sorry tale. He left them in prison in tears. The sequel was that Wise took the property and carried them away captive with him.

"The old demon used to curse frightfully. His profanity was most disgusting. When he had no one else to curse, he cursed O. Jennings, his son, and cursed him roundly, too. Especially did he belabor him when Jennings remonstrated against destroying the beautiful and costly bridge over Elk River. His whole bearing was that of maniac devil—seemingly let loose to fill a portion of the unexpired term of Satan himself. Never did a people more rejoice to see a pestilence leave their midst than the people of Kanawha to see Wise compelled to make off. The feeling was not confined to Union men; it was general."

the Union has been taken without compensation, and they regard themselves fortunate whose lives are spared. The property which is pretended to be paid for is paid for in treasury notes of the Confederate States, or in bank notes issued on the deposit of such treasury notes. This currency, even at Richmond, is already at a discount of not less than thirty per cent—really valueless."

Wise was probably glad to be called to the eastern coast. The following statement of his impressions indicates that he was disappointed in the people of the Kanawha:

"The Kanawha valley is wholly disaffected and traitorous. It was gone from Charleston down to Point Pleasant before I got there. Boone and Cabell are nearly as bad, and the state of things in Braxton, Nicholas, and part of Greenbrier is awful. The militia are nothing for warlike uses here. They are worthless who are true, and there is no telling who is true, you cannot persuade these people that Virginia can or will ever reconquer the northwest, and they are submitting, subdued and debased."

By October 1, Rosecrans had concentrated his entire command, including Cox's brigade, at Big Sewell Mountain. There, his force became reduced by sickness and by detachments, until he had but 5,200 effective men. His base of supplies was 60 miles distant. The roads after the autumn rains became so difficult that horses and mules were destroyed in their effort to transport supplies. On October 5, therefore, he very considerately withdrew his forces toward Gauley Bridge and encamped in that vicinity at locations convenient to water transportation upon which his army was dependent for subsistence and clothing. Orders were immediately dispatched requesting paymasters to come and pay the troops—none having received any pay since they entered the service.

In the Spring of 1862, General Cox marched eastward from Charleston and occupied a position at Flat Top mountain. In August he moved on to join General Shields in the Shenandoah valley, leaving General Lighburn in command, with headquarters at Gauley's Bridge. His eastern outpost was at Fayetteville, occupied by the 27th Ohio. The Federal force in the valley was then 3,500 men.

On May 12, 1862, the Federals with 800 cavalry and 120 infantry, commanded by Colonel Elliott, of Crook's brigade, reached Lewisburg, drove the Greenbrier Riflemen back to the Greenbrier river and occupied the place. A few days later they were reenforced by Colonel Gilbert with a large detachment of Crook's brigade. On May 29, they fell back to Meadow Bluff.

Following the defeat of General Heath by General Crook in the battle of Lewisburg on May 23, 1862, Mr. Samuel Price, one of the most prominent citizens of Greenbrier county, was ordered to report at Crook's headquarters to take the oath of allegiance. Refusing to take the oath he was first threatened with the guard house, but was allowed to remain at his home on parole. Later he was ordered to go to Charleston with other prisoners en route to Camp Chase, Ohio, and although allowed to ride his horse he felt that he was subjected to a series of insults on the route. At Charleston he was first put in jail with other prisoners, but through the influence of Dr. Patrick, Sr., was released on parole, allowing him to stay at the hotel. About three months later he was released by the expedition of General Loring which drove the Federals back.

The Federals held possession of the Kanawha valley until September 6, 1862, the troops occupying Camp Piatt, at Charleston, opposite Brownstown, with their most eastern post at Fayetteville. Scouting parties operated south and east through this territory.

In Fayette county the people were largely in favor of the Confederate cause. In May, 1861, the county court at a special session appropriated $5,000 for the purchase of equipment and uniforms for soldiers of the Confederacy. In June it invited the peaceful resignation of any member who might feel friendly to the North. The county fur-

nished a company for the Union army, however. Federal forces which occupied Fayetteville in the fall of 1861, remained until they were driven out on September 10, 1862, by General W. W. Loring's forward movement from the Narrows, which captured valuable military stores at Charleston. They returned in May, 1863, to drive the Confederates out. During the war there was a general exodus of the citizens, and only four houses remained at the cessation of hostilities.

After 1861, the Confederates never made a serious attempt to recover or to hold the trans-Allegheny region of West Virginia. Although as late as 1863 certain politicians and generals in the Confederate service still believed the majority of the West Virginians were in sympathy with secession they had no shadow of a basis for any lingering hope after the great raid of Imboden which found few willing to grasp the opportunity to enlist in the Confederate service.

Early in 1863, General Jenkins, commanding a Confederate cavalry brigade at Dublin Depot, on the line of the Virginia & Tennessee railroad, determined upon a raid across the mountains and down the Kanawha valley to capture valuable Federal supplies and horses at Point Pleasant. On March 20 with a detachment of 800 men and with Dr. Charles Timms of Putnam county as surgeon, he began the march of 200 miles over the mountains, despite bad roads and bad weather. On March 27 he reached Hurricane Bridge, Putnam county and after defeating a Federal force there resumed their march toward the mouth of the Kanawha. On March 28 he reached Hill's Landing, on the Kanawha, just as the steamer "Victress" was departing down the river with a Federal paymaster and considerable government funds. At Point Pleasant for four hours he closely besieged Captain Carter, with Company E of the 12th West Virginia Infantry, two blocks from the court house. The citizens fled to the opposite side of the river and spread the news. Federal reinforcements soon arrived, including a battery of artillery. The Confederates withdrew, crossed the Kanawha, and that night camped at the headwaters of Ohio Eighteen, in South Mason county. On the next day they reached Tazewell county, Virginia.

On April 19, 1863, at Tuckwiler's Hill, near Lewisburg, a small encounter occurred between Edgar's battalion and a detachment of the 2nd West Virginia Cavalry under Colonel Paxton, the latter retreating. The battle of Dry Creek, two miles from White Sulphur Springs was fought on August 26, 1863.

Perhaps the most important later military event in the Kanawha valley was what is known as the Dublin raid and battle of Cloyd Mountain, in which many men from the Kanawha region were engaged on both sides. Early in the spring of 1864, General George Crook, who commanded the Kanawha department, concentrated his forces at Fayetteville, and in May began his march through the mountains to Dublin Depot, Pulaski county. The weather and roads were both in bad condition, and men and train moved slowly. En route his force camped at Loup creek (Fayette county), at Mercer (Mercer county), and at Princeton. It arrived at Rock Gap, Bland county, on May 7, and at Shannon, Giles county, on the day following. On May 8, at Cloyd's mountain they encountered and defeated a Confederate force in command of Generals Jenkins and McCausland. General Jenkins who was left wounded on the field was taken to the house of David Cloyd, where a Federal surgeon amputated his arm at the shoulder, but he died under the operation.

One of the last fights of the war was fought on Greenbrier river, seven miles east of Hinton, at a point known as the Big Rock. Thurmond's Rangers were coming down Greenbrier river, some in a large canoe made from a big poplar tree and others by the road. Suddenly they encountered a squad of Union men who fired on them from the bluff above the big road, shooting bullet holes through the big canoe and buttons off their coats, but shedding no blood.

Although by the campaign of McClellan, southward from Grafton to Huttonsville, the Confederates practically lost control of the entire

region of Northwestern Virginia, which so largely controlled the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad and found no subsequent opportunity to make a serious attempt to regain it, they made several subsequent raids which produced a feeling of uncertainty and insecurity in some sections and severely tested the alertness of the Federal forces and Home Guards. General A. J. Jenkins with 500 Confederates made a raid through Monroe, Greenbrier, Pocahontas, Randolph, Upshur and Lewis (and westward to the Ohio through Gilmer, Roane and Jackson) in August, 1862, and returned via the Kanawha valley.

In November, 1862, General John D. Imboden with over 300 Confederates dashed over the Alleghenies from Pendleton county with the intention of reaching Rowlesburg in order to destroy the B. & O. bridge over Cheat at that point and the neighboring trestles on Laurel Hill, but after reaching St. George within twenty miles of his destination he received information of Federal plans which caused him to make a hasty retreat.

In the spring of 1863, the great Imboden raid, of 5,000 Confederates in two divisions, crossed the Alleghenies into northwestern Virginia to gain recruits and to obtain horses and cattle for General Lee's contemplated movement to Chambersburg and Gettysburg. The main or southern division under Imboden crossed into Randolph county, captured Beverly, and continued westward into Upshur and Lewis counties. From Weston it moved southwesterly toward the Kanawha and in May slowly retired across the Alleghenies. The northern division of 3,000 cavalry under General William E. Jones, crossing via Greenland Gap and through Maryland and Preston county and Monongalia county to the Monongahela, damaged the B. & O. Railroad at Rowlesburg, cut down the suspension bridge at Albrightsville (Preston county), tried to burn the suspension bridge at Morgantown and destroyed the railroad bridge at Fairmont by a powder explosion and then proceeding via Philippi and Buckhannon formed a junction with Imboden at Weston. Both divisions carried away many horses and cattle.

At Rowlesburg from noon until night on Sunday, April 23, Jones directed one division of 1,000 cavalry against the Federal forces under command of Major Showalter who by trees felled across the up-Cheat road was able to repel the attack. In the darkness he retired to West Union on the Northwestern turnpike, six miles from Rowlesburg. Amid the consternation which reigned, Showalter, fearing that he was surrounded, retreated to Morgantown and toward Pittsburgh and Wheeling before he decided to return to his post. For this retreat he was severely criticised.

At Kingwood, Morgantown and Fairmont, Jones' men alarmed the citizens and seized many horses which were corralled and driven away without offer to pay. At Philippi, Jones intended to burn the bridge over Tygart's and was prevented only by the appeal of Southern sympathizers who suggested that the Confederates might soon need the bridge to facilitate their retreat. Here, on May 2, he collected the thousands of cattle and horses taken in Preston, Monongalia, Marion, Barbour and Tucker counties and sent them southeast via Beverly. Fearing that he might plan to seize the county records, Spencer Dayton had hurriedly placed the most valuable records in a coffee sack which he carried to the home of Joshua Glasscock in Pleasant district for safe keeping. Jones advanced via Harrisville to the petroleum wells in the direction of Parkersburg. On the night of May 9, at Burning Springs, he destroyed 100,000 barrels of oil, by a fire whose illumination was plainly seen at Parkersburg, forty-two miles distant.

At Fairmont on April 29 Jones met some resistance at the Palatine end of the suspension bridge. He found much harder fighting, however, at the upper (railroad) bridge. The small Federal force of 275 men, who at first held a position near the Pruntytown road, were completely surrounded and at the mercy of Confederate sharpshooters. After a desperate contest in which they were forced back almost to the bridge, they raised the white flag and surrendered, and after a few hours imprisonment in the court house were released on parole. Following the formality of the surrender, Colonel Mulligan arrived by train from Grafton and opened fire from the other side of the river, but was unable to prevent the destruction of the iron bridge which had cost the railroad half a million dollars. Mulligan fell back to Grafton and proceeded to Philippi, and thence via Buckhannon to Weston.

In reply to a telegram from Governor Pierpont, inquiring concerning losses, General Lightburn answered as follows:

"Your public and private library was destroyed; eleven horses taken from Mr. Watson; John S. Barnes was wounded; young Coffman was killed; no property burned except your library and Coffman's saw mills. Money taken from N. S. Barnes, $500; Fleming, $400; A. Fleming, $300 in boots and shoes; Mrs. Sterling,

$100; Jackson in flour and feed, loss great; Major Parrish lost all of his goods; every one who had good horses lost them; National newspaper office destroyed and type all in 'pi'; United States property destroyed, $500; Monongahela river railroad bridge of the Baltimore & Ohio road, destroyed, piers only left standing, bridge in river. Coal Run, Buffalo and Barricksville bridges all destroyed. It was Lieutenant Zane of Wheeling who destroyed your library by burning it in front of your office."

The Federal forces everywhere retreating before the Imboden-Jones advance, concentrated at Clarksburg and West Union. In June, 1863, Imboden, under orders from General Lee, in connection with plans for the Gettysburg campaign, moved into Hampshire county to destroy bridges which might facilitate movement of Federal troops from the West to the East. After destroying the bridge across the South Branch he marched directly to Gettysburg.

After Imboden's great raid, General W. W. Averill, who superseded General B. S. Roberts in command of the Union forces in the northern part of West Virginia, adopted a new feature—the conversion of the infantry into a body of cavalry for more rapid movement to points needing immediate protection, a precautionary measure to lessen the dangers of any future Confederate invasion. General Averill was placed in command of a mobile force drawing its supplies from Clarksburg to patrol the region south of the railroad to the Kanawha and to cooperate with General Kelley commanding on the line of the railroad and with General Scammon commanding on the Kanawha and the Gauley. He was instructed to guard the passes and approaches via Cheat River Mountain on his left and to be ready in an emergency to cross the mountains to aid in any movement in the direction of the Valley of Virginia. He was later assigned to the Kanawha valley.

Late in June, Averill drove back across the Alleghenies a raiding force of 1,200 Confederates, which, under General Wm. L. Jackson, had suddenly attacked Beverly. After a hasty march to Gettysburg, where he arrived too late to participate in the battle, he attacked a body of retreating Confederates under command of Bradley T. Johnson and with 1,300 men defeated them near Martinsburg. Soon thereafter, starting from Winchester he raided up Dunlap creek as far as Callaghan's, and destroyed saltpeter works within reach. He then moved into Greenbrier to drive back a raiding force of 2,000 Confederates under General Sam Jones, and after a severe battle of two days at Rocky Gap, near White Sulphur Springs, in which he lost heavily, was forced (by lack of ammunition) to retreat. A few weeks later he led 2,500 men from Beverly to Pocahontas against a body of Confederates under General Echols which he soon defeated at Droop Mountain[8] on November 6, 1863.

Averill's greatest achievement was the great raid of December 8-25, from Keyser to Salem, Virginia, with 2,500 cavalry and artillery to destroy several miles of railroad, his almost miraculous escape from Confederate armies which attempted to surround him, and his safe return via Pocahontas county to Beverly. His route was via Petersburg, Franklin, Monterey, Mt. Grove, Callaghan's, Sweet Sulphur Springs and New Castle. He reached Salem just as a train load of soldiers were arriving to defend the place. His artillery forced the train to back out of the place, and he destroyed the railroad, cut the telegraph wires, and destroyed the stores. The track was torn up for sixteen miles, five bridges burned, and valuable property destroyed including 100,000 bushels of shelled corn, 10,000 bushels of wheat, 2,000 barrels of flour, 1,000 sacks of salt and 100 wagons. Having completed this work, his next business was to get out of a death trap. He was hemmed in by forces under Fitzhugh Lee, Jackson, Early, and Echols, and before him every stream was flooded by heavy rains. His object

[8] In the battle of Droop Mountain, the Federals advancing from Beverly formed in line on the Levels near Hillsboro. The Confederates, led by General Echols, had advanced from Meadow Bluff in Greenbrier, and after six hours of firing, they were flanked on both wings and retreated beyond Lewisburg to Sinking creek in Giles county. Echols soon reoccupied Lewisburg.

was to cross into West Virginia, striking Monroe, Greenbrier or Pocahontas county. On his route of retreat his first encounter with the Confederates was on the Fincastle and Covington turnpike within eight miles of the James river bridge, which he reached before they had time to burn it. He raced them to the next bridge, five miles farther, and succeeded in crossing it, although Jackson's force was upon him. To General Early's formal request for his surrender, he made no reply.[9] He crossed the Alleghenies, and one morning when the weather was bitterly cold and the Greenbrier greatly swollen, he put his command across it and marched into the Levels before the inhabitants had any news of his coming.

Hugh Maxwell states the purpose and difficulties of Averill's expedition as follows: "It was a momentous issue. General Burnsides was besieged at Knoxville, Tennessee, by General Longstreet, and the Government at Washington feared that the army under Burnsides could not hold out until reenforcements could be sent. The only hope was in cutting Longstreet's line of supplies (the railroad passing through Salem) and compelling him to raise the siege. Averill was ordered to cut that railroad, even if to do so he must sacrifice his whole army. The smaller sacrifice could be made, if it would save Burnsides. On December 8, Averill with his veteran cavalry moved from Keyser, passed through Petersburg, Monterey, Back Creek, Gatewoods, New Castle to Salem. Four Confederate armies, any of them larger than his, marched and countermarched to cut him off. Still during eight days he rode toward Salem in terrible storms, fording and swimming overflowing mountain streams, pursuing ravines and miserable roads night and day, and on December 16 he struck Salem. During the last twenty hours his men rode without rest. The Confederates had ascertained the point of attack, and were hurrying troops from Lynchburg. But Averill drove them back and tore up the railroad for a distance of sixteen miles. He destroyed immense quantities of military stores, and performed the task which had been assigned him. Then began the perilous retreat. The Confederate armies were surrounding him. Rains had deluged the country. Streams were crossed by swimming. He dragged his cannon through with ropes. When there were bridges, he burned them behind him, and hurried on. He captured a dispatch and learned from it that only one avenue of escape was possible. That was the road which led across the Alleghenies into Pocahontas County. The rain had changed to snow. The cold was intense. The roads were sheets of ice. Snow and sleet broke trees and blockaded the roads. So terrible was the storm that cattle froze to death in the fields. Horses fell and were crippled. Soldiers dismounted and dragged the cannon by hand up the mountains, and tied trees to them to hold them back in descending. The Confederates hung upon the rear, and continual fighting was necessary to cover the retreat. The army reached Beverly in a miserable plight from cold and famine. But not a cannon had been lost, and only 119 men."

In retaliation for Averill's Salem raid, General Fitzhugh Lee, who participated in the Confederate maneuvers for his capture, led an invading force into the South Branch valley, penetrating as far as Romney, but because of bad weather conditions he was forced to leave all artillery at the eastern base of Shenandoah mountain, and he soon returned eastward. About the same time (January, 1864), General Early led an army into the South Branch, compelled the Federal garrison under Colonel Thoburn to evacuate Petersburg and directed some foraging parties under General Rosser which collected cattle and burned some small railroad bridges east of Cumberland. This raid was followed in March, 1864, by a counter raid into Pendleton county by 400 men of the 12th New York cavalry, led by Lieutenant-Colonel Root, which destroyed the saltpeter works above Franklin and proceeded to Circleville without meeting a Confederate force.

In May, 1864, Averill, with his cavalry, participated in a Federal force from the Kanawha, commanded by General Crook, against Confederates who were guarding the railroad westward from Lynchburg into Tennessee, and was successful in destroying the railroad bridge at Dublin. One incident of the expedition was the battle of Cloyd Mountain in which General Albert G. Jenkins, in command of Confederates, was killed.

[9] Morton in his history of Monroe County, referring to General Echols' hurried march by way of Sweet Springs to the top of Peters Mountain to intercept Averill, states that Averill's escape was partly due the aid of a country physician named Wylie who was well acquainted with the country roads and yielding to threats unwillingly acted as pilot to Covington and received a reward for his service. "The smoke of the burning bridge over Jackson's river at Covington apprised Echols that his prey had eluded him."

In August, 1864, Averill was sent in pursuit of a Confederate force led by General McCausland and General Bradley T. Johnson, which, after a disasterous raid to Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, retreated through Maryland and the South Branch. At Moorfield he overtook them and defeated them in a brief fight which resulted in the capture of many prisoners and the recovery of all the property seized in Pennsylvania.

Later raids were that of Colonel V. A. Witcher, in September, 1864, who started from Tazewell county and penetrated to Weston and Buckhannon, two later attacks on Beverly—one under Major Hall in the late autumn of 1864, and the other under General Rosser in January, 1865, and General Rosser's successful surprise attack of Federal forces under Colonel George R. Latham at Keyser in November, 1864. At Weston the force of Colonel Witcher (who had been with Jones' western raiding force in 1863), refilled the stores, took good horses in exchange for old ones and robbed the Exchange Bank of all its funds. Rosser's attack at Keyser resulting in some damage to the railroad track there was the last of the active raids in West Virginia.

In their repeated raids, the Confederates were doubtless encouraged by the demoralization resulting from the divided sympathies of the people in several counties of the region visited. At the outbreak of the war, nearly all county officers of Barbour were Southern in sympathies; and for several months after Colonel Porterfield was driven from Philippi, there was no execution of the law by the civil authorities, and Philippi was almost deserted. In the following September, under the Reorganized Government of Virginia, there was an election to fill vacancies. In the winter of 1862-63, the new sheriff, Mr. Trahem, was kidnapped from his home by a detail of Confederates, under orders from General Imboden (who was encamped in Augusta county), and was sent to Richmond. Although he was released and allowed to return, his capture led to retaliatory acts against the Confederate sympathizers in the county. In the raids under Imboden and Jones, which occurred in the spring of 1863, Barbour was not as much concerned as other counties of the region. In several cases records were carried away and in Randolph the sheriff (J. F. Phares) was shot. Later, near the close of the war, M. T. Haller, in command of the Home Guards in Barbour county, was killed in an ambush by a Confederate scouting party led by a Mr. Moore.

In the eastern panhandle Confederate operations began in April, 1861, with the swift seizure of Harper's Ferry, the seat of the United States arsenal. On April 24, Lieutenant Jones, U. S. A., by orders from Washington and in expectation of an attack by Confederate forces en route from Winchester and other points, fired the factories and blew up the government arsenal and safely escaped with his men to Hagerstown and thence by omnibus to Chambersburg where he secured a train for the East. Throughout the war Harper's Ferry had a strategic importance which was largely determined by its location on the railway between Washington and the West and its railway connection up the Shenandoah, but also by its geographic relation to the most convenient route for Cenfederate invasions into Maryland and Pennsylvania.

At different points along the Potomac between Harper's Ferry and Piedmont, also along the South Branch, Confederate operations occurred at irregular intervals until near the close of the war, and were usually along the route of the railway.

After the Confederates realized that West Virginia had forever slipped from their grasp and that the Baltimore and Ohio could no longer be utilized in the earlier plans to fortify the banks of the Ohio, they became openly hostile to the road and sought to damage it so that it could not carry Union troops from the Ohio to the Potomac. Governor Letcher, of Virginia, said, "The Baltimore and Ohio Railroad has been a positive nuisance to this state from the opening of the war till the present time, and unless the management shall hereafter

be in friendly hands and the government under which it exists be a part of the Confederacy it must be abated." In various Confederate raids the officers had instructions to strike the railroad wherever possible. Jackson at one time complained to President Garrett that the eastbound trains disturbed the repose of his camp and requested a change of schedule. To this request President Garrett complied. During the war many Baltimore and Ohio trains were captured and in some cases the engines were transported for use on the "scantily stocked Virginia roads of the same gauge." The bridge at Harper's Ferry was twice destroyed and the extensive machine-shops and engine houses at Martinsburg were razed to the ground.

Early in the conflict the Confederates held the entire railroad in their grasp from Harper's Ferry westward to Piedmont and over the mountains. In May, 1861, General "Stonewall" Jackson, by the practice of strategy between Martinsburg and Point of Rocks, caught many trains, which, after a run by steam to Winchester, were removed by

JOHN BROWN'S FORT, HARPER'S FERRY

horse power to the railway at Strasburg—producing a loss to the Baltimore and Ohio which crippled it seriously for some time. On June 19, after the failure of Colonel Porterfield at Grafton and Philippi, Confederates directed a raid from Romney to destroy a section of the railroad in that vicinity. The withdrawal of General Johnston from Harper's Ferry to Winchester in June, 1861, gave the railroad company an opportunity, quickly grasped, to rebuild the section of its road which had been destroyed. In May, 1862, Jackson, after his celebrated raid down the Shenandoah, pursued General Banks to Martinsburg and westward to Williamsport, Maryland, but soon retreated to Harper's Ferry and up the Shenandoah, followed above Strasburg by forces under General Fremont who had recently taken command of the Mountain Department with headquarters at New creek (subsequently at Petersburg and Franklin). In 1862-63 the road sustained severe losses including forty-two locomotives and tenders, 386 cars, twenty-three bridges and thirty-six miles of track—losses which seriously impaired transportation in the East. For a time the use of the railway by Federal forces was completely terminated by the surrender of Harper's Ferry with valuable supplies by General D. H. Miles to Stonewall Jackson on September 15, 1862, in connection with the Antietam campaign.

The periodical occupation of Harper's Ferry, which caused some of the wits to suggest that its name should be changed to Harper's

Weekly, was finally ended by General Sheridan's decisive and devastating valley campaign against Early in the summer of 1864.

In September, 1863, the eastern section of the railroad was kept open by detachment of the Army of the Potomac, while it transported a large army westward en route to Chattanooga to support Rosecrans.

East of the mountains, the Federal authorities built a fort on the Potomac at the mouth of New creek (later Keyser), which became an important strategic point, especially for the protection of the route of the railroad eastward and the South Branch country southward and eastward. From this point General Kelley directed the attack on Imboden in Hardy county on November 18, 1863, and completely routed him. From this point also marched General Averill in December, 1863, at the head of a famous expedition (2,500 cavalry and artillery) under orders from General Kelley to cut the Virginia & Tennessee Railroad at Salem at all hazards in order to prevent Confederate supplies from reaching Longstreet, who was besieging Burnsides at Knoxville. Forward by the most direct route via Petersburg he and his men rode for five days and nights, through terrible storms or by swimming over flowing mountain streams, over terrible roads and for long periods without rest; and after outfighting and outriding 12,000 Confederates who tried to hem them into the jaws of death, they returned in triumph. Eluding four Confederate armies which marched and countermarched to cut them off, they reached Salem on December 16, performed the task assigned, striking a blow which was felt throughout the Confederacy, and after many hardships of a perilous retreat before the pursuing Confederates found an avenue of escape across the Alleghenies into Pocahontas county and reached Beverly without the loss of a single cannon. In retaliation for this blow at Salem, General Fitzhugh Lee made an invasion of the South Branch valley, penetrating to Romney after leaving his artillery at the eastern base of the Shenandoah mountain.

In 1864 the Confederates made several attacks along the route of the railway. Late in January, 1864, General Early invaded the South Branch and after compelling the evacuation of Petersburg sent a foraging party under General Rosser to collect cattle and destroy railway bridges east of Cumberland. In May, 1864, Captain J. H. Neill with sixty-one Confederates captured Piedmont and burned much railroad property. On July 4, 1864, Imboden made an attempt to destroy the railroad east of Cumberland. On August 1, 1864, Confederate forces, after burning Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, attacked General Kelley at Cumberland and after a repulse crossed the Potomac at Old Town, advanced to Romney and attacked New creek, but were overtaken by General Averill (by order of Kelley) at Moorefield and completely routed. Thereafter Kelley was employed in defense of the railroad. In November, 1864, General Rosser with 2,000 Confederates attacked Keyser and captured much property.

Throughout the war the spacious walled highway of the Shenandoah by its relation to the passes of the Blue Ridge flanking it on the east and to the northern route via Hagerstown (Maryland), and Chambersburg (Pennsylvania), was an important geographic factor in strategic military movements and diversions—enabling the two armies of Virginia by marching and countermarching to play a game of back and forth "hide and seek," furnishing the opportunity for unexpected dashes of attack or of support, and contributing strongly to the Confederate advantage until the Irish soldier Sheridan caused the peace of desolation to rest upon the valley, preparatory to the grander peace which soon thereafter came to the entire reunited country.

CHAPTER XXIII

A TRAVELER'S TALES FROM THE OIL REGION (1864)

The following interesting and somewhat humorous narrative presenting a traveler's observations on the conditions of life in November, 1864, in the region of the new state fronting the Ohio—a region which was beginning to attract the oil hunters—was written by John Russell Young[1] on December 5, 1864, as a special report to Forney's *Philadelphia Press* and was published under the title "A Visit to the Oil Regions of West Virginia." Its pictures, although doubtless exaggerated and not typical of the life in the less isolated communities, illustrate certain phases of the beginning of the oil industry, even in later decades, as it advanced eastward from the Ohio and unfortunately fastened on the minds of eastern people erroneous ideas of West Virginia which persisted long after the earlier crude conditions had disappeared through the awakening of business activity and social progress.

"It was morning when we left Wheeling, and the night was far advanced when we reached Parkersburg (going down on an Ohio steamer). A reconnoitering party reported that there was neither room nor entertainment for man in the town, and we were compelled to spend the night in our cubbyholed state rooms. As the boat returned before sunrise we were driven on shore by a pertinacious clerk—sleepy, sullen and hungry—and disposed to be resentful toward the falling rain. I should certainly recommend Parkersburg to any gentleman whose propensities are amphibious. The delightful uncertainty as to whether we were on land or water, and the ingenuity with which every deceptive pool was scanned would have been charming to philosophic men. We were not philosophers, who had huddled around the stove in the bar room of the Swann House and looked at the bar keeper deprecatingly, as men who had neither house nor home, and therefore were in the condition of uninvited guests or poor relations. We were nothing but poor oil hunters who came to get rich.

"What was the use of working for a living when you can prosper by your wits. I believe this was the feeling of all who splashed thru the mud and groped their way to the hotel.

"Parkersburg is the oil metropolis of the West Virginia district. At the junction of the Ohio and Little Kanawha rivers, and connected with the north and west with a branch of the B. & O. Railway it commands all the trade of the West Virginia valley. It is within easy reach of Marietta, the metropolis of the Ohio district; of all the Ry connections of the country and but 36 hours from New York or Chicago. It is a straggling, imperfect, unfinished town, which had in earlier days been prosperous, but upon which the blight of war had fallen and dried up the spirit and vigor. Many rich men live here. How rich men can content themselves to dwell in a place of this kind is a mystery of money getting that I cannot explain. The oil princes—to use a common term—do not spend all their wealth here, however. They make their money and hurry away with it, regarding this as a kind of oily Rialto, where good money is to be gathered up and carried to other markets. The class of men who live here, therefore, are unlike the men who ploughed up California and are now ploughing up Colorado. There is very little gambling, no bowie knives, and little of that primitive civilization which disgraced the Pacific coast and made a vigilance committee necessary. We are now so near New York and Philadelphia that capitalists may come and see for themselves and return in 10 days. The only difficulty is with the guerillas. If a man is nervous and not a believer in predestination he had better not venture far beyond the region of Burning Spring. Still this is merely a fear, that looks dismal when read in Northern parlours, but is laughed at in West Virginia. In 1862 there was really cause for alarm. In 1862 the guerrillas had complete possession of the country, and a man's horse was about as safe as the life of a lamb in a wolf infested forest. Beyond that, however, no danger exists and has never existed. No lives have ever been lost by oil hunters and but rarely a horse is taken. The people are so much attached to the Union that they give no succor to bushwhackers, and our soldiers have a way of taking no prisoners. Guerilla-life cannot subsist on this regimen, and a journey from Parkersburg to Burning Springs is as safe as from Philadelphia to Germantown. Even beyond that point and far on in the rich counties that are now regarded as neutral but dangerous ground, the military authorities are busily making arrangements for

securing rebels and robbers, and in a few weeks Northern capital and enterprise will be permitted to enter and possess these coveted acres.

"'Every road leads to Rome' and with the gentlemen in Wirt county every road leads to the Burning Spring. So like a true traveler, when I came to Parkersburg and found all the world was pushing to Burning Spring, I chartered a homely and comfortable Rosinante and went on my way along the Elizabeth pike, with the rest of oily mankind. Take the map of Virginia and you will find that in a southerly direction from Parkersburg, in an adjoining county of Wirt, a small creek empties in the Kanawha river, known as Burning Spring Creek. There are a number of other streams in the neighborhood, such as Standing Stone Run, Nettle Run, Reedy Run, Two Riffles Run, Chestnut Run, and others that only make their appearance on the oil company maps. This point lying in a southwesterly direction from Oil City, is the heart of the present Virginia oil region, and around it for a radius of 50 miles, embracing the counties of Tyler, Pleasants, Wetzel, Ritchie, Wood, Wirt, Roane and Calhoun, we have what is known as the West Virginia Oil Territory.

"We are constantly ascending or descending a hill, and at every turn of the road we come to some unaccountable cleft or abyss, over which the moss was growing, and down in whose crevices dark streams of greasy water would arise. Oil men had been here with sticks and divining rods, and wherever there was the odor of gas or a mere globule on the water, straightway its value advanced a thousand per cent. As we approach Elizabeth we cross a very high hill and descend into a plain formed by the Kanawha river.

"In 1860 when the excitement was at its height, there were at least 3000 people in and around Elizabeth boring for oil, and endeavoring to develop oil lands. There came a crisis. The price of petroleum suddenly decreased until the barrels as they came from the hands of the cooper. were of more value than the oil that filled them. Two causes led to this. The world had not learned the uses of petroleum, and the early surface wells threw forth so many barrels of oil, that the supply was larger than the demand, and the market became overstocked. This disheartened capitalists, and lands fell. Then came the war. Virginia seceded and the line of the Ohio became contested ground. McClellan crossed, but his forces were too busy with the Baltimore & Ohio Railway to think of protecting the 3000 oil hunters who were then swarming along the Kanawha. Altho there was no organized army of the Confederates in West Virginia, there was nevertheless a body of guerillas who were constantly harrassing the country. The result was that a panic ensued. In a week the whole party left. The derrick stood in the field with the half bored well, the oil gushed up and overspread the ground, the houses were torn down for camp fires, and the whole enterprise perished. It is now rising again under the impetus of the great excitement in Pennsylvania.

"Elizabeth is an astonished town to-day. The people do not know what all this means. Their lands, that were but recently of no value but for sheep feeding, are in as great demand as turkeys on Thanksgiving. Leaving the Kanawha at Parkersburg, we touch it again at Elizabeth. There is no bridge over the river; but we managed to ford it, and, taking the road that leads through the Two Riffles Run, pushed directly on.

"Go to West Virginia that you may climb the high hills and bow down to the sublimity of Almighty God.

"All Along the river and on the banks of its tributary rivers, we find evidence of the great panic that suddenly strangled the enterprises of 1860. Every few rods we see the black and mouldering derrick and the unfinished well in the ground. The few brave men who remained have made princely fortunes—the Rathbones, Camdens and McFarlands being among the oil princes of this new domain. They made their money by buying these lands at low prices, sinking good wells and disposing of their purchases to the companies recently formed in New York and Philadelphia. Around the Burning Spring there are few wells throwing up oil and these are not recently developed; but there are the remains of wells that have produced as many as 1000 barrels per day, in their time, the gas sending up the oil in a thick rushing stream as high as the tree tops, so that no tank could hold it, and it rushed out in the river and covered the stream.

"Next to Burning Spring the most important part of West Virginia seems to be Hughes River. It is a stream about half as wide as the Schuylkill and so shallow that at most seasons of the year a horse can ford it. Flowing in the Kanawha and running in a northwesterly direction, it forms a part of the boundary line of Richie and Wirt counties, and intersects the Little Kanawha at a point called Newark some 20 miles from the Burning Spring Run.

"The oil men, whether trusting to their own instincts or to the teachings of geologists, have laid violent hold on these high and rocky banks and now ask large sums for their possession. In former years large quantities of petroleum were taken out of the alluvial bank of the Hughes river by a natural process. The rock was separated and thru the fissure the oil ran for years, saturating the stream. Former settlers who gathered the oil in small quantities for medicinal use, were in the habit of laying bare this stratum by removing the earth and digging out the oil with hoes, axes and farming utensils. It has been said that with the exception of Venango, the oil has flowed here in greater quantities than anywhere else. A number of wells have been sunk but when I passed thru the country the enterprise had not been far enough developed to make Burning Spring and Oil City in any way dread rivalry.

"Bull Creek. Another point in West Virginia is known as Bull Creek—a

stream which runs into the Ohio river some 30 miles above Parkersburg, taking its rise in Wood county, and being one of the number of streams which are known as French Creek, Cow Creek, McElroy Creek and by other names that belong to the classic vocabulary of Virginia. The Bull Creek Company is a Pittsburg enterprise, principally in the interests of the Phillipses whose names are familiar to all happy oil men as being those of the princes of their aristocracy. The Horse-Neck well, some six or eight miles from the source of the creek, has attained great celebrity and was, in its day, one of the most successful enterprises in Virginia. The supply of oil has greatly decreased I am told, but at the same time it is a curiosity and is always visited by travellers thru the region. The country around Bull Creek is tame when compared with the vicinity of Burning Spring, and might be regarded in New York or Pennsylvania as very pleasant farming land.

"Further up the Ohio at Sistersville, we come to what seems to me to be the beginning of the Virginia line of upheaval. In Tyler county, especially around the county seat, Middlebourne, the evidences of oil are very abundant. This is so near our state that one almost imagines that he is riding on Pennsylvania farms and homesteads. The people of Tyler county are an intelligent busy class and more enterprising than of any of the other counties I visited. They have taken their own lands in hand and do not invite the outside world with as much avidity as their more humble neighbors on the Little Kanawha. As an evidence of their confidence in their own enterprise, I know of one gentleman now living near Sistersville who refused $40,000 for a tract not more than 80 acres in extent. He was boring a well at the time and the neighbors around him were also boring wells. The indications around him seemed to justify him in refusing this large offer. But even Tyler—reticent, shrinking, uncongenial Tyler—is beginning to give way before the great impetus of Northern money and Northern genius. Companies are being formed embracing within their limits large tracts of land of Tyler county. The capitalists of the West, from Chicago, St. Louis and Cincinnati as well as from Boston, who came rather late into this new business are greedily and eagerly endeavoring to supplant the masters of these coveted lands.

"Former Enterprises. The first operators in West Virginia were merchants from Pittsburg, who began operations in Hughes River. They sank a well in November, 1859, and bored a number of wells with different success. Oil was then unknown in the commercial world, being generally used for medicinal purposes and to a small extent for lubrication and illumination. The success of these Pittsburg capitalists led a Wheeling firm to begin operations near a small station known as Petroleum, on the Northwestern Virginia Railway. Petroleum is now a busy, thriving, prosperous village. Altho the Hughes river territory was the first developed, fame extended towards Burning Spring. Mr. J. C. Rathbone, an old settler, near the Kanawha whose old fashioned frame mansion may still be seen, in 1860 leased a well to Mr. Karnes, who succeeded in obtaining a supply ranging from 1,500 to 2,000 gallons daily. Mr. Rathbone bored a well which yielded 10,000 gallons daily and the excitement became very great, capitalists rushing hither from the East. The Rathbone farm began to look like a city of the forest, and where the sheep and cattle were wont to live in undisturbed content, derricks and cisterns, and barrels and scaffolds formed a busy and exciting scene. As an evidence of the success of the early enterprises in this country, in the Burning Spring region alone, during 1861, 4,000,000 gallons were produced. In 1862, however, it fell off to a little over 3,000,000 gallons; while in 1863, so much had the guerillas interfered with business, that the product did not exceed 2,000,000 gallons. All this was produced in a territory of not more than one mile square, and under proper enterprise and skill 1865 may surpass all the years that passed. This territory of Burning Spring is generally admitted to be the beginning of the line of the great upheaval to which I have alluded, which causes a vein of rock 20 feet wide to stand perpendicular on edge, and, running north one degree east, crossing Hughes river at the oil wells, and touching Bull Creek. In all this country we find gas and burning springs which are generally supposed to be an excellent indication of oil.

"Oil is transported from Burning Spring to Parkersburg via the Kanawha, on flat boats at a cost of 75c a barrel. In the summer and winter seasons when the stream is not navigable, it is carried in wagons at a cost of $2 a barrel. A company has been organized to perfect the navigation of the river, under the provisions of a bill passed by state legislature, and enough stock has been subscribed to carry out the improvement. From Hughes river the oil is hauled to the railway at a cost of 50c a barrel and from Bull Creek it is taken to the Ohio for 50c a barrel.

"One can imagine the opportunities presented by West Virginia when I tell you that, while there are 2,346,137 acres of improved land, there are 8,550,257 unimproved. Before this oil excitement, the lands averaged eight dollars an acre; now many undeveloped tracts have been refused at $1,000. Altho New Hampshire has but 40% of the territory of West Virginia, yet, under the most extended and vigorous system of improvement, it surpasses it in every respect. Still there is a great future for West Virginia especially when New Hampshire money and genius is introduced.

"In Mason and Kanawha counties salt has been found. These salt formations accompany the vast formations of sandstone that underlie the whole of the northwestern counties of Virginia, and the works were used by the rebel authorities. A few miles from Charleston on the Great Kanawha and in the line of the great upheaval, the salt wells are very productive. They are several hundred feet in depth, yielding a lime of remarkable purity, free from sulphate of lime or gypsum, and crystallized

with less trouble than customary, and sent into commerce as a superior muriate of soda. Mason county is also famed for salt mines, but the rebellion has quite ruined the manufacture, in consequence of rebel incursions and the dearth of labor.

"In the valley and in Preston county, iron furnaces are in operation, and the ores of Laurel Hill are rich and pure. These ores occur in two groups upon the western slope, the upper group above the second seam of coal resting upon a red colored sandstone, and overlaid by silician slates. The coal products of the state are boundless. The fields of the Kanawha are the most valuable on the continent. Indeed, for salt, coal, iron, and oil, West Virginia bids fair to rival if not excel any state of the Union.

"FAMILIAR LIFE IN WESTERN VIRGINIA. 'Judge M——' said a way-companion who jogged with me over the hills on our way to Elizabeth, 'was a wheezy old fellow who got into some difficulty in New Orleans about thirty years ago, and was troubled with a great remorse of conscience. He came to West Virginia and settled in Wirt county because he wanted to hide himself, and get as near Hades as possible before he died.' The emphasis of my companion's illustration must excuse its profanity, but in a rude way I could give you no better idea of the first impressions made upon a traveller by this country. The population is sparse, and we find few of the noble traits that poets lead us to suppose are found in the character of the mountaineer. The rudest dwellings in Moyamensing or Kensington would be a palace in Wirt county. The broad hills and sweeping streams which group together many sweet pictures of Nature are dull and heavy in the eyes of these men.

"Let me take one out of a hundred—such a one as I found lounging at the tavern counter in Elizabeth and a man of great importance in his own county. Tall, gaunt, unshaven and uncombed; with a cold gray eye that never seemed to smile; hard, long fingers that made a perpetual appeal for soap and water, and narrow, high cheek bones, very gaunt and cadaverous, straight, coarse hair and imperfect teeth. The shoulders were high and perched, the long arms swung over the body like branches of a weeping willow tree. 'They are so much given to living on mountain sides,' said my companion, 'that they can't stand straight—one foot is always higher than the other.' His body—that might be realized, if the reader took a caricature of the Yankee, the Southerner, and the negro, and combined the ridiculous traits of all—was covered with a homespun cloth, that came from the dyeing vat blue, but had assimilated to itself every color that could be gathered from the clay of the roads and the bark of the tree. His people are clannish in their traditions and friendships, the families have intermarried, and the offspring of three generations lie scattered over the hills. A father has a large farm from which each son, as soon as he marries, receives a slice, builds himself a log cabin, receives a horse for a dowry, plants corn, sends his wife into the field with hoe and harrow, while he with his gun and dog lounges off amid the mountains to shoot rabbits, squirrels and foxes. He has never been to school—he cannot read or write—he never sees a newspaper. He knows there is a town called Parkersburg where reside many great men who can read and write and who call themselves lawyers. He also knows another town called Elizabeth, at which the squire lives and which contains the village tavern, at which he can hear the news every Saturday afternoon. Within 10 miles there is a Methodist and Baptist church where the young people are married, their children christened, and the dead buried. They bury their dead on the high hills, and some of their cemeteries are scenes of surpassing loveliness and beauty. Only in their graves do these people approach the taste and decorum of life. Their civilization for the last one hundred years has been the civilization of death.

"The apathy to the world that lies beyond and around them enters also into their affections. Altho parents love their children and husbands love their wives, there is nothing of the pure love that sanctifies our childhood home and makes life sacred. A poor emigrant woman lamenting for her husband whom death had taken away after a wedded life of 20 years simply said 'Barney was a hard working man and always earned a living for his family.' Companionship to her had been nothing but child-bearing and bread and butter. Among the people I have seen in West Virginia I have found few exceptions to this illustration. Marriages are made to unite contiguous tracts of land or to keep desirable possessions in the same family. Children are huddled into the hills to track rabbits, to follow the plow or to drop corn over many a weary acre, the boy learns to shoot and dig, row and swim; the girl learns to sew, spin, make apple butter and cook. Reading and writing are considered unnecessary. The whole duty of the parent is performed by keeping the children from starvation and frost. At a farm house on the Kanawha as I travelled in the direction of Hughes river, I saw a father, lounging at the door with his hands in his pockets and speaking to his boy who had been in Sherman's army for three years and was just returning home. He had no word of greeting beyond 'Them's good boots you've got anyway.' Then as the boy passed into the house without another word the father added. 'Thomas was always a good boy, he could hit a squirrel in the top of a tree. * * * Them boots have got heels on them, and'll be mighty good for plowin.' * * *

"There are no schools here and but one or two churches outside of Parkersburg. The only denominations represented are Methodists and Baptists and these are feebly supported. The people have a kind of stupid improvised morality * * * Horse stealing is the highest crime known to them. It occurred to me that one reason why so many are for the Union is that to them secession means

horse stealing. Davis's men came and took horses; but Lincoln's men bought them. * * *

"I sat around a tavern fire the other night. There were a number of speculators in the party and one of them, a Copperhead, was engaged in conversation with the landlord whose intense but rude Unionism was delightful in these wild woods. One said: 'I hate these snakes and copperheads who stays at home and fights the government, I would a great deal rather shoot one of them than a rebel. * * * ' That illiterate man whose grammar was bad had in him the philosophy of the war.

"In their dealings with the new race of men who have come upon them so suddenly these people show much of the rude cunning of the Indians. There are many amusing stories of their bargains.

"These barren hills that have produced so many scanty crops and can scarcely be persuaded to bud and blossom have suddenly become mines of wealth. Those who own them have a vague and wild idea of the sudden riches that have swollen up around them. They know that there is oil in the ground and that a great many well dressed gentlemen who wear gold watches and have pen knives are anxious to buy their land, but they trade as they barter for a horse or a cow at a village fair. They ask some vague sum, perhaps twenty times the former cost, but scarcely one-fourth of the value in New York. When the bargain is made, they use all manner of contrivances to induce the buyers to give the children presents. A common subsidy expected is a 'frock.' The wife will not sign a deed unless she gets a 'frock.' This demand in the earlier times was compromised by a five dollar bill from the buyer, later the sum arose to ten and finally to twenty-five as the price of land advanced. Recently, in one instance where the buyer told the wife to buy a frock at the store and have it charged, the price was raised to $100 and the question threatens to embarrass all future operations.

"The same excitement which has been raging in the West Virginia wilderness for the last six months has been transferred into the Valley of the Muskingum in the counties of Green and Fayette, and along the Ohio river from Pomeroy to MacConnelsville, where the presence of oil destroys the theory that the oil deposits of the Ohio are confined to the line of upheaval which runs from Middlebourne to Charleston. * * * The town of Marietta is the center of the oil district and divides the honors with Parkersburg. It is connected with Cincinnati and the west by rail with Wheeling and the east by the navigation of the Ohio. * * * The enterprises in Ohio are mostly in charge of Pittsburg capitalists—men who have triumphed in Pennsylvania and Virginia and are thirsting for other worlds to conquer. * * *

"As I heard the stories and quaint traditions, and saw them laugh and grow merry over their newly acquired riches, I could not resist a comparison of the oil hunters of this century and the gold hunters who came under the haughty Cortez and the grim Pizarro * * * Men who came here anxious to make a few thousands and go home again have made hundreds of thousands and now look haggard and hungry because they can make no more. The most restless, uneasy, selfish and covetous man whom I have met in my many journeyings was an oil speculator on the banks of the Ohio whose gains reached many hundreds of thousands—a man who came here in poverty, who has succeeded in every enterprise, and whose wealth placed him far above any possibile contingency of want. Yet to him every newcomer seemed to be an enemy and every dollar that was not gained by himself cast sadness over his soul.

"If any reader wishes to be particularly good let him by all means come to the cosy, clumsy town of Newport. We were doomed to remain here a day amid the snow and the frost on the cheerless bank of the Ohio waiting for the tardy boat. Newport is what might be called a very good town in the worse sense of that charming phrase. The people all go to church and save their money, wear plain clothes, charge high prices for their comforts and strictly prohibit the sale of intoxicating liquor. It is a settlement of members of a predominate religious denomination and the laws of the municipality seem to be based upon the laws of the ecclesiastical association. It is crowded with oil men, as every village and town on the banks of the Ohio at this time happens to be, and there was something amusing in the self denial which they were compelled to show among these good people. Your true oil hunter has no fondness greater than that for whiskey. It had a great effect in the development of West Virginia.

"This was the way in which our earlier Indian fathers were despoiled of their lands and homes. And I have no doubt that if the secret history of many of the trades that now lie booked and docketed away in the courthouses at Elizabeth, Parkersburg, Middlebourne and Ritchie [were known], it would be found that the great western staple had as much to do with controlling and determining the mind of the original owners of these lands as a string of beads or a high silk hat or a pair of red pantaloons had to do with persuading our Indian ancestors to surrender their rights to many a lovely and fertile plain. So if you come after oil in Virginia bring whiskey (and a piece of calico or muslin to make frocks). In Newport resign yourself to cider.

"It was with something of a gratified feeling that I bade farewell to Virginia and Ohio and the classic regions of Bull Creek, Buck Creek, Burning Springs, Sistersville, and, passing hastily thru Wheeling, arrived at Pittsburg on a cold dismal evening on my way to Venango county. I saw enough of Pittsburg to assure friends in the east that it is not only reeking with smoke but dripping with oil. The very

skies had a petroleum look as if the heavens were becoming jealous of the earth and were about to (rain oil).

"This enterprise [the oil business] has given us a literature of its own as well as an aristocracy of its own. An oil man—talks of oil, dreams of oil, thinks of oil, and is glib and profuse about petroleum and carbon and naptha and benzen and lubricating oil. He has his own slang phrases. The petroleum aristocrat or the oil prince, who has lived his life in penury and gloom and finds himself the possessor of an income which he has not the genius to spend is an odd and laughable combination of humanity. * * * The nabob and the oil princes have pretty much the same characteristics. Living in Venango or Wirt has not given men the liver complaint or the gout, but there is the same want of taste and delicacy, and an utter inability to comprehend the real uses of money in the effort to imitate Beau Brummel or to ride in equipages not even surpassed by the magnificent display of Mr. Belmont.

"I met some of these ridiculously rich men in my travels, and, as I write, my mind recalls the history of one whose name I do not care to mention, but whose story has been told to me a hundred times, and is now a part of the romance of petroleum. Call him Johnny Jones. * * *

"Johnny Jones found the poor barren acres, that were left to him by his foster mother, to be mines of more wealth than were ever discovered in the El Dorado of the Far West. He had enough rude sense to keep him from parting with them for a frock or a string of beads, like some of his more ignorant brethren in West Virginia, and simply sold enough to have them developed and to retain an interest which for the last year, has paid him an income estimated at from $3,000 to $5,000 a day. * * * Johnny's sudden wealth carried him up into the clouds, and as the heaven of his early dreams had been self gratifying wealth, he hurried out into the world with his gains and began to be a great man. * * * Sharks with diamond rings and astonishing vests—sharks who knew the mystery of the gambling house and the bagnio—took possession of him and began to feed upon his substance.

"The poor country wife was left at home to do her plain cooking, make her apple butter and astonish the neighbors by the display of several new gaudy dresses. Johnny went to Philadelphia, showering his favors upon hack drivers who took his fancy, pleasant spoken gambling men, and ladies of miscellaneous and cosmopolitan attachments, and upon all that was wicked and vile and seducing in the great metropolis. In three months he spent $90,000. Some friends who thought that his money might be more advantageously applied, obtained the interference of the law; and so Johnny's affairs are now in the hands of a receiver, and his money is paid to careful, prudent men, and his great gains are husbanded by others, while he is only permitted to spend a limited income ($50 or $100 a day).

"HINTS TO TRAVELERS. To reach Parkersburg there are two routes from the east. That from Baltimore via the B. & O. is the nearest, but the propensities of the rebels to interfere with its operations and particularly the recent raid upon New Creek by McCausland makes travel on that route an exploit requiring courage. You leave Baltimore and go to Grafton. Here the Northwestern Virginia Railway branches off to Parkersburg, running thru the upper part of the oil region. On the Parkersburg road you can reach a station within sixteen or twenty miles from any of the great wells, and thence if you are fortunate may be conveyed by horse or an open wagon called a buggy. There are few of these conveyances, however, and nine out of ten of those who come to the oil fields are compelled to travel on foot. The route most patronized is from Philadelphia to Pittsburg, thence on the Ft. Wayne and Chicago road to Wheeling, which is a journey of about twenty hours. At 11 every morning the packet boat runs along the Ohio river, and for $3.15 you can travel to Parkersburg, arriving there about 10 or 12 o'clock in the evening. These boats do not make any particular time, as they are mere local conveyances, stopping at every little town and village on the banks, and every farm house, indeed, if they are hailed. There are two hotels at Parkersburg which are generally patronized, and at which reasonable accommodations may be had. At Parkersburg the oil hunters generally take horses and go to Burning Springs, just 30 miles distant over a reasonably good pike, and which may be easily traveled in a day. On this route there are one or two good inns, Butcher's Inn about 10 miles from Parkersburg, and Dick Timmins' place, about two miles from Elizabeth. The accommodations are limited at these places, and the tavern keepers are among the best of the class I have ever seen, and they will do as well as they can. At Elizabeth there are two small inns, and at Burning Springs there is one in which the traveler may have an opportunity of finding how little of comfort or convenience is necessary for the wants of life. The general custom for the traveler in this region is to take up his abode at the farm houses; and altho the people are rude and coarse, still they have a kind of well meaning hospitality which is very pleasant in its way. If the traveler desires to visit some of the upper regions, he stops at Sistersville in Tyler county, and thence with a horse and wagon proceeds to Middlebourne. This is the center of the upper oil district. Travelling accommodations and hotel keeping are more abundant there than in Wood county, and the oil hunter may find a reasonably good bed and a tolerably good meal. If he desires to visit Bull Creek, the steamer stops at a little landing at the mouth of that creek, and as there are no hotels, no private houses, no farms, and rather a surly community, he must depend upon his persuasive powers with pioneers and oil diggers, and not particularly

complain if he is compelled to sleep in a barn wrapped up in his robes, or find shelter under some of the oil-well sheds.

"The most prudent course for a traveler to adopt in visiting any of these regions, is to go either to Marietta or Parkersburg taking with him his own horse, and carrying with him a plain, rough suit of travelling apparel, and if possible a haversack with two or three days' rations. Thus, in marching order he can very readily advance into the country without depending upon any particular base of operations, like the somewhat celebrated Sherman of the West.

"The only danger of the West Virginia country arises from the fact that very frequently the guerillas interfere with the oil hunters. Wirt, Wood, Ritchie and Tyler counties are safe, but beyond this, say about 50 miles from Parkersburg, my remarks would not apply. They are not dangerous gentlemen, however, unless you have excited their anger by some act of undue loyalty, or wear the uniform of the United States. The greatest danger that may happen you is the loss of a watch, a pocket book, or a horse. The government of West Virginia, however, has taken strong steps to drive these annoying marauders away. Whenever a guerilla is caught, he is straightway shot; and this bold course with the increasing strength of our army, is gradually making West Virginia as easy of access as Ohio or Pennsylvania."

CHAPTER XXIV

PROBLEMS AND POLICIES OF RECONSTRUCTION

Post-bellum progress was long retarded by sectional survivals of the periods of sectionalism and civil war—by wounds of conflicts which were slow to heal or by scars long visible which recalled old disputes and produced new irritations.

The new state government, laying the foundation stones of state institutions and of future order and development, was confronted by many serious difficulties and obstacles—economic, social and political. The people, separated into many detached local groups by precipitous mountains and rugged streams, had not developed unity of action nor social and commercial identity except perhaps in the counties along the Ohio, and along the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad.

The most serious immediate political difficulty was the sympathy for the Confederacy exhibited in various parts of the state. Although the Confederates had soon lost control of the larger part of the state, over 7,000 West Virginians had entered the Confederate army early in the war—about one-fourth of the number who enlisted in the Union army—and the Confederate raids and skirmishes into the state, at first to prevent separation from Virginia, were continued until the close of the war.

Counties along the southern border of the new state were partially under the control of the Confederates until near the close of the war, and "were forced to pay heavy taxes to the Richmond government and to furnish soldiers for the Confederate army." Other counties along the border suffered from irregular "bands of guerillas and marauders" whom the state troops were unable to manage. In this sad state of disorder, the governor recommended that the citizens should organize to capture and kill the "outlaws" wherever and whenever found, and appealed to the Washington government which organized the state into a military district under command of General Kelley who scattered many irregular bands, and generally rendered life and property secure; but, in some portions of the state, the civil authorities were helpless against lawlessness long after the close of the war.

Under these conditions, the administration was seriously embarrassed by lack of funds to meet ordinary expenditures. In 1864, the governor reported that one-half of the counties had paid no taxes, and that others were in arrears. In fourteen counties there were no sheriffs or other collectors of taxes "because of the danger incident thereto." The burdens of the counties which paid were necessarily increased. One of the earliest measures of the state government was an act (1863) providing for the forfeiture of property belonging to the enemies of the state, including those who had joined the Confederate army, but such property was seized only in a few instances and the law remained practically a dead letter because the citizens of the state were usually unwilling to take advantage of the political disabilities of their neighbors.

Although in the election of 1864 there were only a few scattering votes in opposition to the officers of the state administration, there was no means of obtaining an expression of the people in some of the extreme southern counties where the governor reported that owing to the Confederate incursions and local conditions it was still impracticable to organize civil authority. In some counties a large portion of the inhabitants denied that they were legally under the jurisdiction of West Virginia—stating that their county had never taken a vote to authorize

COLTON'S
MAP OF THE
SOUTHERN PORTION OF
WEST VIRGINIA

anyone to represent them at the Wheeling convention nor to ratify the constitution which was made there.

Partisan and sectional feeling was increased in some of the border counties by occasional retaliatory acts, and by various seizures and arrests by "Home Guards" or others claiming authority.

Immediately at the close of the war, in 1865, Mr. James Thompson who early in the war had led in the unlawful execution of Parkinson Pennington, was advised by his neighbors and friends to leave the country to avoid a suspected attack by the enemy. But instead of listening to this advice, he prepared himself for war, posted pickets on his farm at different points until the date of his death. Finally the removal of the guards one day furnished the opportunity for his arrest. In May, 1865, thirty armed men attached to the Union cause advanced to the house and surroundings. Thompson first seized his gun but upon his wife's advice dropped it and tried to escape by running. After he had managed to escape the first line of guards he received a fatal shot from a youth posted behind a tree. His aggressiveness in the cause of the South had led him to make a mistake which cost his life.

Lorenzo D. Garten was the captain of a company known as "Home Guards." For some time, immediately after the surrender of the Southern armies and the close of the war, Captain Garten and his Home Guards proceeded throughout the country to gather up what was called "Government property." The horses and material which the Southern soldiers had brought home from the army, whether United States property or not, were taken charge of and turned over to the Federal authorities and sold.

Judge James H. Miller, in his History of Summers County, expresses the following local view of the situation along the New river region:

"About the time of the close of the war bands of men went through the county, gathering up what they called 'government property.' They were nothing more than marauders, and took advantage of conditions to invest private property and divest private owners of what little they had left remaining from the depredations and necessities and conditions of a state of war. One of these bands visited the Lick Creek country, and went through the Laurel Creek neighborhood, carrying off the horses of A. J. Miller and Mr. Foster, who had not been engaged in the war by reason of over age. They wore masks or false faces to conceal their identity, not only taking the horses, which they claimed belonged to the government, but they carried off the clothing, wearing apparel and ornaments and jewelry of the ladies, taking off from the house of Mr. Alderson everything they could lay their hands on, stuffing their pockets full of trinkets, including what eatables they could find on the premises. One Hen Atkins wore as many as three overcoats, one of which was Mr. Alderson's. After sacking the country, they started back to the Big Creek country. In crossing the Laurel Creek, Atkins was riding a large horse of A. J. Miller's. The creek had become swollen, and in making the passage, he was drowned. * * *

"After the raids these pretended soldiers would meet and divide up the spoils, which were taken in the name of the government and as government property. This is only an instance of the conditions existing on this border at the close of the Civil War."

Several arrests attracted considerable attention by the prominence of the men arrested. On June 10, 1865, Samuel Price of Greenbrier county, who had been elected Lieutenant-Governor of the seceded state of Virginia in 1863 and thereafter had served as president of the senate at Richmond, and Allen T. Caperton of Monroe county were arrested by a squadron of about thirty cavalrymen and taken as prisoners to Charleston.

It was late in the fall of 1865 before there was anything like a full restoration of civil government in Mercer county—partly because everything in the system of local government administered by townships and a county board of supervisors was new and novel to the people who had always known nothing but the old Virginia county court system with one or more magistrates in each magisterial district clothed with jurisdiction to try warrants for small claims and to sit as a court to administer county affairs. There was strong opposition to the board of county supervisors which at first was composed of men who could not write their names.

At the close of the war, in which there had been much waste and destruction of property accompanied by arrested development in regions which had previously begun to feel the pulse of a larger industrial life, the people of the new-born state turned first to the work of political reconstruction and then to the larger economic utilization and exploitation of rich but latent resources whose development was possibly hastened by the separation from the Old Dominion.

There were still many sources of disorder and friction. The most prominent related to the political status of those who had joined or

aided the Confederate cause, although the larger number of the brave Confederate soldiers from West Virginia laid down their arms in good faith and without desire for revenge and returned in peace to build up and start anew as useful citizens of the young commonwealth. Notwithstanding that the constitution had extended the right of suffrage to all white male citizens of the state, the first general election laws of West Virginia, passed in 1863, had provided for election supervisors and inspectors who were authorized to require, from all whose eligibility to vote was in doubt, an oath to support the constitution of the United States and of West Virginia. Naturally the Unionists considered that those who supported the Confederate cause could not safely be entrusted with political power immediately after their return from the Confederate armies, and before they had proven their willingness to co-operate in maintaining the established order. This opinion was largely based upon conditions and events immediately preceding the close of the war and was especially enforced by reports of various acts committed in Upshur, Barbour, Marion, Harrison and other counties. The action of a comparatively small number of lawless ex-Confederates provoked the enactment of new laws which were regarded as unjust to many law-abiding citizens. The legislature, however, could make no distinction and with partisan spirit increased, on February 25, 1865, passed the voter's test act, requiring from all voters an oath that they had neither voluntarily borne arms against the United States, nor aided those who had engaged in armed hostility against the United States.[1] On March 1, with some fear that the test-oath act was not constitutional, it also proposed an amendment[2] disfranchising those who had given voluntary aid to the Confederacy—of course with the intention of removing the disabilities in course of time. This proposed amendment, which required the concurrent approval of the subsequent legislature and ratification by popular vote before it was part of the constitution, further aroused the spirit of antagonism and insubordination in the minds of the ex-Confederates who, returning with a spirit entirely different from that of the Confederate raiders and lawbreakers of an earlier date, were "impatient to repossess themselves of place and power." The test-oath act was opposed on the ground that in most cases it operated against persons who had accepted the results of the war and who claimed full recognition as citizens under President Lincoln's amnesty proclamations. In the election of 1865 it was not strictly enforced and in a few places it was entirely ignored. Many ex-Confederates, claiming that the law was unconstitutional, took a free hand in organizing the local government. In many parts of the state they were sustained by local citizens who claimed that since the war was ended the requirements of the law were unnecessary, unwise, unjust, and contrary to the American idea of government. In some places they ran for office, and in Greenbrier county two were elected—one to the State Senate and the other to the House of Delegates. In many instances, however, the oath was enforced—resulting in a large number of damage suits brought by persons who were denied the right to vote, either because of the refusal to take the oath or because of inability to take it. In his message of January, 1866, Governor Boreman, commenting upon the alacrity with which the ex-Confederates insisted upon participation in politics, advised the legislature to enact a more efficient registration law, to require election

[1] Judge A. F. Haymond (b. 1823) who after opposing the secession movement in 1861 had joined the Confederate army in 1862, found in returning to Fairmont in June, 1865, that by the required lawyers test oath he was prohibited from resuming the practice of law in the state courts; but he was relieved from the operation of the statute by a special act of the legislature secured by petition of loyal citizens of Monongalia and Marion counties.

[2] The amendment was as follows: "No person, who, since the first day of June, 1861, has given or shall give voluntary aid or assistance to the rebellion against the United States, shall be a citizen of this state or be allowed to vote at any election held therein, unless he has volunteered into the military or naval service of the United States and has been or shall be honorably discharged therefrom."

officers to take a test oath, and to give the necessary concurrence in the proposed disfranchisement amendment so that it could be submitted to the people. The legislature, although some of its able leaders advised the cessation of proscriptive measures, promptly passed a registration law, authorizing the governor to appoint in each county a registration board consisting of three citizens who were given power to designate the township registrars, and to act as the court of last appeal in all election and voting contests.[3] It also concurred in the proposed "decitizenizing" amendment which was promptly submitted to the people at an election held in May, 1866, under the operation of the new registration law and ratified by them by a majority of about 7,000 votes, thereby disfranchising between 10,000 and 20,000 persons. By the execution of the registration law at this election much bitter feeling was engendered resulting in a determined, aggressive and hostile resistance to proscription by an increasing party which asserted that the ratification of the amendment had been illegally and unconstitutionally secured. Some threatened to move to Ohio under whose laws they could exercise the rights of citizenship.

Although there is yet considerable difference of opinion in regard to the wisdom of these measures, it is generally agreed that they were in part the natural result of conditions which seemed to threaten not only the politics of the administration, but also the integrity and independence of the new state. Many of those who were disfranchised hoped to see West Virginia return to the control of Virginia. In Jefferson county a large number of persons, stating that the transfer of the county from Virginia to West Virginia during their absence was illegal and void, refused to acknowledge that they were West Virginians and attempted to hold an election as a part of the state of Virginia, but they yielded when General Emory was sent to aid the civil authorities in maintaining the law. Virginia, too, tried in vain to secure the return of Jefferson and Berkeley counties, first by annulling the act of the Pierpont government which had consented to the transfer, and second (1866) by bringing suit in the Supreme Court, which in 1871 was decided in favor of West Virginia. In 1866, while Pierpont was still governor of Virginia, the legislature of that state appointed three commissioners to make overtures to West Virginia for the reunion of the two states, but the legislature of West Virginia rejected the proposition in 1867, stating that the people of the new state were unalterably opposed to reunion. At the same time the legislature, although it repealed the registration law of 1866 in order to thwart the argument of unconstitutionality which was urged against the proscription laws, was forced by circumstances in some of the southern border counties to enact in its place a more exacting registration law, requiring the applicant for registration not only to take the test oath, but also to prove that he was qualified to vote. A state of insubordination existed in three or four counties. In some places no elections were held in the fall of 1866 because of the fear of violence. The judge of the ninth district, including Greenbrier and Monroe counties, received anonymous letters threatening his life. In his message the governor stated that the ex-Confederates who caused the trouble were "learned men."

The situation on the Greenbrier and Upper New was made worse by the appointment of Judge Harrison to the circuit judgeship of that district. Nathaniel Harrison was a native of Virginia, connected with the illustrious Harrison family, educated at the University of Virginia, an accomplished lawyer and a polished orator who lived in Monroe county before the war. He had married into the William Erskine family, which owned the Salt Sulphur Springs. At one time he had been prosecuting attorney for the county.

Judge Miller says that Harrison was a Confederate as late as 1862, and that failing to secure a place on the staff of General Chapman during the war, he went to Richmond and squandered his patrimony in tobacco speculation and dissipation. As the result of the war became evident, according to Miller, he returned to Monroe

[3] This act which was regarded as necessary to the execution of the provisions of the proposed constitutional amendment also denied access to the ordinary courts of justice in cases of persons bringing suit against election officers.

county and with protestations of loyalty to the Federal cause secured the circuit judgeship of the 9th district which included Monroe, Greenbrier and Mercer counties.

In the fall of 1865 he rode into Princeton to hold his first term of court at the old county seat established in 1837, but finding that people there detested him so much that no one spoke to him, he turned on his horse without even dismounting and rode eastward back to Concord Church on the Red Sulphur Turnpike, where he opened in the old Methodist church the first term of court held in Mercer county after the close of the war.

Judge Harrison at once proceeded to turn out of office all the ex-Confederates who had been elected to various offices in the fall of 1865 and so strictly enforced the test oath law that not even a school trustee or school teacher could hold office unless able to swear that they had not aided or sympathized with the Confederacy. Under Harrison's "regime" only 75 of 1,000 legal voters in Mercer county, only 117 of 1,300 in Greenbrier and only a total of 300 in Monroe were allowed to vote.

Seeing a chance for much profit in various suits against ex-Confederate soldiers for acts done during the war, he imported from Philadelphia Major Cyrus Newlin, with whom, according to Judge Miller, he entered into a partnership to cooperate in the institution and prosecution of these damage suits against ex-Confederates. The defendants could not defend themselves before him because they could not take the oath. Many on the jury could not read or write. Harrison as judge tried the cases and was accused of deciding uniformly in favor of Newlin and his clients. Judgments against defendants were frequently quite large. Judge Harrison's income from this source alone, according to rumor, was over $20,000 a year. Many of the judgments were never paid.

Judge Harrison's practices and conduct aroused an increasing opposition, finally became unendurable, and culminated in proceedings to secure his removal. On January 31, 1870, Senator Spencer Dayton presented charges and specifications against Harrison and a petition of Lewis Ballard and ten other persons praying for his removal from office. These charges and the petition were referred to the Committee on Judiciary. On February 3, the Senate received from the House a request to concur in a joint resolution giving notice to Judge Harrison of proceedings for his removal on charges of misconduct and neglect of duty specified in the resolution (including corrupt practices, bias, perjury, intoxication, and gross licentiousness and adultery). On February 4 the Senate by a vote of 15 to 6 adopted this resolution, and also adopted a joint resolution fixing February 25 as the date of Harrison's trial before the joint convention of the two houses. On February 28 the Senate adopted a joint resolution on rules for the trial. On March 1 further proceedings were stopped by a communication from Governor Stevenson announcing that Judge Harrison had resigned and that his resignation had been accepted.

Harrison left West Virginia soon after his resignation and went to Denver, Colorado, where he died alone and in poverty.

Judge Miller recalls the following instance which occurred in Green Sulphur precinct illustrating the bitter partisan feeling of that region in the decade following the war:

"John Gwinn was one of the respected citizens of that district, a brother of E. J. Gwinn, the owner of Green Sulphur Springs, who had been a strong Democrat before the war, but was a Union man and a Republican after the war, and a man of broad information and liberal towards his section. Mr. Gwinn was registrar for that precinct, which was then in Blue Sulphur District, Greenbrier County. When registration day came, he permitted every person to register—Democrat, Republican, Confederate, Union and Yankee, all voters. He sent his returns into the court house, where there was a board of registration, or supervisors of election, or something of that kind, consisting of Joe Caldwell, who was nicknamed 'Old Scratch,' and two others whose names I have forgotten. They threw out the registration of Mr. Gwinn, although Mr. Gwinn was one of their own party, and none, or but few, of the votes of that precinct were counted."

Speaking of the situation in the counties from which Summers was formed, Miller says:

"When the war closed the affairs were placed in the hands of the dissolute and ignorant, bigoted and radical. A board of registration for each county was instituted, as well as a Board of Supervisors. These grafters' principal purpose was to keep themselves in power. Seventy-five percent of the people [were] disfranchised and decitizenized. The courts were not fair, and civil liberty was a farce. The proscribed could not bring a law suit, collect an honest and undenied debt, serve on a jury, practice a profession, teach school—nothing near fair except the air outside of the temple of justice, water, payment of taxes and death. The good and conservative men who were loyal could not get an appointment to office. There were so few who could get office that were qualified that it became necessary to give two or three offices to one man; in some instances one man would not hold as many as five offices. This condition brought to the community swarms of vagabond lawyers from the North, who had no occupation at home, as those lawyers who had Southern sympathies could not practice their profession without taking the test oath. A large number of these office-holders could not read and write, being ignorant and bigoted.

"Only such as were permitted to vote could hold office, and there were so few that could read and write that frequently one man held from three to five offices.

"The lawyers * * * in whom the people had confidence, and in whom the

people were willing to trust their lives, liberty and property and honor were not permitted to practice. Col. James W. Davis, of Greenbrier, was an exception. He went into the war a radical 'Secesh,' and was wounded in battle. He persuaded the Legislature that he was not such a dangerous 'Confed.,' and therefore it passed a special act removing his disabilities.

"No one could vote unless he was registered. Registrars were selected who would register no one who would not vote to sustain the existing conditions, and these corrupt registrars were sustained by Judge Harrison.

"A party desiring to win his cause in his [Harrison's] court would walk up on the bench, slip into his 'itching palm' a gold or other coin, and that invariably won his case. It has been said that he would sit on the bench by the side of a jug of whiskey.

"Joel McPherson was elected clerk in Greenbrier County. He was not of the Harrison kelter. The time came for him to qualify. There was no question of his election; it was not contested or contraverted. He was a man of powerful physique, and when Harrison refused to permit him to qualify in open court, he walked up

Second State Capitol Building at Charleston in Kanawha, 1870-71

behind the judge's desk, took him in his arms and started to pitch him out of the window, which was twenty or thirty feet from the ground; then the judge consented to permit Mr. McPherson to qualify, and he held the office for many years.

"This board of registration was appointed by the Governor, consisting of three members, removable by him when he saw fit. Its powers were equal to that of the Spanish Inquisition, says Judge David E. Johnson; they had power to send for persons and papers—to say who should vote and who should not. They could erase any and all names that he did not consider loyal to the gang and vote to perpetuate them in power by a stroke of his pen (that is, such of these registrars as could write), or they would place on the list such names as he wished, and in this the law protected them, too, they being exempt by law from prosecution or by civil suits. These registrars reported to the district registrars, and there was where the greater shame and outrage was perpetrated.

"Much credit is everlastingly due to Major James H. McGinnis, of Beckley, Hon. Allen T. Caperton, of Union, and Hon. Frank Hereford, of the same place, for the services rendered by them to this section in protecting the people after the war against these piratical policies against human rights and human liberties.

"Mr. Caperton could not practice law, as he was a Confederate, but he stood by the old soldiers to the last in their days of trial and adversity. When Hon. Marion Gwinn, Wm. E. Miller, J. W. Miller, John A. Miller and the men of Lick Creek were all sued after the war for trespasses never committed (or committed before they entered the army), it was Caperton and McGinnis who stood by them and saved them from bankruptcy and the poor house.

"Many suits of this character were brought before Judge Harrison, and many good and honest men despoiled of their property and rights under the guise of law."

The new registration law which gave to registrars the power to identify those who had aided the secessionists in any form, increased the antagonism to the administration, and the opposition to the laws. Prior to each election in 1867, 1868, 1869 and 1870, opposition to the execution of the law was heated and intense, resulting often in threats and menaces against the registrars and registration boards. During the campaign of 1868 there was much partisan excitement and many, unable to take the iron-clad oaths which would enable them to vote, and perhaps further irritated by the adoption of the fourteenth amendment, frequently attempted to intimidate public officials and threatened violence which in some places prevented elections and in others compelled the governor to appeal for Federal troops to aid in the maintenance of law and order. Force was necessary to aid in the execution of the law in the counties of Monroe, Wayne, Cabell, Logan, Randolph, Tucker, Barbour and Marion. In some counties the restrictions were almost entirely disregarded. At Fairmont, in Marion county, prescribed persons who had in some way gotten their names on the registration books tried by intimidation to induce the board of registration to retain them there. As might have been expected, in some instances disorders arose from the arbitrary refusal to register persons against whom there was no tangible evidence, or for unnecessary and unwise rigidity in administering the law.

Before the election of 1869 there was a vigorous discussion of the suffrage question in all its phases accompanied by a bolder and more aggressive opposition to the enforcement of the registration laws. With the admission of negroes to the suffrage by the fifteenth amendment which was proposed by Congress, February, 1869, and ratified by the West Virginia legislature in the same year,[4] the question of removing the restrictive legislation which disqualified Confederates from voting became more and more prominent and was seriously considered by the more conservative wing of the party in power. A large number of the liberal Republicans considered that a continuance of the test oaths was inexpedient and desired to adopt some policy that would terminate the bitter animosities of years. A majority of the legislators chosen at the hotly contested election of 1869 favored repeal or amendment of the prescription laws but could not agree upon a definite plan. The legislature of 1870 repealed some of the test oaths. Governor William E. Stevenson, a man of liberal as well as vigorous progressive views, earnestly favoring liberal legislation to encourage projects of internal improvement and industrial enterprise which would engage the people of the state in the development of its resources and terminate the quarrels over past issues, recommended an amendment of the constitution to restore the privileges of those who had been disfranchised by the amendment of 1866. W. H. H. Flick in the House proposed the amendment which after acceptance by the legislature of 1870 and 1871 was ratified by a vote of the people by a majority of 17,223 and proclaimed by the governor in April, 1871. Judging from the figures in the Auditor's report, it appears that many disfranchised persons voted for the constitutional amendment which determined their legal right to vote.

Each political party became divided on the proposed amendment, which required the sanction of another legislature and sanction by the people before it became effective. In the conventions of 1870 it was the issue and subject of debate. Democrats refused endorsement because the word "white" was omitted. Republicans could give no enthusiastic and unqualified endorsement, because of "Radical" opposition within the party which was reluctant to lose very valuable election machinery. After the official announcement of the enactment of the Enforcement Act by Congress, in May, 1870, the Democrats raised the slogan of the "white man's party." At registration time, they claimed that under proper interpretation of the

[4] Henry G. Davis, striving to hold the majority party to its previous declaration of principles opposed to negro enfranchisement, urged that the fifteenth amendment should be submitted to a vote of the people. The action of the legislature in ratifying the amendment produced a reaction, causing many Conservatives and Liberals to unite with the Democratic party.

Enforcement Act any voter who declared his intention to take the test-oath could not be denied the privilege of suffrage—and they circulated posters explaining their interpretation. The party in power, however, refused registration on grounds more technical than before—its local officers requiring each person, whose right of suffrage was questioned, to prove that he was a voter. Democrats who complained that they were illegally denied the right to vote appealed to Judge J. J. Jackson (a Democrat) of the Federal District Court which had been given cognizance of all cases arising under the Enforcement Act. When Judge Jackson sitting at Clarksburg appointed Federal election commissioners who began to arrest the offending election officials and registrars, the Republicans appealed to the Federal Circuit Court in the form of a habeas corpus proceeding before Judge Bond, who by releasing the prisoner in the case reversed Jackson's position and instruction of the previous August. Flushed with dawning victory the Democrats continued to make arrests, and at the close of the hotly contested campaign won a complete victory.

In the election of 1870 the opposition pushed their claims to registration—often by intimidation of the registrars. In some counties the law was so far disregarded that every male of the required age was registered. This laxity in the enforcement of the more stringent features of the registration law, together with the opposition to negro suffrage, resulted in a victory for the Democrats who elected John J. Jacobs governor by a majority of over 2,000 votes and secured a working majority in both houses which they retained for a quarter of a century—largely by their conservative policy in following to completion the plans initiated by the Republicans.

In Mercer county where business after the war languished under political disabilities[5] the struggle to overthrow the registration laws and to secure "home rule" was closely connected with a county seat fight in which one party later charged that the board of supervisors by its power to lay and disburse county taxes squandered, stole or wasted a large amount of public funds.

In the fall of 1865 Judge Nathaniel Harrison, recently elected judge of the circuit court of the seventh judicial district, including Monroe, Pocahontas, Nicholas and Greenbrier, and a man detested by ex-Confederates for his desertion from their cause, rode into Princeton to hold his court at the old county seat established in 1837,[6] but receiving no invitation to alight, he rode eastward and opened court at Concord Church on the Red Sulphur turnpike. At the close of his first term of court "in the forests" at Concord the people of that section and of other sections of the county began agitation for the permanent removal of the county seat from Princeton to Concord. In the election which followed to settle the question of removal, Concord failed to receive the requisite three-fifths. Soon in a second election, however, she won by the decision of the board of supervisors and soon began the erection of a court house which was never completed.

A legislative act of 1867 (secured by Colonel Thomas Little) which permanently located the county seat at Princeton was repealed in 1868 through the influence of George Evans, the representative from Mercer. A fight of injunctions followed, obtained first by one and then by the other.

In the fall of 1869, at a meeting of the board of supervisors, Mr. Benjamin White, sheriff of the county and a resident of Princeton, in a strong and boisterous speech urged that public records were no longer safe at Concord Church and should be removed at once to Princeton. His speech so alarmed two of the board that they retired from the meeting, leaving only three members of the board who on the question of removal voted with Mr. White, who thereupon procured wagons in which the records were taken to Princeton. The removal arousing a feverish excitement threatened open collision. Mr. George Evans, who after the tender of the promised support of Princeton in his anticipated candidacy for clerk and recorder of the county, abandoned his fight for Concord Church.

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[5] Judge J. H. Miller states that of a total of 1,100 legal voters, less than 100 were allowed to vote.

[6] The court house built at Princeton in 1839 was burned by the Confederates under Jenifer in 1862.

In January, 1870, a committee of safety, organized at Princeton to devise a plan by which the vexed county seat question could be terminated without danger of another removal, decided to secure from the legislature a special act submitting the question to the people of the county for settlement by a mere majority vote. In order to get such a law passed, Mr. Benjamin White, acting for the Princeton people who furnished the money to pay his expenses, quietly mounted his horse, pushed over the mountains to the Kanawha, took passage on a steamboat to Wheeling by the Kanawha and Ohio rivers, accomplished his purpose, and returned before the people of Mercer learned of his activities.

After much dissension and discussion among themselves the committee of safety determined to postpone the special election under the special law until September just before the regular state election, and meantime to get control of the registration board and register all the ex-Confederates who would vote for Princeton and thus also get their names on the eligible lists for the state election. Later the committee managed to get control of the board of registration by the resignation of one of the members, who after resisting previous attempts to control him, fell into a trap set for him with the knowledge and a of a personal friend of the governor (Mr. George Evans), who at once proceeded to Charleston and secretly secured from the governor the appointment of a successor in the person of Mr. Davis, a Democrat who had held office as a Republican. Thus constituted with a majority favorable to Princeton, the board appointed liberal district registrars who actively hunted and registered all white male citizens over twenty-one years of age.

The people of Concord Church, aroused over the local question and over the misplacement of the book containing the names of the voters of Plymouth district in which Concord was situated were so anxious to wreck vengeance on their opponents in the county seat question that they were willing to put in jeopardy the chances of shaking off their civil and political shackles. Apprehensive of the supposed plan to register every ex-Confederate and overthrow the Republican party they informed Major Cyrus Newlin (a partisan Republican lawyer of Union) who instantly wrote to the governor inducing an investigation. Mr. A. F. Gibbons, whom the governor sent to investigate, was met with open arms by the people in favor of Princeton and assured that all would vote for Stevenson if the books were not blotched with erasures. Although Mr. Gibbons was wary and forced the committee to eliminate about two hundred names of the most prominent ex-Confederates from the lists, Princeton still had names enough for her purpose.

In the meantime the Concord Church people sent a messenger to the capital to secure an injunction prohibiting the officers from opening the election polls. Princeton sent after him their messenger who, starting twenty-four hours later, outrode him by two hours.

After the refusal of the judges to grant an injunction, the county seat question was easily settled at the election by a majority vote of over 400 in favor of Princeton, at the same time the entire Democratic ticket was elected. The county authorities immediately began to erect on the old courthouse foundation a new building which was completed in 1875. The feelings of the people at Concord were somewhat mollified by the establishment of a normal school there in act of February 28, 1872.

Closely related to the double struggle in Mercer county was the formation (in 1871) of Summers county—a child of necessity, whose creation, first agitated as a result of the prospective completion of the Chesapeake & Ohio Railroad, and urged to relieve inconveniences of communication with the courthouses of Greenbrier, Monroe and Fayette, was largely due to several selfish disputes of older settled communities, and was strongly opposed by a large majority of its own original citizens. It happily settled the disputes of other counties. To

secure desired ends the Princeton committee of safety joined with men such as Hon. Sylvester Upton, who after election to the legislature voted for the erection of the new county, which by including two districts of Mercer, forever destroyed the hopes and aspirations of Concord Church to become the county seat. Senator Allen T. Caperton of Union, the county seat of Monroe, also enlisted his influence in favor of the new county, which absorbed from his county some of the lower part which had long agitated the removal of the courthouse from Union to Centreville (now Greenville). The delegate from Fayette was glad to contribute from his county a slice to weaken the upper end which for years had agitated the question of removal of the county seat. Greenbrier, who had plenty of territory, was glad to get rid of what was regarded as bare and isolated territory forty miles from her county house and not worth the expense of collecting the taxes and enforcing the laws.

Coincident with the formation of Summers county, under the lead of Evan Hinton there was a counter movement to create a county including practically the same territory with the county seat at New Richmond.

The failure to include part of Raleigh in the new county was due to an agitation to remove the Raleigh courthouse from Beckley to Trap Hill which might have won if the Richmond District (friendly to Beckley) had been added to Summers. The clause which Moses Scott inserted in the bill for organizing Summers, preventing the inclusion of any part of Raleigh, left the new county with less than the area of 400 square miles required by the constitution—although Evan Hinton and J. H. Ferguson arranged for extending the lines in Greenbrier and Monroe, leading to the legal territorial and boundary disputes of 1894.

In 1894 Summers county held that it was entitled to Alderson and North Alderson and some additional territory. Both Monroe and Greenbrier entered vigorous protest, because the loss of the strip would have caused considerable shrinkage on their taxable valuation. The people living within the strip were divided in sentiment. Some who were animated by a patriotic feeling toward the old counties were not in favor of changing their allegiance. Others were influenced by the fact that Hinton was within easier reach than Lewisburg or Union. To settle the question John Hinchman was appointed by Monroe and William Haynes by Summers. These commissioners elected James Mann of Greenbrier as umpire. A question was raised as to the legality of this commission, but the line as determined by them was finally accepted. After a trial held at Alderson in April, 1897, the court held that Summers was too tardy in presenting its claim, and since the older counties had been in undisputed possession more than twenty years, the new county could not equitably gain title.

There may have been an intent in the act of the legislature to give Summers a broader area; but, if so, the intent was thwarted by "fogginess in the phraseology." Taxable property to the amount of $400,000 was saved to Monroe.

At the date of its formation Summers county had but few roads and those which it had were unfinished and of poor grade. The most important were the Red Sulphur and Kanawha turnpike and a road leading up New river.

The Red Sulphur and Kanawha Turnpike, a State road, had been constructed before the war from the Red Sulphur via the mouth of Indian, down New River to Pack's Ferry, thence across into Jumping Branch at or near the mouth of Leatherwood, out to Jumping Branch Village, thence by Shady Springs to Beckley, and into Fayetteville and Kanawha Falls. At the latter place it united with the James River and Kanawha Turnpike, leading to Charleston.

The road leading up New River was via the mouth of Bluestone, crossing at Landcraft's Ferry, thence back down New River, up Bluestone to the foot of Tallory Mountain, up this mountain to Pipestem, thence by the G. L. Jordan and B. P. Shumate locations to Concord Church and Princeton.

A "bridle path" from the mouth of Greenbrier down to Richmond's Falls was destroyed by the Chesapeake & Ohio Railway Company. A road had been built up Lick Creek to Green Sulphur over Keeney's Knob to Hayne's Ferry on Greenbrier River, and to Johnson's Cross Roads, in Monroe County. Another road led from Green Sulphur to the Big Meadows by way of Hutchinson's Mill (now Elton), and another from Forest Hill to Rollinsburg (now Talcott),—with few cross roads. * * * One misfortune has been in the unfortunate grades made in locating many of the public highways by unscientific engineering in the early days.

Before the war there was a path over Keeney's Knob leading from Lick Creek to Alderson, known as the Hog Road, by which the hog-drivers from Kentucky took

a "near cut" directly across the mountain, in driving their hogs to the Eastern markets. The route of these Kentucky hog drivers was from the Kanawha over the Sewell Mountain to War Ridge, over that ridge to the Little Meadows, thence up Lick Creek and over Keeney's Knob to Griffith's Creek, thence to Alderson's Ferry, thence up Greenbrier River and across the Allegheny Mountains to Jackson's River, thence down Jackson's River to Buckhannon and down the James River to the head of canal navigation.

The legislative provision locating the county seat of Summers at the mouth of the Greenbrier was later the source of a quarrel which was never settled by the courts. The first courthouse was the old log Baptist church, two miles up the New river from Foss.

Evan Hinton, the "Father of the County," was the first sheriff, by appointment of the judge of the circuit court.

The first jail occupied in the county was a small, one-story, hewed log house, located near the railroad crossing in the city of Avis. It was entirely insecure, and was principally used for prisoners charged only with misdemeanors. The jails at Lewisburg, Beckley and Monroe were used from time to time, until the Summers county jail was built, about 1884—from bonds issued by the county after the question of bonding the county had been submitted to a vote and adopted.

The increasing influence of leadership in southern and southeastern counties of the state is seen in the settlement of the location of the state capital, which Governor Boreman had continued to urge in every message as a measure immediately necessary for harmony and for the future prosperity of the state.

On January 20, 1869, Andrew Mann, representing Greenbrier and Monroe counties in the House of Delegates, offered the following preamble and joint resolution:

"Whereas, The location of the State Capital has been deferred from time to time without any good reason for such delay. and whereas the failure to locate the State Capital has created great dissatisfaction on the part of the people, deterring enterprising parties abroad from locating in the State, rendering ourselves an unsettled people in the estimation of the public. Therefore

"*Resolved by the Legislature of West Virginia:*

"That we use our utmost endeavors to locate the State Capital during the present session of the Legislature, by such concessions and deferences to the different desires of members of the Legislature, and the people we represent, as will finally settle this vexed question harmoniously, placing the Capital where it will develop the natural resources of the State the most, and accommodate the largest number of inhabitants."

This was adopted by the House and at once reported by Mr. Mann to the Senate which referred it to its judiciary committee with instructions to report a bill in relation to locating the Capital. But the House did not wait for this. January 21, James T. McClaskey, a delegate from Monongalia county, offered House Bill No. 4, entitled "A Bill permanently locating the seat of Government of this State."

Section 1, provided that, "The permanent seat of Government for this State is hereby located at the town of Charleston, in the county of Kanawha." This passed the House February 17th, by a vote of 29 yeas to 23 nays. It passed the Senate February 26, the vote standing yeas 17, and nays 4. This Act became effective April 1, 1870—more than thirteen months after its passage.

There was great rejoicing at Charleston. The people hastened to prepare for the coming of the State Government. Public meetings were held soon after the passage of the Act and various plans were suggested and considered as to the best method of providing accommodations for the officers, records and archives of the State. Finally, on the 27th of May, 1869, a few enterprising citizens resolved to take subscriptions to a joint stock company for the erection of a building to answer the temporary purposes of the law locating the capital. This succeeded, and when $16,500.00 had been subscribed, and $1,650.00 paid, the subscribers were incorporated under the name of "The State-House Company." The charter bearing date August 25, 1869, and terminable June 1, 1889, authorized the increase of the capital stock to $100,000.

A meeting of the stockholders was held at the Kanawha county court house, September 24, 1869, for the purpose of organization. Benjamin H. Smith was elected president; Alexander T. Laidley, secretary; John Slack, Sr., treasurer; and George Jeffries, William A. Quarier, Greenbury Slack, S. S. Comstock, Thomas B. Swann, Edward B. Knight, Henry C. McWhorter and John Slack, Sr., directors.

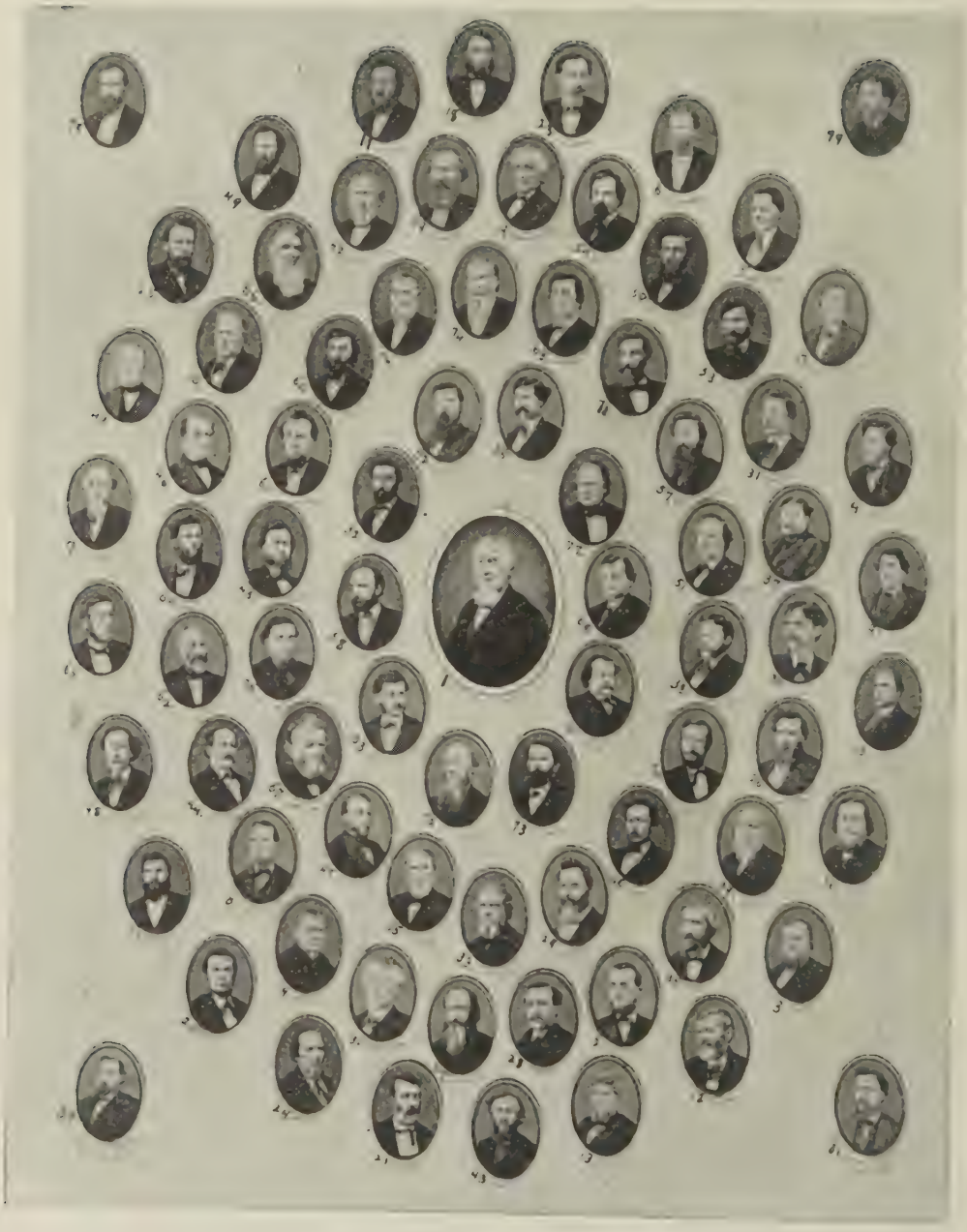
Plans, drawings and specifications with estimates of cost of a building thought to be adequate to the wants of the State authorities, were obtained from competent architects of Cincinnati. After published notice for bids, the contract for the erection of the building was let to Dr. John P. Hale, of Charleston. Laborers were immediately employed in cutting stone at the quarry on Coxe's Hill in the rear of

town. On Monday, September 20, the ground was laid off, and on the next day excavation for the foundation was begun. On November 3, the cornerstone was laid by the Masonic Fraternity. The building could not be completed by April 1, 1870, the time fixed by law for the removal of the seat of government, but other arrangements were made for temporary quarters.

The citizens of Charleston chartered the steamer "Mountain Boy," a popular Kanawha river packet, to convey the executive officers with the archives and paraphernalia of the State Government from Wheeling. At 5:00 a. m., Monday, March 28, 1870, the "Mountain Boy" arrived at the wharf at Wheeling with a reception committee appointed by the citizens of Charleston to escort the State officials. It was composed of Dr. Albert E. Summers and Dr. Spicer Patrick of Charleston; Colonel Jerome T. Bowyer of Winfield, Putnam county; and Colonel Hiram R. Howard and Hon. John M. Phelps of Point Pleasant, Mason county. These gentlemen waited on Governor William E. Stevenson, and the other State officials at an early hour, and informed them of the plans for transportation. The day was spent in transferring to the steamer the boxes containing the books, papers, records, etc., of the executive officers, the State library, and the baggage and household goods of the officers. At midnight, the steamer enveloped in a mass of flags and bunting, cast off her moorings and steamed down the Ohio. At Parkersburg, the home of Governor Stevenson, she made her first landing, and many persons went on board to greet the officials. On March 30, at eleven o'clock, with a brass band which had met her down the Kanawha, the "Mountain Boy" steamed slowly up to the Charleston landing, while the United States Artillery, then stationed at Charleston, fired a salute from the head of the wharf.

In connection with a formal procession starting from Front street, the mayor of Charleston with members of the municipal government received the State officials, and the mayor delivered an address of welcome. The procession then moved via Dunbar street and Church street and Center avenue to the residences provided for the Governor and other officers of the State. "It was a gala day, such as had never been seen in Charleston before." The Bank of the West gave its entire building for the use of State officers; the Merchants Bank of Charleston furnished a portion of its building to the State Treasurer; the trustees of St. John's Protestant Episcopal Church gave the free use of its schoolroom for the State Library. On December 20, 1870, the "State House Company" formally delivered to the Governor the capitol building which had cost $79,000 and which was immediately occupied by the State officials. Governor Stevenson, in his ensuing message to the Legislature, speaking of the building, said: "It is, as you cannot fail to observe, a neat, commodious, and substantial structure, and reflects much credit upon the public spirited citizens under whose management it was completed and finished."

The removal of the capital to Charleston attracted larger attention to the Kanawha whose new era of development was already forecasted in plans for the completion of a railway across the Alleghenies to the Middle New and via Charleston to the Ohio at Guyandotte.



MEMBERS OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION OF 1872

CHAPTER XXV

THE CONSTITUTION OF 1872

Elated with success in securing repeal of proscriptive legislation and in defeating the Republicans at the polls, leaders of the Democratic party, with plans to capture other strategic political points, decided upon a call for a constitutional convention.

After the passage of the Flick amendment which accomplished the enfranchisement of the ex-Confederates, an object for which the Democrats professedly had striven for five years, further amendment to the constitution seemed unnecessary. However, the strong reactionary elements within the Democratic party interpreting the attitude of the liberal Republicans on the amendment as a sign of weakness, desired to put them completely to rout or, as the Wheeling *Intelligencer* said, they were not willing to wait until the corpse of the Republican party was decently buried "but must administer on the estate at once"—and for this purpose demanded a constitutional convention. Their strength is shown in the legislature which on February 23, 1871, passed a convention bill.[1]

The most radical advocates of the convention (many thought), were apparently resolved to restore pre-bellum conditions as far as possible. In their zeal to make war on the state constitution they constructed various ingenious complaints against it. The Wheeling *Register* first objected (July 26, 1872) to it on the ground that a reapportionment could not be made under it without diminishing the existing representation of some of the counties, and later (August, 11), on the ground that a new constitution was necessary to extend the time in which the Virginia debt should be paid. The Democratic papers and various stump speakers emphasized the point that the constitution of 1862-63 was adopted without the consent of the whole people—at a time when many were in the Confederate army; and when many others, refusing to recognize the reorganized state authority, had not participated in the election. Some, who were jestingly called "Democratic protectionists" were accused of wanting a convention to frame a constitution which would provide protection against the consequences of engaging in future rebellion. All the advocates of the convention were most emphatic in expressing their wish to abolish the township system, which they claimed was a new and expensive importation from the northern states. They desired to restore the old county-court system, and many proposed to abolish the ballot and to restore viva voce voting. Some frequently hinted that too many people were voting, and that some property qualification should be adopted to disfranchise the negro population

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[1] Among those most prominent in urging the need for a convention were Judge Ferguson, Colonel B. H. Smith who led a large meeting at the capital, and Hon. C. J. Faulkner who was the leading spirit of a similar meeting in Martinsburg.

Among those who took the lead in opposing the convention by articles in the press was Granville Parker, who feared radical changes in the organic structure and believed that any needed change could best be accomplished by amendments. He especially opposed the proposition of politicians to knock out the existing judicial and township system, claiming that their abrogation would necessitate a complete change of the new code which had been prepared at an expense of $100,000. He also feared that the radicals who proposed to abolish the free school system and the ballot would remove constitutional restrictions which prevented the legislative log-rolling that had bankrupted the old state under the pretext of making "internal improvements." He desired no radical changes which would lessen the good opinion and confidence of capitalists and business men who were so essential to the future of the state.

and some of the poor whites. Others, who fiercely denounced the court of appeals which had sustained the constitutionality of the proscription laws, at the same time criticised the constitution because it gave to the legislature the power to remove judges. But perhaps the most unique argument in favor of a new constitution appeared in the *Martinsburg Statesman* whose editor, apparently unconscious that the thirteenth and fourteenth amendments had preceded the fifteenth amendment to the constitution of the United States, declared in bold type, perhaps only for negro consumption, that under the existing state constitution slavery could still exist in West Virginia after the repeal of the fifteenth amendment by Congress, which he expected to be done soon; and he undertook to inform the colored voters that if they should oppose the call for a convention they would be voting to retain a constitution which still recognized them as slaves.

On August 24, 1871, the people determined the question in favor of a new constitutional convention by a vote of 30,220 to 27,638 (17,571 not voting). All the largest centers of population except Martinsburg voted in the negative. The big majorities for the convention were from localities in which there was a large ex-Confederate element, the counties of Jefferson, Hampshire, Hardy, Greenbrier, Logan, Gilmer and Braxton.

The Democratic strength was again shown in the following October when the Democrats elected 66 of the 78 members of the convention. The twelve Republican members were humorously called the "twelve apostles."

The convention whose members were elected on October 26, 1871, assembled at the capitol building at Charleston at noon on January 16, 1872. The sessions were held in the Methodist Episcopal church, known as Asbury Chapel, which stood on the north-east side of Virginia street, between Alderson and Summers streets.

The members, elected by Senatorial Districts, Counties, and Delegate Districts, were as follows:—

First Senatorial District—William K. Pendleton and A. J. Pannell. Second Senatorial District—Joseph W. Gallaher and Alpheus F. Haymond. Third Senatorial District—Waitman T. Willey and A. H. Thayer. Fourth Senatorial District—Benjamin Wilson and Daniel D. Johnson. Fifth Senatorial District—Okey Johnson and David H. Leonard. Sixth Senatorial District—Blackwell Jackson and Samuel Woods. Seventh Senatorial District—Nicholas Fitzhugh and Alonzo Cushing. Eighth Senatorial District—Evermont Ward and Isaiah Bee. Ninth Senatorial District—Samuel Price and William McCreery. Tenth Senatorial District—James D. Armstrong and John T. Peerce. Eleventh Senatorial District—Charles J. Faulkner and William H. Travers.

Barbour County—Joseph N. B. Crim. Berkeley County—Joseph B. Hoge and Andrew W. McCleary. Boone County—William D. Pate. Braxton County—Homer A. Holt. Brooke County—Alexander Campbell. Doddridge County—Jephtha F. Randolph. Fayette County—Hudson M. Dickinson. Hampshire County—Alexander Monroe. Hancock County—John H. Atkinson. Harrison County—John Bassel and Beverley H. Lurty. Jackson County—Thomas R. Park. Jefferson County—Logan Osburn and William A. Morgan. Kanawha County—John A. Warth and Edward B. Knight. Lewis County—Mathew Edmiston.[2] Logan County—M. A. Staton. Marion County—Fountain Smith and Ulysses N. Arnett. Marshall County—Hanson Criswell and James M. Pipes. Mason County—Charles B. Waggener. Mercer County—James Calfee. Mineral County—John A. Robinson. Monongalia County—John Marshall Hagans and Joseph Snyder. Morgan County—Lewis Allen. Ohio County—James S. Wheat, George O. Davenport and William W. Miller. Pendleton County—Charles D. Boggs. Preston County—William G. Brown and Charles Kantner. Putnam County—John J. Thompson. Ritchie County—Jacob P. Strickler. Roane County—Thomas Ferrell. Taylor County—Benjamin F. Martin. Tyler County—David F. Pugh. Upshur County—Daniel D. T. Farnsworth. Wayne County—Charles W. Ferguson. Wetzel County—Septimius Hall. Wirt County—D. A. Roberts. Clay-Nicholas Delegate District—Benjamin W. Byrne. Cabell-Lincoln Delegate District—Thomas Thornburg. Gilmer-Calhoun Delegate District—Lemuel Stump. Greenbrier-Monroe-Summers Delegate District—Henry M. Mathews, James M. Byrnside and William Haynes. Hardy-Grant Delegate District—Thomas Maslin. Pocahontas-Webster Delegate District—George H. Moffett. Raleigh-Wyoming-McDowell Delegate District—William Prince. Randolph-Tucker Delegate District—J. F. Harding. Wood-Pleasants Delegate District—James M. Jackson and W. G. H. Core.

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[2] Mathew Edmiston did not qualify and therefore never occupied his seat in the Convention.

Officers, clerks and pages were as follows:

Samuel Price, of Greenbrier County.....President.
Gibson J. Butcher, of Weston, Lewis County.....Secretary.
Barney A. Galligan, of Ohio County.....First Assistant Secretary.
Beuhring H. Jones,[3] of Greenbrier County.....Second Assistant Secretary.
John H. Woods, of Philippi, Barbour County.....Enrolling Clerk.
Jacob B. Cunningham, of Hardy County.....Sergeant-at-Arms.
G. J. Wetzel, of————, ————.....Doorkeeper.
Henry S. Walker, of Harrison County.....Printer.
George Byrne, of Kanawha County.....Page.
Frank Cox, of Kanawha County.....Page.
John D. Alderson, of Greenbrier County.....Page.
Josiah D. Wilson, of Harrison County.....Page.

Samuel Price, the president, was a man of considerable experience in law and politics. He was born in Fauquier county in 1805, and had spent all his life in Virginia except a brief time spent in Kentucky in 1827-28. In November, 1828, he located in Nicholas county to practice law. In 1834 he was elected to the legislature as a representative of Nicholas and Fayette. In the same year he settled in Wheeling to practice law. In 1837, he moved to Lewisburg and married Jane Stuart, the granddaughter of Colonel John Stuart who served as the first county clerk of Greenbrier county. In October, 1850, he was elected a member of the Virginia constitutional convention of that year. In 1861, he represented Greenbrier in the Virginia secession convention and served as chairman of the committee on Federal relations. He was elected Lieutenant-Governor of the seceded state of Virginia in 1863 and subsequently served two terms as president of the Senate at Richmond. In June, 1865, following the collapse of the Confederacy, he was arrested by cavalrymen and taken to Charleston as a prisoner. In 1866, he became a director of the Covington and Ohio (later Chesapeake and Ohio) Railroad Company. In December, 1869, he was elected circuit judge but unable to take the test oath required of him, he did not receive his commission. Later, four years after his service in the constitutional convention of 1872, and eight years before his death, he was appointed by Governor Jacobs to complete the unexpired term of Allen T. Caperton in the United States senate.

Meeting on January 16, 1872, the convention remained in session for eighty-four days at Charleston, then a village with unpaved and unlighted streets and shut off from the mails for three days at a time. It declined to accept the invitation to adjourn to Wheeling with free transportation. The radicals felt that nothing good in the shape of constitutional reform could be accomplished in that "iron hearted city," in which had been framed the first constitution to which they were so strongly opposed; and many no doubt were influenced by the fact that the "best livers of Charleston" had thrown open their homes to the members of the convention who would have been compelled to seek boarding houses in Wheeling.[4]

Strong efforts made by the most radical reactionaries to keep West Virginia under the influence of the life and institutions of Virginia and the South were resisted by the more moderate members. On January 20, Mr. George Davenport, a liberal young Democrat from Wheeling, wishing to indicate that the Union Democrats were unalterably opposed to the manner in which the ex-Confederates were "running the convention," presented a sarcastic resolution requesting that the names of Grant and Lincoln counties should be changed to Davis and Lee. A few days later, some radical members made themselves rather ridiculous by opposing the first provision of the constitution which declared that the constitution of the United States is the supreme law of the land. Ward, of Cabell, on this question announced that he believed in the reserved rights of states; and Col. D. D. Johnson of Tyler objected to the clause because it ignored the "heaven born right to revolutionize." After the early sessions of the convention, the efforts of the more radical reactionaries were somewhat neutralized by the more liberal Democrats who feared that the ex-Confederate element of the

[3] Beuhring H. Jones died March 18th, and his death was announced to the Convention by President Price; whereupon as a testimony of respect for the deceased, that body adjourned until ten o'clock the next day. His remains were taken in a hearse from Charleston to Lewisburg, where they were laid to rest in the cemetery at that place. He has been called the "Poet of Johnson's Island."

[4] A complete file of the Kanawha *Daily* (the only daily published in Charleston during the convention) containing the most complete account of the debates that can be found, is in the possession of the Department of Archives at Charleston.

party would force into the constitution provisions which might defeat it before the people. Some, observing how vigorously many members rode the hobby of economy, feared they would adopt a constitution intended not so much to benefit the people as to save money. The radical as well as the economic spirit of the members was shown in the great "squabble" which arose on January 22 after Mr. Farnsworth of Upshur made a customary and appropriate motion that the United States flag should be placed over the convention hall while the convention was in session.[5]

The new constitution exhibited the marks of the period of partisanship which preceded it. Due to this feeling was the insertion of Section 3 of Article I which made martial law unconstitutional, the provision that no citizen should ever be refused the right to vote because his name had not been registered, and the clause prohibiting the legislature from ever establishing or authorizing a board or court of registration. Several new sections, quoted from the Virginia constitution of 1851 and introduced into the bill of rights—consisting of glittering generalities on the equality of man, the sovereignty of the people, the inalienable right of the majority and the repugnance of test oaths to the principles of free government—were introduced as finger boards to denunciate and anathematize the proscriptive laws of the Republican party.

The qualifications for suffrage under the clause of the constitution of 1862 was changed in two days: (1) by the omission of the word "white" to make it conform to the fifteenth amendment, and (2) by increasing the period of residence in the district from thirty to sixty days. The proposition to omit the word "white"[6] from the clause on suffrage called forth long debate before it was finally carried. Mr. Martin of Taylor, expressing the hope that his arm might be palsied in any attempt to strike out the word "white," said that, with the exception of those who had been re-enfranchised by the Flick amendment, the legal voters were "carpet baggers, negroes, mulattoes, Chinese, Dutch, Irish, coolies, Norwegians, scalawags with a few of the native population of the country." It was his purpose, he said, to give the latter more protection. Mr. Thompson, of Putnam, desired to cut off "that hideous tail" to the constitution (the fifteenth amendment); and, to provide for an emergency remedy, he urged the retention of the word "white." He did not consider that the negroes, who he said claimed every species of artificial rights in addition to natural rights, were quite as capable of self government as the buffaloes of the plains which had only their natural rights to protect.

Different views in the convention, in regard to the best method for the expression of the popular vote, resulted in a peculiar provision which exists in no other state and which leaves the voter free to select open, sealed or secret ballot. The opposition to the secret ballot was strong. Ward asserted that the ballot system had given a great deal of trouble to the world. Samuel Price, of Greenbrier, president of the

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[5] After Farnsworth's motion, Ward, who it was jocularly said was perhaps best known for his magic ointment and scalpwash, moved to strike out "United States flag" and insert the "flag of West Virginia," arguing that his first allegiance was to his state. After a futile attempt to lay on the table, Farnsworth's motion was adopted, but the weighty question was reconsidered on January 24 and 25 when Col. Johnson wished to amend the resolution so that it would provide for inscribing on the flag the words "West Virginia rescued from tyranny." "In 1861," interjected Hagans, who rose from the opposite side. But while various members were debating over the probable expense which would be incurred by the purchase of a flag, Mr. Henry Pike who, looking after coal land in that region, happened to be present, solved the question by offering a flag as a gift to the convention. Whether or not Pike's offer was made out of pure generosity or not, the convention accepted it, voted its thanks to Mr. Pike, and ordered the sergeant-at-arms to raise the flag over the convention. On February 19, the flag arrived and, after it was seized upon frantically by the "twelve apostles," and kissed by some of them, it was hoisted over the convention hall.

[6] Although the constitution makes no distinction between white and colored in the exercise of the elective franchise, nor in the holding of office, it provides that white and colored children shall not be taught in the same school.

convention, joined Ward in declaring that the people of their counties favored the *viva voce* system of voting. Mr. Martin, with face toward the flesh pots of the East, lamented that although fifteen years before in old Virginia the right to vote had been regarded as the most sacred one known to man, "now-a-days the voter sneaks up, drops a little slip of paper through a hole in a door and then goes away lively as though he had done something he was ashamed of." All the more liberal Democrats however, fearing that a provision for *viva voce* voting would defeat the constitution, secured its defeat by a vote of 36 to 29. Twenty-four members insisted that at least the voter ought to be required to put his name on the back of his ballot, and were able to secure the compromise clause which was finally adopted.

The legislature was required to meet in biennial sessions of not longer than forty-five days, unless two-thirds of the members concurred in extending the session. The members of the house of delegates were chosen for a term of two years; and the senators, half of whom were elected biennially, were chosen for a term of four years. Representation was based on population. Although in a few instances the convention in laying out the senatorial and judicial districts was accused of gerrymandering, the larger state papers do not reflect any serious discontent. The list of persons debarred from seats in the legislature was enlarged by the inclusion of persons holding lucrative offices under foreign governments, members of Congress, sheriffs, constables or clerks of courts of record, persons convicted of bribery, perjury or other infamous crimes, and all salaried officers of railroad companies.

On the latter debarment, peculiar to West Virginia, there was much debate. The attitude toward railroads at Charleston had greatly changed in the ten years since the convention in Wheeling in which VanWinkle of Wood, advocating the dropping of bank officers from the disqualified list, had clinched his argument and won the convention by saying that it might just as consistently proscribe railroad officers as bank officers. The growth of railroad influence produced anti-railroad sentiment in some sections. It was sneeringly said that the state should be called the state of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. Farnsworth, whose policy was to grant to big corporations no liberal franchises which worked to the detriment of land owners, declared his fear that the entire state would soon be under the control of the Baltimore & Ohio Railway which by means of its through connections, he said, diverted to the west the immigrants who otherwise might stop in West Virginia. Among those who opposed the disqualification of men who had been active in improving means of locomotion was Mr. Hagans who—after recalling the times not so remote when the people of the trans-Allegheny region had carried deer skins on their backs to Philadelphia and had drunk sassafras tea six months of the year because they could not get store tea—said that without railroads residence in West Virginia would be about as desirable as residence at the North Pole.

The legislature was forbidden to pass special acts in a long list of additional cases including the following: the sale of church property or property held for charitable uses; locating or changing county seats; chartering, licensing, or establishing ferries; remitting fines, penalties or forfeitures, changing the law of descent; regulating the rate of interest and releasing taxes. The state, in addition to the prohibition of 1863 which prevented it from holding stock in any bank, was prohibited from holding stock in any company or association in the state or elsewhere, formed for any purpose whatever. The only new power given to the legislature (a power which remained inoperative for thirteen years) was that of taxing privileges and franchises of corporations and persons, which in the constitution of 1863 had been withheld largely through the fear that a corporation tax would discourage corporate capital which was then so much needed to build up the new state.

The governor and all the executive officers were to serve for four years; and, with the exception of the secretary of state, were to be elected by the people. No provision was made for a lieutenant-governor. In case the governor was unable to act, the duties fell upon the president of the Senate or the Speaker of the House; and, if neither of the preceding persons should be qualified, the legislature was given the power to appoint—unless the vacancy should occur in the first three years of the term, in which case an election by the people was required.[7]

The judicial system, which was entirely reorganized, consisted of a supreme court of appeals, a circuit court, county and corporation courts and justices of the peace. The supreme court of appeals, a rotary body consisting of four judges elected by the people for twelve years, could render no decision which should be considered as binding authority upon any inferior court except in the particular case decided unless the decision was concurred in by three judges. The number of circuits was fixed at nine and a provision forbade the legislature to increase that number until after 1880. After much debate, in which Osborne humorously suggested that there was no way out of the difficulty but to put the office up to the lowest bidder, the salary of judges of the supreme court of appeals was raised from $2,000 to $2,250 and of the circuit judges from $1,800 to $2,000.[8] In addition they were allowed the customary mileage.

The Convention fixed very modest salaries for state officers and for members of the legislature. The salary of the governor was fixed at twenty-seven hundred dollars per annum; of the secretary of state at one thousand dollars; of the state superintendent of free schools at fifteen hundred dollars; of the treasurer at fourteen hundred dollars; of the auditor at two thousand dollars; and of the attorney general at thirteen hundred dollars. However, fees were subsequently fixed by statute to be paid certain officers, and from this source emoluments were eventually derived that caused their salaries to dwindle into insignificance. Members of the legislature were to receive for their services four dollars per day, during a session, and ten cents a mile for each mile traveled in going to and returning from the seat of government, by the most direct route. The president of the Senate and speaker of the House of Delegates were allowed an extra compensation of two dollars per day each, during the time they were presiding. No other allowance or emolument than that expressly provided for, could directly or indirectly be made or paid to members of either house for postage, stationery, newspapers, or any other purpose whatever. The latter clause was inserted because it was claimed that under the first constitution some of the members of the legislature received special allowances which exceeded their three dollars per diem. One of the framers of the Constitution of 1872 when asked years later why salaries were limited by the Constitution replied: "We were anxious that our work should be ratified by the people and were afraid if we increased salaries even to what they should have been as of that time, and took the power of regulating them away from the people, that the proposed new constitution would be turned down at the polls."

Abandoning the township system, the convention reestablished the old county-court system composed of a president and two justices with its police, fiscal and judicial powers. This court was eulogized by Mr. Haymond of Marion as the guiding star to younger members of the profession, the "theater upon which their youthful geniuses might disport with gay freedom before the assembled people." Hagans answered this speech by suggesting that it would be far better if these young lawyers were safely housed by the state in some law-school where they would not afflict the public with such a "fraud as the farce known as the county-court of the olden times." He continued by declaring that it was cruel, and almost criminal, to impose on men who had never read a law book in their lives the delicate and difficult tasks of adjusting the complex questions that arise in the suits that come before them. He had learned, he said, that the hapless suitor whose attorney could not boast of gray hairs could almost copy the inscription over the inferno, "He who enters here

[7] This provision is peculiar to West Virginia.

[8] In the convention of 1861-62 Harmon Sinsel, urging the strictest economy in the finances of the new state and stating that respectable families could live on $500 a year, advocated small salaries for judges partly on the ground that men liked the honor of the office.

leaves hope behind," and rewrite it at the threshold of the august forum of the county court, for it mattered not how ably a case might be put by the young lawyer, nor how much law he might bring forward to sustain it until it appeared as clear as a sunbeam, the "venerable and foxy lawyer" had but to refer to the "youth and inexperience of his young friend" and close with a few well chosen and hackneyed expressions about the "good sense" and profound judgment of the court, when lo! the heads went together for an incredibly short time and with a wave of the hand it was "Judgment for the defendant, Mr. Clerk."

Although the question of the Virginia debt arose in the convention, and although Mr. Willey advocated the adoption of some addition to the clause of the constitution of 1863, relating to it so that there would remain no shadow of a question as to West Virginia's intention to assume her equitable proportion, the constitution omitted the entire clause. This was regarded by many as repudiation.

The antiquated clauses of the constitution which relate to the forfeiture of land may be regarded as a monument to a mistake of the dead but living past.[9] Originating with a purpose to quiet titles

[9] West Virginia at the beginning of her history inherited the confusion of land titles which had resulted from the mistakes made by the mother state in the early years of our national existence when she had urgent need of revenue to support her government. The earlier failure to secure either revenue or much desired barrier settlements in the west, by the statute of 1779 which placed public lands on the market at a fixed charge of forty pounds for each one hundred acres (a price which proved too high for the hunter-farmer of the frontier), induced the legislature in December, 1792, with the expectation of increasing revenues from land taxes, to offer western lands for sale at the merely nominal price of two cents per acre—an offer which in the next decade resulted in the acquisition of almost all the territory of western Virginia, principally in large grants often reaching a million acres in a single tract, by speculators who neither became residents on the land nor paid taxes thereon. Much confusion resulted from the methods by which the grants were located. Without adequate returns from the lands to enable her to supervise the location and survey of the lands sold, the state allowed every buyer to establish his own boundaries (!); and later, when she reluctantly and gradually entered upon the policy of forfeiting titles for non-payment of taxes, she first found many boundary disputes and subsequently discovered that many tracts had never been entered upon the commissioners book for assessment. Finally, forced by the stern fact that the settlement of western Virginia by those who were willing to brave the dangers and bear the inconveniences of the frontier, was retarded by the fear of the insecurity of ownership of soil upon which settlers might erect their humble homes, the Virginia legislature in 1831, and in 1835, passed two acts which provided for the forfeiture of titles returned delinquent (and not redeemed) and for the protection of pioneer settlers—acts which were the lineal ancestors of sections three and six of article twelve of the West Virginia constitution of 1872. The Virginia legislature, though it showed a growing tendency to forfeit titles for non-payment of taxes and to favor pioneer settlers who paid the taxes, hesitated to forfeit a title absolutely; and from time to time it passed numerous acts granting former owners of forfeited lands additional time to redeem them, and it never transferred a title to a claimant who had no claim of title derived from the commonwealth.

West Virginia in her first constitution adopted the growing policy of the mother state in regard to forfeitures, and again temporized with the delinquent tax payer, but made a distinct advance by a provision which for the first time showed a disposition to favor the owner of a small tract whose delinquent taxes did not exceed $20. In a statute of 1869 her legislature provided for the proper entry of all land and imposed forfeiture as a penalty for failure to enter land on the books for a period of five years, but allowed the owner to redeem it within a year. The members of the convention of 1872 inserted in the constitution provisions which prevented any further temporizing with the question of forfeiture of tracts of unassessed land containing 1,000 acres or more and extended the transfer of a forfeited title to persons who had actual possession for a term of years and had paid taxes charged on the land for five years. In 1873 an act of the legislature (still in force) provided for the forfeiture after five years of all tracts of nonassessed land of less than 1,000 acres. The tendency of this system to breed litigation is well illustrated by the fact that there were recently on the docket of the circuit court of McDowell county thirty-seven suits by the state for the sale of forfeited lands, and in the larger part of these suits there were from ten to thirty tracts of land involved. These suits frequently resulted from the efforts of individuals who took an unfair advantage of the forfeiture clauses of the constitution in the litigation of their claims. They imposed upon the state the burden of proof and they assumed no responsibility for the costs of the suits. The parties behind this litigation, in many cases, would have had no standing in court if forced into a suit in ejection.

and reduce litigation, they are still a prolific source of expensive litigation; and lawyers familiar with the abuses and objectionable features of their operation have recently advocated their abolition in the interest of a less complex system of land laws, if this can be done with injustice to none and without unsettling land titles.

The clause of the constitution of 1863, requiring that an amendment proposed by one legislature must be approved by the next before it could be submitted to the people, was omitted from the constitution of 1872.

Although the new constitution, which was ratified by a majority of only 4,567 in an aggregate vote of over 80,000, made some wise changes —lengthening the terms of members of each House of the Legislature and providing for biennial legislatures—it contained several restrictions and inhibitions and imperfect provisions which have retarded or prevented governmental adjustments, and have been criticised by leading men of both parties. Although some of these have been changed, others still remain.

Amendments have been submitted and ratified by the people at several different times. The first effort to appease the clamor for amendments was made in 1879 when the legislature proposed two amendments: (1) an entire revision of the article on the judiciary, increasing the number of circuit courts from nine to thirteen, authorizing a further change in the number after 1885, increasing the number of terms of the circuit court in each county from two to three each year and abolishing the county court system but still retaining the name for its successor—a police and fiscal board of three commissioners for the administration of county affairs; (2) a change in Section 13 of the bill of rights, providing for a trial by a jury of six in suits at common law before a justice when the value in controversy should exceed $20.[10] In 1883 the legislature submitted the amendment, changing the time of state elections so as to coincide with the day on which the federal elections are held.

With a hope of removing or reducing the many evils which still existed, the legislature of 1897 appointed a non-partisan (bipartisan) joint committee to suggest needed revisions of the state constitution. In an elaborate report, this committee suggested many needed changes some of which have since been adopted.

It prepared several desirable amendments upon which the legislature failed to act. Among those for which there was a general demand was one providing that members of the legislature should receive $4.00 for day of actual attendance for a period not to exceed sixty days, at a regular, and forty days at any special, session; and another providing that, in order to secure more deliberate consideration of bills, no bill may be introduced into the legislature after the fortieth day of the session. The committee felt that the provision which limits the jurisdiction of inferior courts to a single county should be made more flexible in order to meet the growing necessity of development. Therefore, it suggested that the creation of such courts should be left to legislative discretion and judgment. It also urged the adoption of a secret Australian ballot in order to prevent the great traffic in votes which has existed under the constitutional method of voting. To secure this it would be necessary to omit the antiquated clause which provides that "the voter shall be left free to vote by either open, sealed or secret ballot as he may elect." The committee also proposed to equalize taxation (1) by an exemption on real estate against which there was a lien for debt

[10] The working of justices' jury has not always been satisfactory. In 1897, after sundry decisions of the supreme court, the legislative committee on the revision of the constitution, in order to avoid the necessity of recording evidence in a jury trial before a justice or of taking bills of exceptions to the ruling and conduct of the justice, and with the idea that the judgment of a justice upon the verdict of jury should not be final and binding as the judgment of a court of record upon a verdict in such court, proposed to aid to Section 13 of the bill of rights a provision in such case for an appeal to the circuit court for re-trial, both as to law and fact, under such regulation as the legislature might prescribe.

of purchase (intended chiefly to benefit the farming class who were paying more than their fair proportion of the taxes), and (2) by giving the legislature power to tax "business" (in addition to privileges and franchises) with the special purpose of reaching the intangible property of corporations and large enterprises which had escaped taxation, or had paid only a small amount of their fair proportion estimated on the basis of wealth.

In 1901 the legislature proposed amendments which were ratified by the people, limiting the invested school fund to $1,000,000, requiring the legislature to provide for the registration of all voters, making the office of secretary of state elective under the same provision as the other state executive officers, providing that the salaries of all these officers shall be established by statute and that all fees liable by law for any service performed by these officers shall revert to the treasury,[11] and increasing the number of members of the supreme court of appeals from four to five—whose salaries, together with the salaries of the circuit judges, were to be fixed thereafter by statute instead of by the constitution.

With the wonderful industrial development of the state, there was a growing public opinion in favor of larger salaries for public officers holding public positions of large responsibility. Finally, on February 13, 1901, the legislature proposed an amendment which after ratification by the people in the election of November, 1902, placed in the legislature the power to establish the salaries of state executive officers. The amendment was as follows:

"The officers named in this article" [the "Executive Department," consisting of the governor, secretary of state, state superintendent of free schools, auditor, treasurer and attorney general,] "shall receive for their services a salary to be established by law, which shall not be increased or diminished during their official terms; and they shall not—after the expiration of the terms of those in office at the adoption of this amendment—receive to their own use any fees, costs, perquisites of office or other compensation, and all fees that may hereafter be payable by law, for any service performed by any officer provided for in this article of the constitution, shall be paid in advance into the State treasury."

It had two objects; the termination of the vicious fee system, and the adjustment of salaries to suit changing conditions.

Under the amendment as ratified, the legislature, in 1903, allowed the governor a salary of five thousand dollars per annum; the secretary of state, four thousand dollars; the state superintendent of schools, three thousand dollars; the auditor, four thousand five hundred dollars; the treasurer, two thousand five hundred dollars; the attorney general two thousand five hundred dollars. In 1913 the salary of the state superintendent of schools was increased to four thousand dollars; of the treasurer to three thousand five hundred dollars; and still later the salary of the attorney general was increased to four thousand dollars. By an act of the legislature passed January 28, 1919, the annual salary of the governor from March 4, 1921, was increased to ten thousand dollars. Early in 1921, by another legislative act, the salaries of the other state executive officers were again increased.

Under the judicial amendment, also ratified in the election of November, 1902, and transferring from the Constitution to the legislature the establishment of salaries for judges, the legislature, in 1903, fixed the salary of each of the supreme court judges at four thousand dollars per annum, and of circuit judges at three thousand three hundred dollars. In 1909 it increased the salaries of the supreme court judges to five thousand five hundred dollars. By an act passed February 28, 1919, it increased the salary of each of the judges of the supreme court of appeals to eight thousand dollars per annum, "from and after the first day of July, one thousand nine hundred and nineteen;" and at the First Extraordinary Session on March 19, 1919, it enacted a law allowing each of the circuit judges an annual salary of five thousand dollars, except in circuits of over sixty thousand population in which the salary was fixed at five thousand five hundred dollars.

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[11] This turned a considerable sum into the treasury. The fees derived from the office of secretary of state and auditor were variously estimated from $10,000 to $15,000 per year. The committee of 1897 also suggested amendments providing for the election of a county treasurer to collect the taxes of the county, and for the payment of salaries to the county officers in place of fees, which should then revert to the treasury. Those in favor of the abolition of the fee system in payment of county officers urged that the fees amounted to more than a just compensation for the officer's services and more than he would receive if he were paid a fixed salary, they favored reduction in the cost of administering county government, which had become burdensome and oppressive to the people. The demand for reforms became so strong that the legislature in 1908 passed a county salaries bill. Notwithstanding the name of this bill, the fee system in payment of county officers is not entirely abolished, and there is much demand for complete abolition of the abuses that exist under the present system.

In addition to the adopted amendments which had been suggested by the legislative committee, the people in 1908 voted upon two proposed amendments—one of which proposed to increase the pay of commissioners of the county court in order to secure more competent men, and the other to amend Section 4 of Article IV, of the constitution so that it would no longer prohibit the appointment to office (state, county or municipal) of persons (women) who are not citizens entitled to vote in the state. Both were rejected. In the election of 1910 another attempt to amend Section 4 of Article IV failed. At the same election an attempt to amend the constitution, increasing the number of members of the supreme court from five to seven was defeated. In 1912, an amendment to prohibit the manufacture and sale of intoxicants in the state after July 1, 1914, carried by more than ninety-two thousand majority. In 1913, an amendment creating the office of lieutenant-governor [12] passed both houses of the legislature; but no statute was passed submitting this proposed amendment to the people, and unless later provision is made by a special session of the legislature it cannot be submitted at the next election.

In February, 1919, the legislature passed a "legislative amendment" which increased the salaries of members of the legislature to five hundren dollars and provided a means for more deliberate consideration of bills (which had been recommended by the committee of 1897).

This amendment which was ratified in the election of November, 1920, was as follows:

All sessions of the legislature, other than extraordinary sessions, shall continue in session for a period not exceeding fifteen days from date of convening, during which time no bills shall be passed or rejected, unless the same shall be necessary to provide for a public emergency, shall be specially recommended by the governor and passed by a vote of four-fifths of the members elected to each house; whereupon, a recess of both houses must be taken until the Wednesday after the second Monday of March following. On reassembling of the legislature, no bill shall be introduced in either House without a vote of three-fourths of all the members elected to each house taken by yeas and nays. The regular sessions shall not continue longer than forty-five days after reconvening, without the concurrence of two-thirds of the members elected to each House.

Sec. 33. The members of the legislature shall each receive for his services the sum of five hundred dollars per annum and ten cents for each mile traveled in going to and returning from the seat of government by the most direct route. The Speaker of the House of Delegates and the President of the Senate shall each receive an additional compensation of two dollars per day for each day they shall act as presiding officers. No other allowance or emolument than that by this section provided, shall directly or indirectly be made or paid to the members of either house for postage, stationery, newspapers, or any other purpose whatever.

For years the constitutional limitation on contraction of debts by the state was regarded as a serious obstacle to any satisfactory plan for construction of a much needed system of state highways. Finally, on February 15, 1919, the legislature by unanimous vote adopted a joint resolution proposing an amendment vesting in the legislature the power to authorize a bonded indebtedness (not exceeding $50,000,000) for construction and maintenance of roads. The amendment ratified at the general election of November, 1920, is as follows:

"The legislature shall make provision by law for a system of state roads and highways connecting at least the various county seats of the state, and to be under the control and supervision of such state officers and agencies as may be prescribed by law. The legislature shall also provide a state revenue to build, construct, and maintain, or assist in building, constructing and maintaining the same and for that purpose shall have power to authorize the issuing and selling of state bonds, the aggregate amount of which, at any one time, shall not exceed fifty million dollars.

"When a bond issue as aforesaid is authorized, the legislature shall at the same time provide for the collection of an annual state tax sufficient to pay annually the interest on such debt, and the principal thereof within, and not exceeding thirty years."

[12] The absence of any constitutional provision for a lieutenant-governor, which was considered an unnecessary office by the makers of the constitution, has several times caused much difficulty in the organization of the senate. The waste of time spent in balloting for a presiding office has been far more expensive than the smaller sum which would be necessary to pay the salary of a permanent presiding officer of the senate.

After 1900, there were many expressions in favor of a constitutional convention to prepare a constitution more adequately adapted to present conditions and needs. In 1903, Governor White, suggesting the need of such a convention, said: "Our constitution creaks at almost every joint." Governor Dawson especially urged the need of reform in the size of the Senate, which can be most effectively accomplished by a constitutional clause providing for county representation in the Senate. There was a growing feeling that the size of the Senate should be increased so that each county may have a representative, and that there should be some early change in the present system of choosing senators under which it is possible for eight counties to control the majority of the Senate. Both the legislative and executive branches of the state government have recognized the inadequacy of the present organic law as a means of solving modern economic problems relating to taxation and the proper regulation of public service corporations. Although the need of a new constitution was again suggested by Governor Glasscock, and although many recognized that a constitutional convention would be the cheapest and surest solution of the problems—especially social, economic and financial—which have resulted largely from the recent preferred what they considered the less expensive method of "patch-rapid industrial development of the state, many conservative leaders still work" amendments.

CHAPTER XXVI

INDUSTRIAL AWAKENING ALONG THE KANAWHA

The first actual railway construction in West Virginia after the war —the construction of a railway westward from the Jackson's river across the middle of the state from east to west along the general route of the old James river and Kanawha turnpike, reanimated the old communities of the lower Greenbrier, the Middle New and the Kanawha valleys.

The Chesapeake & Ohio Railway, traversing one of the most picturesque regions of West Virginia, is the successor of the Covington & Ohio Railroad, which was organized as an extension of the Virginia Central (incorporated 1850) the successor of the Louisa Railroad which obtained its charter in 1836. The Virginia Central received its charter under the influence of a state policy to link Chesapeake Bay and the Ohio river by a railway and construction was prosecuted by state appropriations until 1861 when the line was in operation to Jackson's river (ten miles east of Covington). It was operated to Covington in 1867. Work on the Covington and Ohio, abandoned in 1861, was resumed in 1868 under charters of incorporation secured from the legislatures of both Virginia and West Virginia in 1865 and under later acts of 1867 which conferred additional privileges. Commissioners appointed by the two states [1] to cooperate in enlisting the interest of capitalists and the early completion of the road experienced great difficulty in securing the financial aid necessary to meet the heavy expense of construction. In August, 1868, they finally contracted with the Virginia Central railway company which undertook the construction. Under this arrangement the name of the road was changed to the Chesapeake and Ohio. Its president, General William C. Wickham, succeeded in attracting the interest of Collis P. Huntington and his associates, who in November, 1869, made contracts which ensured the successful completion of the road.

On June 9, 1870, the new road acquired from Virginia the title to the Blue Ridge Railroad which Virginia had constructed through the mountains.

The new road was aided by the state through an act of 1868, which authorized townships to hold special elections to determine whether they would purchase stock. It also received aid from the sale of public land. The policy of the state to aid the road created much opposition to which railroad men actively replied.

To leading citizens of Monroe, familiar with the topography of Monroe, it seemed rather strange that the Chesapeake and Ohio should have chosen the difficult route between Callaghan and Ronceverte, requiring long tunnels and heavy cuts and fills, while from Covington to Peterstown there is one continuous valley. Had the watergaps through which Second creek escapes been followed, the economic consequence to Monroe county would have been striking. Sweet Springs, Salt Sulphur and Red Sulphur would have become prominent by their nearness to the railroad.[2] Apparently the influence of White Sulphur and Lewis-

[1] The commissioners of Virginia were John B. Baldwin, George W. Bolling, Thomas S. Flournoy and William J. Robertson. The commissioners of West Virginia were James Burley, E. D. Ramsdell, Joel McPherson and John S. Cunningham.

[2] In 1889 there was an agitation for a second C. & O. line on the Monroe survey, which would have been equivalent to a double track similar to the double lines between Clifton Forge and Richmond. It was urged that the Big Bend tunnel could not admit a second track. In 1904, a paper railroad, called the "Monroe Central," was much discussed.

burg was the double magnet that drew the road into its more difficult course.

The first line surveyed for the main line of the railway was through Keeney's Knobs from Alderson, down Lick Creek to its mouth, but it was abandoned and the present route secured. The principal rights-of-way from the land owners were secured by Robert F. Dennis, a lawyer of Lewisburg. Comparatively few of the rights-of-way were condemned. Mr. Huntington purchased, about the time he was securing right-of-way, or soon after, the land on which Hinton is built from Rufus Pack, administrator of the estate of Isaac Ballangee, in the name of the railway company, and later organized the Central Land Company and transferred the land to that company. He did the same at Huntington, purchasing the real estate upon which that city is built, and transferring it to the Central Land Company, of which he was the president until his death. Immediately after the location of the line of the railroad, the excavations for the round-house at Hinton were begun by Alexander Atkinson, an Irish-American contractor.

Morton in his History of Monroe county states that the decision to construct the road from Covington to the Ohio was partly due to General Echols who resided at Staunton after the close of the Civil war and who induced C. P. Huntington to ride horseback with him over the proposed route in order to convince him of its practicability.

In the *Greenbrier Independent* in 1872 appeared articles opposing the road on the ground that it carried whiskey, killed chickens and cows, scared the horses, and threw teamsters out of employment.

Construction westward to Huntington was pushed vigorously. From 1869 to 1873 engineering corps and contractors were busy in the Alleghenies, in the Greenbrier valley, along the canyons of New river and the bottom lands of the Kanawha, and across Teay's valley until continuous rails completed the new link between East and West. The full story of the work done would tell of the hardships and dangers bravely borne, and of the faith and patience of skill and intelligence.

The materials for construction were brought over land in wagons or down the Greenbrier river in bateaux. The labor used in construction was largely furnished by colored laborers from Virginia. The employees for several years were principally Virginians. The Big Bend tunnel (located a half mile west of Talcott Station) which was completed early in 1872, was constructed by William R. Johnson, a Virginia contractor, at an immense cost. Several shafts were drilled from the top to the level of the grade so that forces could work in each direction.

On January 29, 1873, the last spike was driven on the New river bridge at Hawk's Nest, and the special Richmond train of President Wickham proceeded westward to Charleston and to Huntington. At Charleston the event was celebrated by appropriate display of speeches terminating in a great display of fireworks. At Huntington the union of opposing waters by bands of steel was celebrated by pouring into the Ohio a barrel of James river water brought from Richmond. The President in his speech emphasized four great advantages of the road: (1) shortness of route between the Ohio and Norfolk harbor; (2) its easy grade and reduced number of curves; (3) the mild climate along the route; (4) the short distance of its Huntington terminus from Cincinnati.

The service of the road for several years was very inefficient and the tonnage very light. Only local passenger trains, and only a few freight trains were operated. Mails were not carried for some time. The first engines were fired with cordwood. L. S. Alley, one of the first locomotive engineers who made the trip on the road, was born in Prince George county, Virginia, in 1832 and served on the eastern end of the road (east of Jackson river) as early as 1852. During the war he ran an engine between Jackson river and Staunton. His first trip west of White Sulphur Springs in the Allegheny mountains was in the latter part of 1873. The first telegraph operator at Hinton was a man by the name of Robert Baird, who had his office in a box car, and used the old-style telegraph instrument. The first passenger depot there was a one-story frame building (immediately opposite the Hinton ferry) which was converted into a freight depot in 1900.

The construction of the railroad resulted in the settlement of a number of Irish families in the communities along the route. Among these was Thomas Hurley, a native of Cork County, Ireland, who married Catherine Lawler, and reared a family on the mountain above Elton in Summers County. Other Irish settlers of the neighboring region were James Hurley, who located near the top of Keeney's Knob, and Patrick O'Leary, who located in the same neighborhood. Another was Richard Twohig, who had emigrated from Ireland to Rockingham County in 1850, and after aiding in the construction of the railroad resided in Greenbrier County. Others were Patrick Conly, Terrence Foley, Edward McGuire and Mr. Florence Donohue, who settled in the same region. About 1876 the Irish settlers of Summers County built for Catholic worship a log church which was later abandoned for a frame building.

The completion of the railroad soon resulted in the abandonment of tolls (about 1875) on the old James river and Kanawha turnpike—which thereafter was used as a public road.

To secure heavier tonnage the railroad corporation early offered inducements for the establishment of enterprises along the line. Among the immediate industrial influences of the new railroad was the impetus given to the timber and lumber industry along the entire region of the route. Activity in the stave business appeared first. Along the New river many buyers of staves or stave timber arrived to encourage the business. Among the earliest was Theodore Arter of Cleveland, Ohio, a representative of the Standard Oil Company, who by 1875 established at Hinton headquarters for purchase and shipment of staves for oil barrels. In the early days Captain Thomas Quinn, an Irish boatman, floated large quantities of staves and lumber down the New river in bateaux. Among the earliest lumbermen in this region were Robert Elliot (a native of Canada), W. R. Johnson (a Pennsylvanian), James Allen Graham and his brothers, B. F. Hall (of Ohio), Owen Bearse, Jr. (of Massachusetts), B. B. Burks (of Kentucky), Sam Smith (of Ohio), John P. Mills (of New York) and Daniel F. Mohler. Burks began operations on Tallery Mountain at the mouth of Bluestone as early as 1873. Bearse's firm began business on Lick creek and at one time owned all of North Alderson which they converted into town lots. Hall and Bearse did a large business at Meadow creek, up which they built a tramway, but they finally failed. Mills built below the Hinton ferry a large steam mill and a handsome residence which were damaged by the flood of 1878. Mohler, one of the first to operate on a large scale, located at the mouth of Griffith's creek about 1880. Smith, the first to engage in the walnut timber business, began his purchases by 1874, but failed in business.

Those who undertook the risks and inconveniences and hardships of that period deserved large profits. Some sacrificed the pleasures and conveniences of established homes in towns and cities of the East in order to start enterprise in the wilderness.

About 1874 or 1875 William R. Taylor of Philadelphia bought the old Cabell place in the Big Meadows, Greenbrier County, and upon it erected a very large steam sawmill and grist-mill with a church in the roof, and also a large store building and a modern barn which he filled with a fine stock of horses. He was a pioneer in other developments in the neighborhood. A few years later, however, each of his buildings was burned to the ground and Mr. Taylor abandoned the country, sold his land, and removed his family to Philadelphia. Neighborhood gossip attributed the destruction of the buildings to his wife who did not desire to live in the region and wished to induce her husband to return to Philadelphia.

Among the later successful lumbermen of that region was T. H. Lilly who opened business at Hinton by 1901 and organized the Lilly Lumber Company. The Commonwealth Lumber Company, a corporation composed of Pennsylvania capitalists, constructed a bridge across the Greenbrier at the mouth of Griffith's creek, built a broad gauged lumber railroad to the top of Keeney's Knob and built up a village of fifty houses near the site of the old fort.

An immense amount of timber was floated down the Greenbrier river by the St. Lawrence Boom and Manufacturing company and other companies. Within twenty-five years the walnut and cherry was largely taken out by rafting, even from points on the upper Greenbrier above Marlinton. This rafting became an important industry at flood

periods in the river. There were a number of skillful pilots who with a raft of 50,000 feet of lumber could thread their way between the rocks of the swift river.

By 1910, the timber business was about terminated in the immediate vicinity of the main line of the railway in the region of Summers and Greenbrier counties. The most valuable forests had been largely cut and removed.

The earlier success of the railroad was restricted both by loose methods of management and the provincial prejudices of many people residing along the route—some of whom had originally worked on the road. The company charged high freight rates for slow transportation, and at the same time conductors, baggage men and other subordinate officials in some instances managed to secure free transportation for county produce which they purchased for almost nothing and sold at good prices at Richmond and other eastern points. Various people inscrutable and mysteriously peculiar or jealously prejudiced objected to the collection of fares or at least objected to paying their fares in money. Some seemed to regard the railroad as the visible representative of a magic fund of wealth upon which the people should draw as heavily as possible at every opportunity.

To maintain telegraphic connections at first was rendered difficult by the depredations of the natives who cut the wires and appropriated them for domestic purposes.

The later effect of the road may be traced in the increasing price of the land, the rise of many new industries, and the changed character of the population. Speculators and promoters promptly arrived to survey the resources of the country and to prepare for the new era of greater activity in opening the wealth which had so long remained dormant. Many who came to work on the railroad or in some resulting industry later married or sent for families left behind, bought a small farm along the route of the railroad, or contributed to the growth of new towns. The mingling of newcomers from many older communities was conducive to the formation of new ideas and the stimulation of a larger and more vigorous life.

On November 1, 1873, the Chesapeake and Ohio found itself unable to meet the interest on its mortgage bonds. On October 9, 1875, after strenuous efforts to effect a settlement with the creditors, the road passed into the hands of a receiver appointed by the United States circuit court. After a sharp litigation, on January 21, 1879, it passed to another receiver, General Wickham, appointed by the state courts of Virginia and West Virginia and by him on July 1, 1878, it was sold and conveyed to C. P. Huntington and others by a scheme of reorganization which simply allowed time for further development of the business of the road without any diminution of the bonded indebtedness.

In 1880 the road was extended from Richmond to a more satisfactory terminal at Newport News, and westward from Huntington to the Big Sandy and across the bridge, thus connecting with the Elizabethtown, Lexington & Big Sandy Railroad. In the same year the fare was reduced from five cents to three and one-half cents per mile.

Unable to meet the heavy fixed charges provided in the plan of reorganization, on June 15, 1886, the road was leased to the Newport News and Mississippi Valley Company with hope of greater returns. After the annulment of this lease, and as a result of suits brought by Mr. Huntington to recover advances of money, the road again passed to the receivership of General Wickham and in September, 1888, it was reorganized through the cooperation of the powerful house of Drexel, Morgan & Co. and placed under control of M. E. Ingalls, who was also president of the "Big Four" system. In 1889, under charge of H. E. Huntington the line was finished to Cincinnati.

Meantime various improvements on the line had been begun at considerable expense. Among these was the arching and ventilation of the Big Bend tunnel. This tunnel was originally arched with wooden timbers, which becoming decayed, were condemned by the county

authorities under the direction of Elbert Fowler, the prosecuting attorney. A short time before Mr. Fowler retired from the office of prosecuting attorney a crew on a freight train was caught in the tunnel by the falling of rotten timbers from the arch, and a number were killed and crippled. Through Fowler's initiation, a coroner's inquest was held, the tunnel was condemned, and the railroad company was held responsible. Finally, the railroad company was induced to begin work on a brick arch which was completed after more than ten years (in 1897), the construction being managed without interfering with the transportation of the road and without interruption of trains, exception temporary delays from occasional falls of debris. Apparently Mr. Fowler's activities in compelling the company to arch the tunnel, aroused the antagonism of railroad officials, who especially opposed him in his last race for prosecuting attorney.[3] With the increased number of trains passing through the tunnel the density of the smoke increased until the fumes therefrom became almost unbearable and even destructive to human life. After public sentiment had been aroused by the danger to employees and to passengers, the railroad company finally undertook the work of installing fans which after a year or two were placed in complete operation, resulting in safety of passage through the tunnel. Other improvements which followed were the substitution of stone abutments and iron superstructures for the large wooden trestles originally constructed over ravines and creeks, and the erection of a better bridge across the Greenbrier at Lowell and the enlargement of the yards at Hinton and other points.

To meet the demands for extension and increasing traffic exacted high intelligence and forethought and much outlay of money. The entire road was gradually relaid with heavier rails and furnished with the most modern equipment. From a single track line laid with light rail upon a road bed unfit for modern traffic, the road grew into a double-tracked well-equipped line with grades and curves much reduced by changes in alignment.

In 1914 the road bed was double-tracked from Clifton Forge, Virginia to Cincinnati with the exception of a few short sections in tunnels and along the gorge of New river from Cotton Hill to Gauley Junction.

To avoid expensive litigation resulting from accidents which were quite frequent for fifteen years after the completion of the road, the company finally inaugurated the block system. In 1908 it obtained connection with Chicago by acquiring a road through Indiana via Indianapolis.

From a line battling for its corporate existence before 1890, it later, under the presidency of George W. Stevens and his successor, W. J. Harahan, became a legitimate competitor of the other great trans-Allegheny carriers. From 1890 to 1909 the mileage increased from 215 to 600, the number of locomotives from 237 to 672, the number of freight cars from 9,707 to 35,700 of larger capacity, the number of passenger cars from 155 to 300, the total annual tonnage from 3,760,577 to 18,511,362, the annual coal shipment to seaboard from 682,551 tons to 4,800,000 tons, the total coal tonnage from 1,454,856 to 12,795,786 (including coke), and the total revenue from $7,161,949 to $26,630,717.

From 1890 to 1920 the size of the heaviest rails increased from 75 pounds to 100 and 130 pounds, the number of locomotives from 237 to 946, the number of freight cars from 9,707 to 52,394 (of largely increased capacity), the number of passenger cars from 155 to 400, the

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[3] Mr. Fowler was killed at Hinton in 1885 by an attorney named J. S. Thompson. He was engaged in a number of enterprises in the region about the vicinity of Hinton. One of these enterprises was the proposed construction of a branch of the Norfolk and Western Railway from the mouth of East River in Giles County, down New River to Hinton. He was also a promoter of the New River Railroad and Mining Company which proposed a railroad up New River. He was also a promoter of the Hinton Steamboat Company which proposed to navigate New River east of Hinton.

total annual tonnage from 3,760,577 to 40,838,116, the total revenue from $7,161,939 to $90,524,184.

From 1910 to 1920 the railroad's first track mileage in West Virginia increased from 630 miles to 802 miles; the number of coal mines on its West Virginia lines from 115 to 520; the total coal production at these mines from 15,073,000 to 28,625,000; and the coke production from 467,740 to 614,755. The comparatively small increase in coke production is due to the by-products arrangements which are largely superseding the bee hive ovens as coke producers. The recent increase in passenger traffic along the line of the C. & O. is reflected in the following comparative statement of the number of passengers from its largest stations in West Virginia for 1910 and for 1920.

	1910 Passengers	1920 Passengers	Per Cent Increase
Huntington	149,654	294,434	98
Charleston	172,291	295,913	71
Hinton	55,118	87,957	60
Ronceverte	47,851	62,075	30
White Sulphur	11,907	31,980	168

Along the main line of the new railway, new towns vigorously sprang into existence.

White Sulphur Springs, at the eastern border of the state, recognized new opportunities to become a greater health resort.

A few miles farther west, the site of a new town was partly determined by the needs of the old county seat of Lewisburg which was located several miles from the railway route.

From a village of three houses which owed its birth to the construction of the railroad, Ronceverte evolved into a good business town. Its growth was largely determined by its timber industries, its convenient access to a good agricultural region and its location at the junction of the later Greenbrier branch line.

In 1872 on the site of Ronceverte stood only one or two farm houses and a grist mill. Soon thereafter Colonel C. C. Clay began the lumber industry, which finally culminated in the formation of the St. Lawrence Boom and Manufacturing Company (of Pennsylvania and Maryland capitalists) which built at Ronceverte one of the largest mills in the state, opened large timber holdings in Pocahontas. The timber industry continued to be a factor in the life of the town until September 1908 when the last log was cut and the mill closed. In 1882 the town was incorporated. In 1888 the first bank was opened. In 1889, a steam fire engine was installed and a voluntary fire department was organized. In 1892, an electric light plant was installed. In 1900 coincident with the opening of the Greenbrier division of the C. & O. a second bank began business. In 1903, the city reservoir and water system was installed. In 1907 the electric railway connecting Lewisburg and Ronceverte was completed. In 1909 a new charter was obtained and in 1911-12 the streets were paved.

Hinton was built on land purchased by Mr. Huntington who later transferred it to the Central Land Company which he organized and of which he was president. Its growth was influenced by its selection as the end of the Huntington division, and the headquarters superintendent and operative and office forces of the division since the construction of the road.

The town of Hinton, which includes two separate municipal governments (Hinton and Avis) was largely a result of the railroad. Its growth began in 1872 with the arrival of the first train of flat cars carrying material for construction of the railway. Within nine months it increased from a single log hut to a town of 300 inhabitants.

In 1871, when Summers county was formed, there were but two houses within the corporate limits of the two corporations, Hinton and Avis. One was the old "Jack" Hinton residence built of hewed logs near the railroad crossing at the foot of the hill in Avis; the other, known as the Ballangee residence, was in the center of the yard near the round-house. The Hinton homestead was occupied as a boarding house for a number of years after the completion of the railroad. It was an old two-story log house, with an old fashioned stone chimney, large fire-places covered with shingles, and the kitchen at the end of the "big house." It was

finally torn down by the railroad company to make room for its double track. The Ballangee house was also of hewed logs, the "big house" was two stories and the kitchen one story. There was a double porch fronting the mountain. This house was used by the railroad company for round-house, offices, and storage place for junk and rubbish for many years, but in the construction of the new yard tracks about 1898 or 1900 it was pulled down.

The Isaac Ballangee tract, on which the city of Hinton stands, was owned by the heirs of Isaac Ballangee, and consisted of 165 acres. Rufus Pack, guardian of some of the heirs, who were infants at the time the railroad was projected, took proceedings in the circuit court of Summers county to secure a decree for sale, by which the title was conveyed to the Chesapeake & Ohio Railroad Company, in consideration of the sum of $3,500. Afterwards the Chesapeake & Ohio Railroad Company conveyed all the property except what it desired for railroad purposes, and some five lots on which it had built tenement buildings, to the Central Land Company of West Virginia, a corporation of which C. P. Huntington, the promoter and builder of the Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad was the President, and continued in ownership until the company was placed in the hands of a receiver of the United States Court for West Virginia, who continued to sell lots and exercise dominion over the property until the death of C. P. Huntington, in 1903, when the remaining unsold portions, about 80 acres mostly hill land, were sold to William Plumley, Jr., and E. H. Peck of Hinton for $11,000.

The territory now included in the boundaries of the city of Hinton was laid off into town lots and a map made thereof in 1873. Stones were placed at the corner of each street, and corner lots were sold for $300, while inside lots brought $250 each. The first buildings erected in the town were principally on Front Street. The site of the present court house and all the flat remained an open common and was used as a pasture for cows, hogs and horses. The first business and residence building on the flat was that of John N. Carden opposite the court house in which he established the Hotchkiss House, which he ran as a hotel for a number of years. The next building was on the corner of Second Avenue and Ballangee Street, near the court house square. It was built by Carl Fredeking and used by him for mercantile business.

Another one of the early buildings was a one-story two-room frame built by B. L. Hoge, directly after the flood of 1878, near the present brick Methodist church. Another of the earliest buildings was the old Thespian Hall, built in what was known as Middle Hinton. This building was used for some time in connection with an amateur theatrical venture by which home talent furnished the actors and amusements for the town, but not being well supported financially the venture failed and the building was torn down. The first brick house in Hinton was built by John Finn on the corner of Third and Summers streets in 1874. The building was later owned by the city and used as an administration building.

W. C. Ridgeway, early in the history of the town built what was at that time considered a modern hotel on the corner of Third and Front streets, a corner now known as "Scrapper's Corner." The upper town was building up more rapidly than the lower until the great flood of 1878, which practically destroyed the upper part of the town. Seventeen houses were washed away, a great deal of real and personal property destroyed, but no lives lost.

The Bank of Hinton, established in 1887, was the first bank in the town, it has since (1900) been converted into the First National Bank of Hinton. The second bank established was the Bank of Summers which opened for business in 1895. The Citizens Bank is the youngest banking institution in the county and was founded in Hinton in 1905.

In 1878 several enterprising citizens of Hinton undertook the building of a steamboat by popular subscription. The project was launched by an excursion from Hinton to Bluestone and the necessary money subscribed. The boat "Cecilia" was built in 1878 and made a few trips between Hinton and Bull Falls, but it proved to be too large for the rough waters of the New, and the enterprise failed.

The Hinton Circuit of the Methodist Episcopal Church was formed in 1872 as part of the Baltimore Conference. Services were held in an old frame public school building situated where Dr. Holley's hospital now stands until 1876 when the First Baptist Church was erected. This church building was used jointly by the Methodist with the other denominations until the First Methodist Church was built in 1880. The corner stone for the First Methodist Episcopal Church South, was laid in December, 1876. The Presbyterian Church of Hinton was organized in June, 1874, but owned no church property for some time. The services were held once a month in the building of the First Baptist Church. The St. Patrick's Church, organized organized April 25, 1874, by Father D. P. Walsh, secured a deed for their lot from the C. & O. Railroad on May 26, 1874, and in 1878 erected a one-story frame church building which was occupied by the congregation until 1898 when a new modern brick church was erected.

In 1879 an effort was made to incorporate the two towns, Hinton and Avis, as one. The town of Avis was so bitterly opposed that incorporation was voted down, but Hinton (the lower town) proceeded at once to vote for incorporation as the "Town of Hinton" and was so incorporated in September, 1880. Ten years later, Avis became convinced that it should be an incorporated town and in 1890 was incorporated as "Upper Hinton." The two towns remained separate until 1897 when, for political reasons, they were united by a special legislative charter under the title of the "City of Hinton." This union, however, did not prove

satisfactory to the politicians who, therefore, proceeded to secure an act of the legislature of 1899 which established Hinton as a separate corporation and left Upper Hinton without a municipal government. Soon, the upper town was again separately corporated under the name of Avis and so continued. At an election held on May 2, 1919, a charter bill of the legislature, consolidating the three towns of Hinton, Avis and Bellpoint, was adopted.

There have been many interesting features in local politics throughout the history of Hinton. For many years the Chesapeake & Ohio Railroad was a large influence in city politics. The principal trouble in elections for several years was the use of illegal negro voters brought in for the purpose; an influence of this character occurred in the general election of 1902. At this election a number of negro laborers, complete strangers in the community, came to the First Ward polls to vote late in the evening. Their votes were challenged and refused, but a mandamus was secured from Judge McWhorter of the circuit court, and under this preemptory mandamus the ballots went into the box. The negroes were arrested at once, but obtained bail and were never seen in Hinton again.

Hinton and Avis were without water service until 1890 when the Hinton Water Works Company, composed of enterprising citizens, put in a first class system of water works for both towns. In 1901 this water company purchased from Dr. Peck and Mr. Starbuck their electric light plant with which they had several years earlier displaced the old fashioned kerosene street lights. In 1904 this local company sold both the water works and the light plant to a company whose stockholders resided in Wilkesbarre, Pennsylvania. At the end of five years this company had never declared a dividend on the stock. This company in 1909 sold to another company composed entirely of local men, which continued to operate it thereafter. The sewage system was established at a bonded endebtedness to the town of $10,000.

A factor in the improvement of the town was the bridge planned across New River from Temple street to the mouth of Madam's creek, incorporated by the Hinton Toll Bridge Company in 1905, and completed only after considerable delay.

In 1907, the post-office at Hinton distributed mail to 7.000, including six country postal routes. Hinton is the center for a large surrounding country, twelve public roads centering there. In 1907, the bank deposits at Hinton were about $1,000,000. In 1907. Hinton had three weekly newspapers and two dailies. The McCreery hotel, built in 1907, was constructed by local capital and is thoroughly modern and complete in its appointments.

The population which was 3.763 in 1900 decreased to 3 656 in 1910 and increased to 3.912 in 1920. In 1916 it had 8 churches, 4 hotels. 3 banks, 2 theaters, 3 public schools, 2 daily newspapers, 2 weekly newspapers. Its principal industry was the manufacture of lumber. There are two mills in operation.

The estimated population of Hinton and Avis in 1918 was 6,000. The population of Avis increased from 1,432 in 1910 to 3,912 in 1920.

The development in Fayette county is reflected in the incorporation of the following towns. Fayetteville, 1883; Montgomery, 1890; Ansted, 1891; Mt. Hope, 1895; Powellton, 1897; Glen Jean, 1898; Scarboro, 1901; Thurmond, 1903; Oak Hill, 1903; Kilsyth, 1903; Macdonald, 1904 and Stuart, 1906. Of these Montgomery, a shipping center for twenty-six coal operations, is the largest town. Until 1890 the station was called Cannelton which at the completion of the railroad was the name of the post office on the opposite side of the river. From 1876 the town was called Coal Valley Post Office, through the influence of the Coal Valley Coal Company which began to operate a coal mine there, platted the town and changed the name from Montgomery's Landing to Coal Valley. The number of stores in the town increased to four or five by 1880, but the rapid growth did not begin until about 1895. The later growth was influenced by the construction of the Kanawha and Michigan on the opposite side of the river, the erection of the new bridges across the river, and the connection of the Virginia Railway with the Chesapeake and Ohio. Its future is assured by vast tracts of neighboring coal land still undeveloped, including a tract of 10,000 acres belonging to the C. P. Huntington estate.

The proposition to relocate the county seat at Montgomery was submitted to the voters in 1892 and rejected by a vote of 1,894 against 2,357.

Mount Hope, around which mines opened in rapid succession after the opening of the Loup Creek Branch, was incorporated as a town in 1895, and had attained a population of about 1.200 persons on March 24, 1910, when a disastrous fire left it a mass of blackened ruins, the loss aggregating one-half million dollars with only one hundred and sixty thousand dollars insurance, and fully 1,000 persons rendered homeless. It revived quickly, however, and new houses of brick

and stone with much better fire-proof construction largely replaced those that had been destroyed.

Ansted, two miles from the main line of the Chesapeake and Ohio, began its progressive history in 1873 with the organization of the Gauley-Kanawha Coal Company which acquired lands through the agency of Col. G. W. Imboden and completed a narrow gauge railroad, later (1889) converted into a broad gauge.

Thurmond, located at the mouth of Dun Loup creek at the junction of the Loup creek branch of the Chesapeake & Ohio, where a mountain side was cut away to make a train yards for the hundreds of cars of coal that arrive daily from the mines along the branch. Through it in 1910 the road secured nearly one-fifth of its entire revenues and about 45 per cent of the earnings of the Hinton division. It handled in that year 4,283,641 tons of freight producing a revenue of $4,824,911.49.

The growth of Glen Jean resulted largely from its location at the junction of the Chesapeake and Ohio, the Kanawha, Glen Jean and Eastern, and the White Oak railways.

In relation to the railroad, Charleston had the disadvantage of location across the unbridged Kanawha, which, according to the *Wheeling Intelligencer,* had "the poorest excuse of a ferry that was ever allowed to cross a stream," The *Intelligencer,* referring to the uncertainties of the ferry, predicted that the town, whose facilities for modern travel were restricted to a "John boat" controlled by a lazy oarsboy impervious to the appeals and signals of beckoning passengers, would become a mere "Switchville." In this forecast, the oracle of Wheeling was mistaken.

Charleston rose on field and swamp and soon became the state capital. In 1892 it secured improved facilities of access to the railway station by the erection of a toll-bridge under the auspices of a private corporation. Its later growth was assured by its location in the center of a region of unexploited wealth of timber and minerals and by its selection as the permanent seat of the state government. Naturally it became a center of banking, wholesale mercantile business, and industrial manufacturing plants. Its recent development was also influenced by improvements in river navigation and by increased facilities of railway connection with the northwest, northeast and southeast.

Charleston was incorporated as a city in 1861. Its first brick street paving was begun in 1870 by Dr. John P. Hale on Capital street, and its first gas lights appeared in 1871. In 1871 the names of streets, which had been much confused, were reconstructed and recorded. In the same year the first steam ferry across the Kanawha was established. In 1872 the temporary capitol building was completed, and the West Virginia legislature first met in Charleston. In the same year the first wholesale grocery of Charleston was established by Ruby and Hale. Two years later the first wholesale dry goods house was opened by Jekenko Brothers. The first wholesale hardware store was opened in 1875, the first wholesale liquor house in 1876, and the first wholesale shoe house in 1877. In 1873, coincident with the opening of the C. & O. for travel, the improvement of navigation on the Kanawha was begun by the United States government.

In 1875, the slowly growing town encountered a disappointment in the removal of the capital to Wheeling by act of the legislature—an act largely due to lack of adequate communication and hotel facilities at Charleston, and special inducements offered by Wheeling. On the 18th of January, 1875—five days after the session began—Hon. Jonathan M. Bennett, of Lewis county, a senator from the Ninth Senatorial District, introduced "Senate Bill No. 29," entitled "A Bill to remove the seat of Government temporarily to Wheeling." On February 13, this passed the Senate by a vote of thirteen yeas, to eleven nays. It was reported to the House of Delegates the same day, and five days later, passed that body, the vote standing thirty-eight yeas and twenty nays. Although Governor Jacob did not approve this act, it became a law on February 20 without his signature. This act was as follows:

"*Whereas,* Henry K. List, Michael Reilly, John McLure, Geo. W. Franzheim and Simon Horkheimer, citizens of Wheeling, have agreed to furnish the State, without cost thereto, suitable accommodations, in said city for the legislative, executive and judicial departments of the State, including the state library, should the seat of government of the State be removed temporarily to said city; and

Whereas, It appears to the legislature that the capital of the State should be located at a more accessible and convenient point; therefore,

Be it enacted by the Legislature of West Virginia. That on and after the passage of this act, until hereafter otherwise provided by the law, the seat of government of the State of West Virginia shall be at the city of Wheeling.''

The date of the removal was fixed for May 21. The people at Wheeling energetically proceeded to erect a new capitol building. A Capitol Committee was appointed, Captain John McClure being its Chairman. On March 17 ensuing, the city council adopted an ordinance providing for an issue of city bonds to the amount of $100,000.00, the proceeds to be used for the erection of a public building. This ordinance was approved by a vote of the people in April, following. The bonds were issued and put on the market. Bids aggregating $429,000.00 were made for them, and all were sold above par on July 19. The purchasers being:

John J. Brown of Morgantown, West Virginia	$20,000.00
Exchange Bank of Wheeling, West Virginia	60,000.00
Bank of Wheeling, West Virginia	15,000.00
Kingwood National Bank, Kingwood, West Virginia	5,000.00

On September 4, the foundation of the new building was completed. Meantime, Charleston decided to test the constitutionality of the act providing for the removal. On March 30, sixty days before the day set for the removal, John Slack, Sr., John T. Cotton, Edward C. Stolle, John C. Ruby, John T. White, Alexander H. Wilson, and Gustave Stolle, representing the interests of Charleston, applied to Evermont Ward, Judge of the Ninth Judicial District, for an injunction restraining the State officials from removing the State Archives and other public property from Charleston to Wheeling or elsewhere. The applicants having entered into bond under the penalty of $5,000.00, the injunction was granted. Thus began, what proved to be in some respects at least most remarkeble legal proceedings.

On May 18, John L. Cole, the State Librarian, appeared in the Circuit Court of Kanawha County, and asked that the injunction be dissolved. James H. Ferguson and William A. Quarrier, made able arguments in favor of its perpetuation. Joseph Smith, the presiding Judge, ordered the injunction dissolved, but suspended his decree until May 27 so that the plaintiffs could apply to the supreme court for an appeal. On May 20, an appeal was granted by Judge Charles P. T. Moore at Point Pleasant.

Meantime, on April 24, Governor John J. Jacob issued a notice to the Auditor and all other heads of Departments to have the archives and paraphernalia of their offices ready for shipment to Wheeling on May 21, and he employed carpenters to make boxes for packing the archives, and draymen to convey them to the wharf boat. These laborers, arrested under complaint of the plaintiffs, were taken into court, where they were held to answer the charge of violating the terms of the injunction. Writs were also served upon the State officials all of whom made answer except Governor Jacob who gave the matter no attention, and he was not arrested.

On May 12, the City Council of Wheeling appropriated $1,500.00 to defray the expenses of the removal. The steamer ''Emma Graham,'' one of the most popular passenger packets on the Ohio, was chartered at a cost of $1,000.00 to transport the officials and State property from Charleston. At the appointed time she steamed up the Great Kanawha and arrived at the landing at Charleston on May 21. Captain John McClure, Chairman of the Wheeling Removal Committee, hastened to notify the government of the presence and purpose of the steamer. After all the state officials had boarded her and selected their quarters, the steamer departed, leaving all the public property behind in the custody of Judge Smith. At Parkersburg all passengers were transferred to the steamer ''Chesapeake,'' bound for Wheeling. Near Sistersville, the boat received an escort Committee composed of twenty gentlemen from Wheeling, who had descended the river on the steamer ''Hudson'' to conduct the State officials to the new capital city.

On May 23, the state officials arrived at Wheeling and on the morning of May 24 established their offices in the Linsly Institute buildings to await the decision of the supreme court of appeals (consisting of three judges)—Alpheus F. Haymond, John S. Hoffman and Charles P. T. Moore.

Following the decision of September 13, dissolving the injunction, the archives and other property of the state government was boxed at Charleston, and forwarded to Wheeling on two barges towed by the steamer ''Iron City.'' Three days after their arrival at Wheeling, Governor Jacobs issued a proclamation declaring Wheeling to be the capital. On November 10, the legislature met in Washington Hall. Over a year later, on December 4, 1876, the government occupied the new capitol building.

Charleston did not lose hope. The people were weary of a ''capital on steamers.'' On January 16, 1877, Peregrine Hays of Gilmer county submitted in the house a bill providing for the location of a permanent capital and erection of necessary public buildings. This bill, approved by the house on February 5 by a vote of 40 to 16 and by the senate on February 19 by a vote of 12 to 9, submitted the question of location to a vote of the people by an election which was held in August, 1877. In the spirited triangular contest between Charleston, Wheeling and Martinsburg, Charleston received a majority of the votes—by which under the provisions of the bill she became the permanent capital eight years later on May 1, 1885. The vote by counties was as follows:

COUNTIES	Clarksburg	Martinsburg	Charleston	COUNTIES	Clarksburg	Martinsburg	Charleston
Barbour	1,415	4	4	Mineral	561	160	155
Berkeley	48	3,569	1	Monongalia	1,188	4	626
Boone	.....	.....	960	Monroe	8	7	1,404
Braxton	293	11	951	Morgan	40	573	5
Brooke	656	40	34	Nicholas	15	.....	965
Cabell	6	.....	1,832	Ohio	2,165	1,193	218
Calhoun	160	2	587	Pendleton	189	146	280
Clay	.....	.....	479	Pleasants	446	8	93
Doddridge	1,587	2	39	Pocahontas	259	.....	241
Fayette	.....	.....	1,760	Preston	1,798	32	42
Gilmer	653	1	225	Putnam	5	.....	1,654
Grant	310	87	116	Raleigh	2	.....	1,034
Greenbrier	5	.....	1,902	Randolph	859	2	31
Hampshire	160	149	573	Ritchie	1,572	2	145
Hancock	414	8	95	Roane	2	.....	1,995
Hardy	226	187	594	Summers	3	1	1,410
Harrison	3,875	.....	13	Taylor	1,086	172	141
Jackson	68	1	2,169	Tucker	363	1	6
Jefferson	41	1,340	328	Tyler*	.....	.....	.....
Kanawha	42	2	6,140	Upshur	843	60	163
Lewis	1,426	29	261	Wayne	2	1	2,011
Lincoln	.....	.....	1,167	Webster	79	.....	362
Logan	1	1	885	Wetzel	1,226	2	51
McDowell	.....	.....	308	Wirt	238	24	612
Marion	2,431	12	140	Wood	1,253	186	1,302
Marshall	1,473	23	206	Wyoming	2	.....	566
Mason	18	3	3,004				
Mercer	.....	.....	1,017	Totals	29,942	8,046	41,243

*No return.

Prompt steps were taken to select a capitol site and to erect a capitol building thereon. For this purpose the legislature appropriated $50,000 and authorized the Board of Public Works to receive donations of land or money to supplement it. On August 13, 1878, the old State House Company donated the old capitol building which had been erected in 1870, and also the grounds. The old building was demolished and on its site a new one was begun by A. H. Sheppard of Meadville, Pennsylvania, under a contract of May 27, 1880, and finally completed (including inside decorations) by July 7, 1888, at a total cost of $389,923.58.

Early on May 2, 1885, two steamers, the "Chesapeake," carrying the state officials and their effects, and the "Bell Prince," towing a barge full of archives, left Wheeling for the new capital. Large canvas banners decorated the sides of the barge and steamers, and legends thereon informed the populace along the river that the State Capital of West Virginia was again *in transitu*. Early on Sunday, May 3, the steamer arrived in sight of Charleston. A cannon on the deck of the "Bell Prince" was fired every few seconds, and all the steamers in port kept up a continuous blowing of whistles. The entire population lined the banks of the river, thankful for the victory in securing the capital, which "shall never be removed, except by vote of the majority of the qualified voters of the State cast at an election held for that purpose, in pursuance of an Act of the Legislature."

By 1885 Charleston began to feel the stimulation of a larger life, which was marked by a series of improvements. In 1884 its desire for more convenient communication with the northwestern part of the state was partially realized by the opening of the Kanawha and Michigan railway (an eastern continuation of the Ohio Central) in 1884[4] and the completion of the Ohio River Railroad soon thereafter. In 1884 the city hall was built. In 1885 an ice plant was established. In 1886 the Charleston Water Works Company began business. In 1887 electric lights were introduced. The first street car line began to operate in 1890 with mules and changed from mule power to electric power in 1894. The old Keystone bridge, built in 1873 in the interests of the

[4] The K. & M. was extended to Gauley Bridge by 1894. In the summer of 1917, an extension of its main line from Gauley Bridge to Belva was begun with plans to connect, at the Nicholas county boundary, with the Flynn Lumber Company Railroad, an important standard gauge subsidiary begun about 1905 and now owned by the K. & M. Co., but also tributary to the C. & O. Railway at Belva.

"West End", and destroyed by ice in 1879 was rebuilt in 1886 as a free bridge. About the same time the old suspension toll bridge, constructed in 1852, was purchased and made free from toll. Better communication across the river was secured in 1891 by the opening of the new steel bridge for traffic. New evidences of improvement appeared in the opening of the Burlew Opera House in 1892 and the completion of a new stone court house in 1894.

By 1910 the city had eighty-three miles of street paving, seventy-five miles of paved sidewalks, twenty-seven miles of sewers, fourteen miles of electric street railways in operation, thirteen school buildings, thirty-eight churches, four first-class hotels and ten smaller hotels

Local transportation by trolley lines is furnished by the Charleston Interurban Railroad, which maintains fourteen miles of track within the corporate limits of the city and interurban lines sixteen miles east, on the south bank of the Great Kanawha River, to Cabin Creek Junction, and twelve miles west, on the south bank of the Great Kanawha River, to St. Albans, a city of 4,000 people. The Charleston-Dunbar Traction Company maintains about three miles of track within the city limits and (since 1914) about four miles of interurban track to Dunbar, Va., a thriving industrial town of about 3,000 population. Other suburbs housing industries tributary to Charleston are Spring Hill and Belle, Va.

The recent growth of the town is reflected by the increase of postal receipts at the city post office as indicated below:

1909	$ 93,720.00
1910	103,517.00
1911	116,663.00
1912	141,366.00
1913	150,068.00
1914	170,578.00
1915	191,930.00
1916	212,237.00
1917	267,971.69
1918	534,141.53

By 1921 there were in the Charleston District—extending from Montgomery to St. Albans—55 large manufacturing plants of various kinds, with investments aggregating $35,000,000, and employing 9,440 people. They included the following:

Steel and other metal workers, 12 plants, with capital of $5,520,000; employees, 2,550; chemical products, 8 plants, with capital of $10,375,000; employees, 2,080; electrical, 6 plants, with capital of $7,950 000; employees, 900; glass manufacturers, 9 plants, with capital of $5,800,000; employees, 2,200; wood-working mills, 5 plants, with capital of $975,000; employees. 435; other mills, 6 plants, with capital of $960,000; employees, 580; brick and clay products, 4 plants, with capital of $410,000; employees, 420; and oil and gas products, 4 plants, with capital of $3,300,000; employees, 260.

The owners of these plants chose their present locations because of the advantages of fuel, power, transportation, and the convenience of raw materials. Most of them have lately added very largely to the size of their original plants, the amount of their investment, the number of people employed, and the amount of their output.

Four of the manufacturing plants recently acquired by the Charleston District are quite notable both for their intrinsic importance and for the impetus their stamp of approval will undoubtedly give the district as an eligible location for plants of similar kind. These are the Libby-Owens Sheet Glass plant, the Owens Bottle plant, the Rollin Chemical plant, the Warner-Klipstein Chemical plant, and the Roessler-Hasslacher Chemical plant. These plants represent an investment of $14,450,000.

The Kelly Axe factory, located on the west side near the mouth of Kanawha Twomile, was established in 1905. It covers about 30 acres of land and produces more than one-half of the axes manufactured in the United States. The South Side Foundry and Machine Works, located on the south side of Kanawha river, was established in 1890. The plant of the Charles Ward Engineering Works, located on the south side of the Kanawha river near the Chesapeake & Ohio Railway depot, was established in 1873. The Kanawha Mine Car Company factory, located on the Kanawha & Michigan Railroad near the eastern end of Thompson street, was established in 1902. West Virginia Clay Products Company, located on the south side of Elk river on the Coal & Coke Railroad near the mouth of Twomile, was established in 1912. It manufactures all kinds of building bricks. Baldwin Steel Company plant, located on south side just west of the railroad bridge across the Kanawha river, was established in 1907, and reorganized in 1912 with Joseph Kreg as president and treasurer. Banner Window Glass Company plant, located in South Charleston on Eastern avenue near D street, was established in 1907. Its glass sand is shipped from Lawton, Ky., and its lime from Marble Cliff, Ohio. The Charleston Window

Glass Company plant, located on the Kanawha & Michigan Railroad near Twomile creek, was established in 1910; employs 50 skilled workmen and 90 laborers.

Charleston has a large number of wholesale houses distributing groceries, dry goods, hardware, machinery, etc. It is also a strong financial center. The following was the financial statement of the various banks of the city for April 4, 1913:

	Loans	Deposits
Kanawha Valley Bank	$1,028,730.52	$3,089,954.94
Charleston National Bank	1,031,929.21	1,770,934.53
Kanawa Banking & Trust Co.	486,935.84	1,163,692.08
Kanawha National Bank	380,055.32	1,155,229.17
Citizens National Bank	294,250.48	1,238,537.40
National City Bank	154,954.27	815,688.72
Capital City Bank	237,327.65	438,717.74
Charleston-Kanawha Trust Co.	168,637.80	272,975.14
Elk Banking Company	65,411.89	213,989.17
Peoples Exchange	42,427.14	130,456.42
Glenwood Bank	30,327.43	39,075.99
Totals	$3,920,987.55	$10,329,251.30

During the World war, Charleston was the center of a tremendous expenditure of money including more than $100,000,000, by the United States Government for the location of armor plate, projectile, gun forging and high explosive plants. The signature of the armistice in November, 1918, temporarily stopped the operation of the high explosive plant, permanently built, but on June 1, 1919, the War Department announced that it would sell this entire plant to private purchasers for operation as a manufacturing city for chemical purposes.

The sale of this plant to large chemical manufacturers greatly increases the prominence of Charleston as a chemical manufacturing center.

Charleston's increase of population for each decade of more than a century is indicated in the following table:

1778 to 1790	35
1798 to 1800	60
1805 to 1810	100
1820	500
1830	750
1840	1,200
1850	1,500
1860	1,800
1870	4 000
1880	4,500
1890	8,000
1900	11,099
1910	22,996
1920	39,846

At St. Albans the Chesapeake & Ohio Railroad Company in 1871 erected a sawmill to cut lumber for the railway which was then under construction and which later attracted the mills and factories which made St. Albans a prosperous "lumber town." Several great timber companies located up Coal river, down which they rafted their products. St. Albans was retarded in growth by the policy of the Central Land company, which, although it held lands at St. Albans, devoted all its attention to the development of Huntington. Later the preparation for a greater city was made by Grant Hall who, after purchasing the lands of the Central Land company, graded the streets and laid cement walks. These foundations were soon followed by the inauguration of a system of lighting and water-works, and more recently by other municipal improvements including trolley car connections with Charleston.

In 1900 contracts were made for the construction of the Kanawha, Pocahontas & Coal River Railway along Coal river. The charter, granted in 1896, provided for a route via the junction of Marsh and Clear forks, thence via Marsh fork to the Norfolk and Western in Mercer county. The road was constructed from St. Albans through Boone and into Lincoln counties in 1905-07. It leads to rich coal fields and lumber regions.

Huntington was planned by C. P. Huntington who, after an irritating experience at Guyandotte, was firmly convinced that his mission was to locate a new town. It was planned for orderly growth and development. It was also favored by its location [5] at a natural gateway between different regions, its excellent shipping facilities and its vicinity to a territory rich in timber and mineral wealth. Other factors in its later growth were the convenience of cheap fuel and the construction (in 1895) of the Camden Interstate Electric Railroad which connects with Ashland, Kentucky, via Kenova. The life of the town has also been influenced by the state normal school established in 1867 on the foundations of the old Marshall Academy which was first incorporated by the Virginia legislature in 1838. Its humanitarian spirit is expressed in the establishment of the Huntington State Hospital (at first known as the West Virginia Home of Incurables) by legislative act of 1897.

Mr. Huntington had the vision of a seer. He saw rising from the cornfields on the banks of the Ohio river, a magnificent city that should stand for all time, a monument to his energy and ambition. Calling to his assistance an engineer, he told him to plan a city. From this conference the engineer designed the plan for a city with broad avenues and streets, a modern city in which he eliminated the handicap of narrow, crooked streets and other inconveniences that marred older cities. Building began in 1871 and for the first few years business was confined to the river front. The first municipal government was begun in 1872 by the election of a mayor and a council. The first public school, also built in 1872, was the small beginning of the splendid school system of a half century later. The first church was a small meeting place called Holderby Chapel which later was for a time supplemented by vacant store rooms and halls. The first newspaper was *The Independent,* established in 1872 by O. G. Chase.

The industrial development of the town began with the construction of the railway shops and round house in 1872. In 1872 The Bank of Huntington, now the Huntington National Bank, was organized to aid in the growing business.[6] The banking facilities kept pace with the city. In fifty years one bank of small capital increased to nine banks with a capital of two and one-quarter million dollars and deposits of over seven million dollars show the financial growth of the banking business.

CONDITION OF HUNTINGTON BANKS DECEMBER 31, 1921

	Capital	Surplus and Undivided Profits	Loans	Deposits	Resources
Htg. Natl.	$ 700,000	$ 291,753.45	$ 5,839,195.75	$ 6,702,223.91	$ 8,436,037.36
First Natl.	1,000,000	489,297.25	5,992,668.37	5,286,164.72	8,340,461.97
Union B. & T.	225,000	78,170.28	1,391,617.59	1,406,565.49	1,780,357.97
American B. & T.	150,000	27,000.00	965,559.81	769,238.09	1,249,363.43
Htg. B. & T.	300,000	110,000.00	2,254,116.63	2,122,081.76	2,592,311.12
Ohio Valley	150,000	40,000.00	1,034,785.30	925,713.87	1,261,314.62
Twentieth St.	100,000	47,000.00	847,092.94	747,889.86	1,073,099.44
Cabell Co.	25,000	3,214.20	315,046.40	321,830.15	399,794.35
Total	$2,650,000	$1,086,435.18	$18,640,082.79	$18,281,707.85	$25,132,740.26

The growth of the town for the first fifteen years was a repetition of the struggles of all new towns, against the handicap of mud streets, board sidewalks, inadequate water supply from public wells, poor fire protection from cisterns in the streets, and (until 1880) a volunteer fire company with hand power fire engines. In this period business gradually struggled from the river front to Third Avenue. On August 2, 1880, a paid fire department was established.

In this period of struggle was born the "Huntington spirit," which makes of every resident a "booster" for his home town. By struggle and hope the town continued to grow.

The second industry of any size, started by the Ensign Manufacturing Company, was the manufacture of car wheels which began in a small way, but gradually grew—with the addition of an axle, forge and car building plant—until it became

[5] According to tradition, Henry Clay, standing on an elevation and looking west of the Guyandotte river, once prophetically said, "There is a site where a great city will be builded."

[6] The Bank of Huntington was begun with a capital of $25,000. Peter C. Buffington was president, Robert T. Oney was cashier. The directors were Peter C. Buffington, John N. Buffington, J. H. Poage, D. W. Emmons and W. H. Hagen.

the second largest employer of labor in the city, and surpassed only by the Chesapeake and Ohio shops which had grown from small beginnings to be the largest single factor in the industrial development of the city. Gradually many small plants —planing mills, blacksmith shops, machine shops, foundries and a glass factory— sprung up in different sections, and gave to the town the appearance of a live bustling manufacturing center.

In 1883 was organized the first wholesale house—a grocery, which marked the beginning of the Huntington wholesale and jobbing trade, which later covered southern Ohio, eastern Kentucky and western West Virginia. A larger wholesale grocery business was established by Harvey, Fuller and Hagen in 1887. In that year business enterprise was doubtless stimulated by the beginning of a system of water works by the Huntington Water Company under a franchise granted December, 4, 1886. In 1889 the growing town became the county seat and in the same year was further improved by construction and operation of its first car line. In 1890, it inaugurated new public improvements, beginning with street paving, sewers and sidewalks, by which it began to get "out of the mud." Its first trunk sewer was laid on 9th street in 1890. By 1921 it could boast of 80 miles of paved streets, linked up with 75 miles of paved country roads, over 100 miles of concrete sidewalks, and 60 miles of sewers.

In 1895 the "Huntington spirit" took concrete form in the organization of the Huntington Chamber of Commerce, comprised of representative citizens. This organization, by its untiring efforts in placing before the general public the advantages of Huntington, greatly stimulated the upbuilding of the city.

About 1900 began the real growth and development of the city, which at that time had a population of 11,923. The principal earlier events that contributed largely to this new growth were the building of the Guyandotte River Railroad which tapped the wonderful coal fields of western West Virginia, the extension of the Chesapeake and Ohio Railway up Big Sandy River which opened up the vast resources of eastern Kentucky, and the development of the oil and gas industry in the territory lying immediately to the south of the city.

In 1909 the city government changed to the commission form and immediately inaugurated a system of public improvements in keeping with the rapid growth of the city. Natural gas, piped to the city, furnished an unlimited supply of the best, cheapest and cleanest fuel in the world.

In 1912, through the efforts of the Chamber of Commerce, was organized the Huntington Development & Gas Company, the primary object of which was to furnish Huntington with an adequate supply of cheap natural gas for fuel and to induce manufacturers to locate here. The offer of cheap gas was an inducement which brought many new industries.

Huntington's population rose from 12,000 in 1900, to 31,000 in 1910, and to 50,177 in 1920. In July, 1912, it had nine banks with a capital stock of $1,420,140, and deposits of $4,246,290. In 1913 it had 36 churches, 15 hotels, 24 general stores, 5 wholesale groceries and over 65 other prominent business establishments.

By 1921, it could boast more than one hundred factories, which employed more than ten thousand workmen. Seventy-five per cent of the workers owned their own homes.

The absence of labor troubles is partly explained by the fact that over ninety-five per cent of the population is American born.

The chief wholesale houses of Huntington and their capitalization are as follows:

Name	Paid Up Capital Stock
Hagen, Ratcliff & Co.	$ 125,000
Sehon, Stevenson & Co.	1,000,000
Huntington Wholesale Grocery Co.	200,000
Emmons-Hawkins Hdwe. Co.	1,000,000
Foster-Thornburg Hdwe. Co.	400,000
Banks Supply Co.	400,000
Miller Supply Co.	200,000
Watts, Ritter & Co.	
Jeff Newberry Co.	200,000
Norvell-Chambers Shoe Co.	500,000
Creasey Corporation	
Croft Stanard Co.	300,000
O. L. Stanard Dry Goods Co.	300,000
Huntington Paper & Woodenware Co.	50,000

The Huntington schools have an enrollment of more than ten thousand pupils, housed in modern school buildings, equipped with every modern device and taught by a carefully selected and well qualified corps of teachers.

From the humble beginnings of one small chapel have arisen thirty-five magnificent churches, representing all the leading denominations. The Ministerial Association composed of the pastors of these churches forms a strong organization for the religious, moral and civic betterment of the city.

Under the new management of the Chesapeake & Ohio Company after 1890, branch lines were pushed into the coal fields up the tribu-

taries of the New river and the Kanawha, including a branch from Cabin creek to Kayford, one from Gauley to Greendale, one from Thurmond to Stewart and one from Ronceverte to Winterburn. The Greenbrier branch was completed to Durbin and a line was constructed up the Guyandotte to Logan.

Many branch lines, penetrating timber and mineral regions, were constructed. The Mill Creek branch, extending from Hawk's Nest to Ansted, was completed as a broad-gauge road in August, 1890. The Gauley branch, extending northward along the Gauley river and the waters of Twenty Mile creek to Greendale in Nicholas county, was partly completed in 1893-94. Its extension up Twenty Mile creek and Bells creek to mines in Nicholas county was completed in 1903-04. Tributary to it is a narrow-gauge logging road, extending from Vaughan along Twenty Mile creek, which was begun about 1902 when the West Virginia Timber Company established its mill at Vaughan, and at one time extended nearly to the head of Twenty Mile creek, but was shortened following the completion of lumber activities on the upper waters. The Cabin creek branch, constructed to Acme by private capital in 1894, absorbed by the C. & O. in 1902 and later extended to Coal river and to Colcord. The Loup creek branch, begun in 1892, was completed to Macdonald by September, 1894. The Kanawha, Glen Jean & Eastern Railroad, extending from Glen Jean on the Loup creek branch to Macdonald and thence westward to Paz on the Virginian Railway, was constructed in 1913. The Keeney creek branch extending to Lookout, was completed in December, 1894. The Arbuckle branch, extending from Thurmond to Minden, was completed in June, 1904. The Paint creek branch, built by the Charles Pratt Company in 1902, and leased by the C. & O. in 1904, was completed to Keeferton in June, 1905, and extended to Kingston in May, 1911. The White Oak branch, extending from Whiteoak Junction, on the Loup creek branch to Lochgilly (formerly Stuart) was completed in December, 1900. The Laurel creek branch was completed to Gentry in October, 1904. The Piney creek branch was extended to Lester in 1905.

Under a law of 1899 the Piney branch of the Chesapeake and Ohio starting from Prince station on New river was surveyed in 1898 and 1899 and fourteen miles completed by 1900 (to Raleigh station, about three miles from Raleigh Court House). Thence the survey followed Piney southwest and up Soak creek, thence across the Winding Gulf, a tributary of the Guyandotte, which it followed to its mouth and then on the Guyandotte to Pineville. In the same year the survey was changed to Slab Fork of the Guyandotte. In August, 1902, at Jenny's Gap, on the ridge between the waters of the New river and the Guyandotte, this proposed extension came into conflict with the extension of the Deepwater Railway, starting at Glen Jean (or Loup creek) and running across the divide to the waters of Guyandotte and thence across the mountains to the Bluestone river. The decision in the Raleigh circuit court in favor of the Chesapeake and Ohio was later reversed by the supreme court of appeals.

The Powellton branch of the C. & O., extending along the valley of Armstrong creek, was completed about 1905.

The Sewell Valley Railroad, extending from Meadow creek station on the main line of the C. & O., northeastward along Meadow creek and down Sewell creek to Rainelle on Meadow river and to Wilderness (Nallen P. O.), was completed to Rainelle soon after 1908, and to the Wilderness in 1916.

As the timber region along the Greenbrier neared exhaustion, the Meadow river basin timber region in Greenbrier, Fayette, and Nicholas counties attracted the attention of certain capital interested in timber. The prospect of a railroad from Charleston to the sea board via the Meadow river basin and either via Ronceverte or Alderson brought the timber and coal holding of this section rapidly into the market. Several successful business men, tired of waiting for the projecting railroad, organized the Sewell Valley Railroad for the purpose of opening this timber region to market via the C. & O. Railroad. In the spring of 1908 the construction of this railroad from Meadow creek on the C. & O. was begun. Within the next year the foundation of the big mill was raised, and in September, 1910, the first board was sawed. The mouth of Sewell creek was chosen for a convenient location for a new town,—the town of Rainelle which was incorporated in April, 1913, and soon had a population of over 1000 people. This town soon established a reputation for its cleanliness and its conveniences. Workmen's houses were built with a view to comfort and sanitation. All were supplied with the purest running water, and most of them with modern bathrooms. Some were steam-heated and lighted with electricity. A modern school house was constructed by the company for the education of the children of the community. Soon the town had a bank which did a flourishing business. The sawmill had become the basis for new life in a region scarcely touched.

The Coal river branch, extending from Saint Albans to Sproul and to Seth and Clothier and above, was partly constructed by local capital, and later (1905)

absorbed by the Chesapeake and Ohio. It extends from the main line at Saint Albans southward through Kanawha and Boone counties to Clothier at the Boone-Logan county line, a distance of 51 miles. The Spruce Fork extension of this branch, completed in June, 1913, extends from Clothier southward up Spruce Fork, a distance of 11 miles.

An expensive tunnel through the Guyandotte-Coal river is needed to give the Clothier region direct connection with the Guyandotte valley at Logan.

Two of the most prominent branch lines were the Greenbrier branch and the Guyandotte branch.

The Greenbrier branch was planned a decade before its construction. In December, 1890, while an unusually deep snow lay on the ground (three feet or more), Colonel John T. McGraw, of Grafton, made a visit to Pocahontas county and purchased the farms known as Marlin's Bottom for a town site. At that time only five families lived on the land upon which the town of Marlinton was built. The name of the postoffice had been changed a few years before from Marlin's Bottom to Marlinton, largely through the initiative of Mrs. Janie B. Skyles, a Maryland lady who resided there, and in spite of the bitter opposition of some of the older citizens, who objected to giving up the descriptive and historic name of Marlin's Bottom.

The purchase of the town site by Colonel McGraw was the first intimation that county people had of proposed railway developments. The plan was that the Camden System of Railroads would be extended up Williams river, across the divide at the head of Stony creek, and to Marlinton, and that the C. & O. R. R. would build an extension from the Hot Springs to Marlinton to connect with the Camden Road.

The town site was laid off into town lots in 1891, and widely advertised "as a place where a town would be built," following the construction of the railroad. The Pocahontas Development company was chartered to promote the town. It acquired the 640 acres on which the town was to be built and began valuable improvements. It offered $5,000 to be applied on a new court house if the people of the county would change the county seat from Huntersville to Marlinton. In 1891, the people at a special election agreed to the change by a vote of 940 against 476. At that time Marlinton had a population of about one hundred people. In 1894, at another election, at which the question was again submitted to satisfy the remaining hopes of Huntersville, Marlinton again won. The wisdom of the removal was justified by the later construction of the railroad.

The construction of the railroad was delayed by the financial situation which threatened a panic. Colonel McGraw, who had invested largely in lands elsewhere in Pocahontas county never ceased his attempts to interest capitalists in plans to construct a railroad to the region. His attention being called to the natural route for a railroad up Greenbrier river, he had a survey made from Marlinton to Ronceverte at a cost of $10,000. On this location the railroad was afterwards built.

The Greenbrier Railroad was commenced in 1899 and finished in 1901. To connect with it at Durbin the Coal and Iron Railroad was begun by 1901.

Marlinton especially felt the effects of the development which followed. It had already improved considerably in the decade since it became the county seat. in 1892 it welcomed its first newspaper, the *Pocahontas Times*, which had been established at Huntersville in 1882. In 1896 its communication with neighboring communities was facilitated by construction of telephone lines along all the principal roads of the county. In 1899 its increasing business resulted in the establishment of two banks, the Bank of Marlinton and the Pocahontas Bank—which for more than a year imported over lonely roads by special messengers from the nearest express stations (forty-five to fifty-seven miles distant) large sums of money needed to finance new activities. In April, 1900, the town was incorporated by the circuit court, and May 5, 1900, it held its first town election for choice of officers.

The Greenbrier, Cheat & Elk Railroad, a standard gauge tributary to the Greenbrier division of the C. & O. at Cass in Pocahontas county, and extending westward to the Shaver Fork of Cheat river and beyond, was begun in 1900, and had about seventy-five miles of track by 1920. Although the principal function of the road was the transportation of logs for the West Virginia Pulp and Paper Company, the grade is suitable for its use for other purposes.

In 1917 the West Virginia Pulp and Paper company constructed a line, G. C. & E. Railroad, from Cass on the C. & O. to Cheat Junction on the Durbin branch of the Western Maryland, which affords railroad facilities for a large area of timber and penetrates a vast coal field of the New river seams which lies on Cheat mountain and on the waters of Shaver's Fork river.

The Guyandotte and Buffalo creek branch, tapping the main line at Barboursville, was completed to Logan in 1904 and to Craneco (90 miles) early in 1912.

This branch has several sub-branches. The Dingess Run branch, from Stollings to the forks of Dingess east of Ethel was completed in February, 1912. The Run creek branch from Rolfe, eastward to Slagle, was completed in October, 1912. The Logan & Southern Railway from Monitor Junction up Island creek to the mouth of Cow creek was completed in December, 1913. Further extension up the branches of Island creek has been planned.

Logan, which was insignificant before the construction of the Guyandotte branch, having a population of only 444 in 1900, was incorporated as a city in 1907. In 1910 its population had increased to 1,640, and in the following decade it increased to 2,998.

Holden, which was reported with a population of 600 for 1913, became a point of commercial importance. Its existence resulted from the lumber and mining industries which were developed after the construction of the railroad. It has been regarded as the best example of a model coal and lumber town in the state. It is well planned and well built—with comfortable homes for the employees who have families, and with commodious club houses for the unmarried men. A modern artificial water purification system and a theatre building add materially to the health and comfort of the community.

Ethel, according to the postmaster's report had a population of 2,000 in 1913, but this report evidently included the population of the surrounding territory.

In Lincoln county Hamlin's shipping point is West Hamlin, which in 1913 had a population of 175 with five stores, two churches, one hotel, one school building, and a large tobacco warehouse.

In the decade following 1910, the branch lines and extensions constructed or acquired by the Chesapeake & Ohio Railroad in West Virginia territory aggregated 281 miles, including the Coal River Railroad (69 miles, acquired in July, 1910), the Raleigh and Southwestern (20 miles, acquired in February, 1911), the Winding Gulf branch (15 miles, completed in January, 1912), which was connected with the Virginian Railway in December, 1917, the extension of the Logan division from Stollings to Man (11 miles, completed in January, 1912), the Buffalo creek branch from Man to Craneco (nearly 11 miles, completed in January, 1912), the Big Coal branch, from Seth to Whitesville (13 miles, completed in March, 1919), and the Pond Fork branch from Madison to the mouth of West Fork (12 miles, completed in January, 1921).

The Chesapeake & Ohio Company for over a decade felt the need of a line from the Kanawha northward through Ohio to facilitate transportation facilities from the West Virginia region of coal production. Before 1909 it owned part of the Toledo and Ohio Central, the Hocking Valley and the Kanawha and Michigan railroads. Early in 1910, as a result of a litigation attacking the ownership as a violation of the Hepburn act, it purchased control of the Hocking Valley and also a half interest in the Kanawha & Michigan Railway, in which it had equal privileges with the Michigan Southern Railway Company which owned the other half. In 1914 it sold to the New York Central lines its interest in the Kanawha & Michigan. From funds obtained from this sale the company began plans for construction of a line into southeastern Ohio. In 1910 a survey had been made for a line crossing the Ohio at Sciotoville (seven miles above Portsmouth) and following the Little Scioto river to connect with the Hocking Valley at Jackson, Ohio, but this plan, involving revision of grades on the Hocking Valley line was abandoned. A later study of the situation resulted in the decision

that the best route was via the Little Scioto as far north as Waverly and thence via the Scioto Valley to Columbus.

By 1914 the C. & O. officials, impatient with restrictions which inadequate railway connections placed upon traffic operations along their line in West Virginia, made active preparations for construction of the northern branch from near Edginton, Kentucky, to the Hocking Valley connection near South Columbus, but at the opening of the World war felt compelled to suspend construction because of the rapid advance in money rates. Late in 1914, however, they decided to build thirty miles of the southern end of the proposed line to connect at Waverly with the Norfolk & Western Railway and to arrange to use the latter line from Waverly to the connection with the Hocking Valley at South Columbus. Promptly (in October, 1914), the construction of the bridge across the Ohio at Sciotoville was begun, and in April, 1915, the work of grading was started.

The completion of this Chesapeake and Ohio Northern will greatly facilitate shipments demanded by the increasing development of traffic along the Kanawha and the Guyandotte.

CHAPTER XXVII

EXPANSION OF DEVELOPMENT NORTH OF THE KANAWHA

Development in the northern part of the state largely followed the lines of railways—chiefly the main line and branches of the Baltimore and Ohio, and the lines of the Western Maryland which first penetrated the northern interior from the Baltimore and Ohio line at Piedmont.

Projected Railroads That Failed

In the decade after the war there were many projected railroads which failed through lack of capital. In 1864, the West Virginia Central was projected from the Pennsylvania Central line either via the Monongahela or via Brandonville, Grafton, Buckhannon, Sutton and Charleston to the mouth of the Big Sandy. In 1865, coincident with the revival of projects for a railway along the New river and the Kanawha, the Monongahela and Lewisburg Railway Company was incorporated to build a road beginning at the Pennsylvania state line and passing through Morgantown, and via Fairmont, Clarksburg and Buckhannon to intersect with the proposed Chesapeake and Ohio and to give connection with the mineral deposits of the Virginias and the cottonfields of the South.

Other roads projected in rapid succession were: the Monongahela Valley (1868) from the Pennsylvania state line to Fairmont, the Uniontown and West Virginia (1869) crossing the Cheat near Ice's Ferry thence via Morgantown, the West Virginia Central (1870) from the Pennsylvania line of Preston county to Charleston, the Pittsburg, Virginia and Charleston to Wayne county, the Pittsburg, West Virginia and Southern Narrow Gauge (1878) from Washington, Pennsylvania, via Mt. Morris and Morgantown to Grafton, the West Virginia and Pennsylvania (1881) between the Pennsylvania state line and Clarksburg, and the Blacksville and Morgantown Narrow Gauge (1882). The Pittsburg. Virginia and Charleston Railway, originally chartered as the Monongahela Valley, reincorporated under the new name in 1870 was opened to Monongahela City in 1873, absorbed the Brownsville road (from Mt. Braddock) in 1881, opened the Redstone branch in 1882, but never reached West Virginia. In 1887 it was leased by the Pennsylvania Railroad Company which still operates it.

Much of the earlier activity in connection with projected railways in the northern part of the state was largely related to the interests of Monongalia and Preston counties, and especially to the interests of Morgantown which had already obtained telegraphic communication with the world by a line erected between Pittsburg and Fairmont in 1866. In 1871 the legislature authorized the extension of the Iron Valley Railroad (which was constructed from Hardman's on the Baltimore and Ohio via Three Fork creek to Irondale) via Decker's creek to Morgantown and the Pennsylvania boundary, and another line from the Baltimore and Ohio near the mouth of Raccoon creek via Martin's Iron Works, the mouth of Green's run, Bruceton and Brandonville to the Pennsylvania boundary on the Big Sandy. In 1873 the legislature appropriated $1,000 for a survey in the general direction of the latter line with a view to connection with the Pittsburg, Washington and Baltimore Railroad, but plans for financing the construction of the road failed. The county court of Preston at that time prosecuting an

expensive suit against the Baltimore and Ohio for taxes, refused to submit to the people the question of a county appropriation to aid in building the road and after the improvement of the financial condition of the county in 1876 by the acceptance of $18,000 by compromise with the Baltimore and Ohio, interest in the proposed road had declined. In 1877 the county court of Preston voted to submit to the people the question of subscribing to the capital stock of the proposed narrow gauge railway from the Baltimore and Ohio via Kingwood to Morgantown, but friends of the enterprise decided not to submit the proposition. In 1878 public meetings were held in Monongalia to encourage the construction of a railroad from Morgantown[1] to Grafton. After a period of "hard times" the earlier idea of a railway following Decker's creek from its mouth and connecting Morgantown and Kingwood[2] with the Baltimore and Ohio at the point where the short

railway from Irondale furnace tapped it was revived in 1881 and a route surveyed.

In July, 1882, Monongalia voted down, by a majority of 32, a proposition to take $150,000 of the capital stock of the Iron Valley and Morgantown Railroad. A later proposition to apportion part of the subscription to a narrow gauge road from Morgantown to Blacksville was also lost by a large vote. In the meantime Grant and Case districts which had been influential in defeating the railway projects devised by others, proposed, December 27, 1882, a plan for a railroad

[1] In her efforts to secure railway connections, Morgantown was partly influenced by lack of adequate facilities for river navigation. Lock "number 9," although its completion in 1879 was celebrated by 1,500 people gathered from surrounding points, proved ineffective until the completion of lock "number 8" in 1889, after a delay of ten years during which steamers could not ascend the river above New Geneva.

[2] In 1882 the Kingwood Railway Company was organized to construct a narrow-gauge railway from Kingwood to Tunnelton. Kingwood especially felt the immediate need of railway connection. She had already endeavored to hold her position as the county seat by neighboring improvements. Additional development of resources in the vicinity necessarily awaited the coming of the railway. Promoters and prospectors were already active in preparation for new industries. In 1882 the Preston company was incorporated to traffic in minerals and timber lands, to mine and manufacture minerals and to contract for the construction of railways, telegraph lines and bridges.

of their own from the Pennsylvania line via Grantsville and up Davis run to the Marion county line—a plan which received only 114 votes at a special election called in the two districts.

Construction on the Iron Valley and Morgantown road was begun at Morgantown March 22, 1883, but was discontinued a few days later. At a meeting held in Fairmont in the fall of 1884, the attempts of the directors of the West Virginia and Pennsylvania Railroad to get aid in the construction of that road, also failed.

At other points there were rumors of approaching railroads which vanished before they arrived. In 1873 Charleston also expected a terminal railway from Parkersburg via Two Mile creek, Tupper's creek and Pocotaligo. In 1873 the Shenandoah and Ohio was projected from the Shenandoah valley via Franklin. In 1873 the Washington and Ohio Railway was projected via Winchester, Capon Springs, Moorefield, Petersburg, Buckhannon, Weston, Glenville, Sandyville and Point Pleasant. In 1895 the Chesapeake and Western was projected via the South branch valley. Later paper lines were the Seaboard and Great Western of 1899 and the C. and I. in 1902.

Concerning the three proposed lines last named, Morton in his History of Pendleton county says:

"On April 20th, 1895, a vote was ordered as to whether 'the county shall issue the bonds of Pendleton county to the amount of $32,000, to be subscribed to the capital stock of any responsible and reliable company that builds a railroad through this county along the South Branch valley from and connecting with some general line of railroad passing or to the county seat, and also secure to such company the right of way for such railroad through the county.' Franklin and Mill Run districts were each to pay one-fourth of the issue, and each of the other districts one-eighth, the bonds having a maximum and minimum life of 2 and 15 years. But the order was rescinded, and June 1st made the election day. Still another election was ordered for December 7th of the same year for $50,000, the projected road to run by way of the South Fork, Franklin, Smith Creek, and Circleville.

"Another paper railroad appeared four years later. A vote was ordered for September 16th on a levy of not more than $26,000 to pay for the right of way of the 'Seaboard and Great Western' from Skidmore's Fork in Rockingham to the line of Grant county. This order in turn was rescinded, and a vote ordered 14 days later, enabling the districts of Sugar Grove, Franklin, Mill Run and Bethel to vote a subscription to pay the damages on a width of 100 feet in the right of way.

"Still another project was the 'C. and I.' Railroad in 1902, in behalf of which an election was called for the third of May, the bonding of Bethel district to be $5,000, and that of Franklin $15,000."

Baltimore and Ohio Branches

Although the earlier post-bellum activities to secure additional railroads in the Monongahela valley were most prominent in the lower counties, Monongalia and Preston, the first actual construction resulting in the opening of new lines of railway in this region was farther south along the valleys of West Fork, Buckhannon and Tygart's. The construction of a railroad from Clarksburg to Weston, authorized by act of 1866, which also gave the Baltimore and Ohio directors possession of the road from Grafton to Parkersburg, was the beginning of a system of short lines converging at Clarksburg and Grafton—often originally built by independent companies and sometimes constructed as a narrow gauge which was later widened into a standard gauge—furnishing connections to Buckhannon, Richwood, Sutton, Pickens, Belington and Philippi, opening vast coal fields and timber regions, and penetrating some of the best farming sections.

The first movement resulting in this remarkable development apparently originated at Weston, the county seat of Lewis, which, already becoming a center of local trade before the war, was stimulated to a larger growth at its close, first by securing the location of the asylum for the insane, and later by securing transportation facilities which tapped its resources and encouraged industrial development.

Weston had long expected a railroad. In 1846 its citizens entertained a convention of people of Western Virginia which met to consider a proposed all Virginia railroad from Alexandria to Parkersburg via Weston—a proposition made in opposition to the extension of

View of Elizabeth, Wirt County
(Courtesy of West Virginia Geological Survey)

the Baltimore and Ohio lines westward from Cumberland through western Virginia. Later its leading citizens secured from the Virginia legislature an act authorizing a Weston branch of the Northwestern railroad which was completed from Grafton to Parkersburg in 1857. After the war, they renewed efforts. In 1870 they had ambitions to make Weston a railroad center. In February, 1870, they participated in a Clarksburg convention which resulted in the organization of the Northern and Southern West Virginia Railroad which planned an eastern connection with the Pennsylvania lines and a western connection with the lines of C. P. Huntington to the Pacific. In 1871, they induced Lewis county to subscribe $125,000 for stock in the proposed road, which was lost under conditions immediately preceding the panic of 1873. In 1872, their increasing expectations were disapproved by an adverse vote of Lewis county on a proposal to bond the county for $200,000 to aid in the construction of the projected east and west airline (Washington and Ohio) railroad from Washington to Cincinnati via Winchester, Moorefield, Buckhannon, Weston, Glenville and Point Pleasant.

After the directors of the nearly defunct Northern and Southern line had retired from the struggle, citizens of Weston decided that Lewis county should act for itself in the construction of a branch line. In 1873, they proposed a line from Grafton to Weston via Philippi and Buckhannon, but the proposal was rejected by the legislature. In 1875, they incorporated the Weston and West Fork Railroad with a capital stock of $10,000 and with authority to increase this stock to $250,000. Lewis county subscribed $50,000 by a bond issue and Weston subscribed $6,000. The route was promptly surveyed.

Rights of way were easily obtained except at Clarksburg, which was finally driven to liberal action by the effort of Bridgeport to secure the terminus by an offer of free right of way. The work of grading was begun early in 1877, but was stopped by the failure of the contractor in the following August. After an arrangement for a mortgage on the road, work was resumed early in 1878. The road soon encountered additional financial difficulties, from which it was saved by the financial ability of Johnson N. Camden, who organized a holding company, the Clarksburg, Weston and Glenville Railroad, which, after its incorporation in August, 1878, leased the unfinished Weston and West Fork line and advanced money for its completion.

On August 9, 1879, the first passenger train (one coach) arrived at Jane Lew, at which a large crowd of people had gathered to celebrate the event.[3] On September 1, the first train reached Weston, which renewed the rejoicing. On November 1, the road began to carry the mails.

Until 1881 the road was operated by an executive committee headed by President Camden, and thereafter under the immediate direction of Dr. A. H. Kunst acting as general manager.

Buckhannon, which by the establishment of a stage line to Weston felt the benefits of the new railroad, soon initiated efforts to obtain an extension, and at a large mass meeting in Upshur Courthouse on February 27, 1882, took steps to assume the responsibilities required by the railroad company. The Buckhannon West Fork Railroad Company was organized in the following April, and grading was begun at once on a narrow gauge road which was completed to Buckhannon in 1883. The name was soon changed to the Weston and Buckhannon Railroad, of which A. H. Kunst became president and manager.

Following the successful completion of the road to Buckhannon, the county court of Gilmer, at the suggestion of the railroad officials, submitted to the people of the county the proposition of a bond issue of $50,000 to aid in securing an extension to Glenville. Although the bond

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[3] Jane Lew had experienced a rapid development following the Civil war, owing largely to the rich agricultural district around it. Marble works were established in 1872. In 1877 a census of the town showed two stores, two drug stores, a tannery, a saddler's shop, a wagon shop, a pottery, a tailor shop, a flouring mill, a good school and a church.

Splash Dam in the Kanawha River

issue was authorized the Glenville enterprise failed, through increasing interests elsewhere.

After considerable discussion the project of an extension south of Weston took definite form in the incorporation of the Weston and Elk River Railroad Company, of which John Brannon of Weston was president. The chief object was to construct to Sutton a line which would develop the timber resources of the virgin forests southwest of Flatwoods and furnish an outlet for the other products of Braxton. The enterprise was aided by a bond issue voted by the people of Braxton. After the completion of the surveys, the plans of the promoters were suddenly changed by the enlarging plans of Senator J. N. Camden, who, having secured large tracts of coal between Clarksburg and Fairmont and the control of large tracts of timber land in the vicinity of Pickens in Upshur and Randolph counties, and also in the counties of Braxton, Webster, Nicholas and Pocahontas, had determined to build a broad-gauge railroad from Fairmont to Camden-on-Gauley, and a branch road from Weston to Pickens.

On April 10, 1889, the first important step of the larger enterprise was taken by a merger of the Clarksburg, Weston and Glenville, and the Weston and West Fork into the Clarksburg, Weston and Midland Railroad, which allowed its stockholders five per cent of the stock held in the other companies and which soon also absorbed the proposed Weston and Elk River line, the Buckhannon and West Fork and the Weston and Centerville railroads. On July 20 of the same year the proposed line to Pickens and Lane's Bottom was incorporated as the Buckhannon River Railroad, which in the following February was merged into the Clarksburg, Weston and Midland.

After the completion of the mergers the absorbing company in 1890 changed the name of the composite road to The West Virginia and Pittsburgh Railroad,[4] which received financial aid from officials of the Baltimore and Ohio, and which later in 1890 was leased to the Baltimore and Ohio for 999 years—the lease being effective upon the completion of the change to a standard gauge.[5]

The work of widening the gauge from Clarksburg to Weston and thence to Buckhannon was begun in the summer of 1889 and completed in the summer of 1890. The grades were reduced somewhat where the railroads crossed the hills and some of the shortest curves were somewhat straightened.

The work on the extensions to Sutton and Pickens, engineered by B. & O. officials, was also begun in 1889.

The extension to Sutton was completed early in 1891. The first train entered the station, a half mile from town, on May 5, 1891. Senator Camden, who, with other officials, was a passenger on the train, was given a reception by a large crowd of citizens estimated at four hundred to five hundred persons (about double the population of the county seat at that time). The first train to Sutton on a regular schedule ran on July 15, 1891.

The results of the construction of the railroad to somnolent Braxton were immediately seen. A big lumber boom was constructed just below Sutton and thousands of logs were sawed there. Before the completion of the road to Sutton, construction was begun at Flatwoods (six miles east of Sutton), on the extension to the Gauley river timber lands, where Camden-on-Gauley in Webster county was established in 1892. This extension, which was later (1899) continued to Richwood in Nicholas county, opened to development a region quickly responsive to the touch of capital.

[4] Early in 1890 the property of the West Virginia and Pittsburgh Railroad Company was mortgaged to the Mercantile Trust and Deposit Company of Baltimore, as security for a bond issue of $4,000,000 sold to complete the construction of the railroad. All the outstanding debts of the company, which had previously taken over the debts of the companies merged to form it, were paid off from the proceeds of the loan.

[5] The West Virginia and Pittsburgh Railroad was sold to the Baltimore and Ohio in September, 1899.

Sutton, settled by descendants of the original trans-Allegheny pioneers, received a new impetus from the advent of the railway branch which brought new blood and new industries. The chief resources of its growth were the large lumber plant erected by the Pardee-Curtin Lumber Company and the advantages resulting from the facilities of shipment for a large surrounding region including all of Clay county.

Camden-on-Gauley is largely a child of the lumber industry which was developed in this region by the Gauley Lumber Company under the management of J. N. Camden and C. K. Lord (a vice president of the Baltimore and Ohio). The industry resulted from the purchase of an immense tract of timber land (140,000 acres) in Webster, Pocahontas and Nicholas counties by Camden, who connected it with the West Virginia and Pittsburg Railroad. The machinery for the first large lumber plant costing $140,000 was hauled from the Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad, a distance of forty miles—so that the plant could be completed and ready for work coincident with the completion of the branch railway from Flatwoods. Within eighteen months the place became a thriving business town of considerable mercantile trade. Its later growth was influenced by its healthful and scenic surroundings. In 1905, the Gauley mill was acquired by the Cherry River Boom and Lumber Company.

The West Virginia Waste Wood Chemical Company, located at Gauley Mills in the vicinity of the lumber mill, was established in 1916, its head office being at 17 Battery Place, New York City. The plant is designed to manufacture acetone, refined methyl alcohol, methyl acetone, acetone oil, flotation, oils, pitch, charcoal briquettes, and a number of solvent oils, its raw material being the sawdust, slabs, bark, and other refuse from the Gauley Mill of the Cherry River Company, its capacity being 150 tons of wood.

Richwood, located at the end of the later extension of the branch from Camden-on-Gauley, became the foremost lumber town in the state. Its rapid growth was due to extensive sawmills, a paper pulp mill, a tannery, a clothes-pin factory, a hub factory and other prosperous wood-working industries.

The West Virginia Midland Railroad, tributary to the Richwood branch of the B. & O. at Holly Junction, extends to Webster Springs. The Midland Company was incorporated in 1905, for the purpose of building a railroad from Sutton in Braxton county to Marlinton in Pocahontas county. In April, 1906, this company purchased and took over the Holly River and Addison Railway Company, which operated a road from Holly Junction to Webster Springs, and which had purchased the Holly River Railroad Company property, and built the line from Holly in Braxton county to Hechmer on Holly River in Webster. This company built the line from Diana, a point on its main line, to Webster Springs, with a view of developing and offering rail facilities for the visitors there in the summer months for the purpose of drinking the Salt Sulphur waters, then and now so justly famous and well known.

In February, 1916, George A. Heckmer, the general manager of the road, in writing of its achievements and plans, said:

"This Company owes its existence to the untiring efforts of Hon. John T. McGraw, of Grafton, W. Va.

"The line from Holly to Hechmer was built in 1899, Holly to Webster Springs, 1901 and 1902, Webster Springs to Breece, 1906, Holly to Long Run, 1910, Marpleton to Coal Bank, 1911.

"There has been in addition to the above work some grading done along the main line for the purpose of standardizing the road, and some from Skelt on the Back Fork of Elk River, to connect the Pickens and Webster Springs Railroad with the West Virginia Midland, with a view of opening a through line from Holly Junction to Pickens, in Randolph County.

"We have now under way plans for the complete standardizing of the road from Holly Junction to the mouth of Leatherwood Creek in Webster County, on the main Elk River, the proposed line to follow the waters of Holly River to the mouth of Grassy Creek, up Grassy Creek to the divide with Elk, through the hill by a tunnel 1,150 feet long, and thence to Webster Springs on a very low grade against out-bound traffic."

The Erbacon and Summersville Railroad, tributary to the Richwood Branch, was begun in 1911 at Erbacon and by 1920 twenty miles of a standard gauge track had been completed. The Harmount and Hall Railroad, tributary to the Richmond Branch at Wainville, and extending a distance of five miles, was built about 1911 for transporting logs to the mill at Wainville. The Smooth Lumber Company Railroad, tributary to the Richmond Branch at Arcola, was begun about 1910 and by 1920 had fifteen miles of narrow gauge track.

The Cherry River Boom & Lumber Company Railroad, which serves

View of Eastern Portion of Richwood; North Fork of Cherry River in Foreground, Large Wood-working Plant Occupy Central Portion of Town and Picture

View of Webster Springs, Looking South of Elk River, Which Is Visible in Right Foreground
(Courtesy of West Virginia Geological Survey)

the great lumber mills of the Cherry River Company at Camden-on-Gauley, at Holcomb, and at Richwood, was begun in 1899 in connection with the establishment of the Richwood mill. It is a broad gauge road with several branches. The principal branch, extending up the North Fork of Cherry River and crossing the Dogway Fork of Cranberry was begun in 1906, and completed to Dogway in 1911, and subsequently extended up the Cranberry River in Pocahontas county.

A second branch, starting from Cranberry Station, was completed in 1917. A third branch, starting from near Allingdale, and extending up the south side of Gauley, was begun in 1917.

In 1892 the Buckhannon river extension was completed into the unbroken forests and to the site of Pickens, at which was erected a large lumber manufacturing plant. Around this plant the town grew.

The Pickens and Hacker Valley Railroad, a lumber carrying road of three foot gauge, was begun by Henry Spies at Pickens in 1899 and ompleted to the Hacker Valley in 1903.

The Alexander and Eastern Railroad, a lumber railroad, tributary to the Pickens branch at Alexander in southern Upshur and extending into Randolph near the Webster boundary, was begun as a narrow gauge in 1891 and changed to a standard gauge in 1895. The Chemical and Helvetia Railroad, was built as a narrow gauge in 1913 to haul cordwood to the chemical plant at Selbyville. The Pickens and Hacker Valley Railroad, a narrow gauge lumber road extending westward thirteen miles into Webster county, was begun in 1899 and completed to Hacker Valley in 1903. The Pickens and Webster Springs Railroad, another lumber road, was begun by Senator J. N. Camden in 1893. Its steel was laid in 1900 and 1901 and it was completed to Skelt in 1905.

The timber industries on the Gauley river and at Pickens created a great freight carrying business for the railroad which assured its success from the start. In making the road a broad-gauge, Senator Camden seems to have contemplated a connecting link between the Pittsburgh region and the south by extension of the line to the Chesapeake and Ohio at Covington.

The useful influence of the railroad on the life of the entire region which it penetrated was soon apparent in the increased business activity. It was especially marked at Weston, which received a wonderful impetus by the construction of the early narrow gauge system to Clarksburg, by the later extension and change to broad gauge, by securing the location of railway offices and repair shops, by the opening of mineral and timber resources, and by the establishment of large manufacturing industries. Among the earliest effects at Weston was the creation of a demand for building lots which was met by the survey of lots in "Haleville" in 1883. Sawmills started the hum of industry which awoke many sleepy communities. The lumber business supplemented the old business of floating logs to market down the river. The heavy forests of the region soon disappeared.[6] Agricultural life was greatly changed by the arrival of cheaper grain and flour from the west, which caused the abandonment of wheat raising and of flour mills and a great increase in cattle raising and sheep raising.

In 1891 Weston began permanent improvements in paving, and replaced its kerosene lamps by electric lights for street illumination and for dwelling. Soon thereafter the electric light company constructed water works in town. In 1893, a bond issue for such water works by the municipality was authorized but soon thereafter was declared invalid on technicality. The establishment of a sewerage

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[6] From about 1875 to 1890 many poplar logs obtained at a low price, were floated on the West Fork and its tributaries by R. T. Lowndes and others who manufactured them on circular saw-mills at Clarksburg. The larger part of the timber of virgin forests not removed by the river was cut by portable stave and circular lumber mills which found an opportunity for most active operations in the Collins settlement and other territory in the southern and southwestern parts of the county. In many instances the product was transported by wagon for twenty or twenty-five miles to reach railway shipping points. The timber of commercial value has now largely been cut and sold. Practically all the poplar and the greater part of the best oak has disappeared.

View of Buckhannon
(Courtesy of West Virginia Geological Survey)

system was proposed even before 1890, but the proposition to bond the town for the construction of the system failed in the election of 1890 and began in 1896. The sewerage system was installed following a survey of the town which was made in 1897, but the failure of method in the plan, and the failure to keep a record of the locations caused much difficulty and expense thereafter. In 1893 coal for domestic use was largely superseded by gas obtained from the Big Isaac well by the Weston Gas Company, which later was forced to lower its rates by a competing company, but finally increased rates by an agreement which was regarded as necessary to secure reasonable profit.

At the beginning of the new century, industrial development at Weston received a new impetus by the opening of the rich oil fields in the western end of Lewis county on Sand Fork of the Kanawha, in a region once known as the Camden-Bailey-Camden lands and largely settled by humble Irish who after a period of day-labor on the construction of the Baltimore and Ohio in West Virginia, decided to invest their small earnings in small farms. The effect of the oil development on Weston was immediately evident in the great volume of business, in the increase of population, in the establishment of manufacturers, and in the establishment of two new banks in 1902. The manufacture of glass was begun in 1902, and additional plants were established by 1904.

Among the social effects was the establishment of gambling joints which ran wide open in the heart of the town. The oil and gas boom brought a wave of vice and crime similar to that which had followed construction of the railroad. The ultimate result was a strong prohibition sentiment, which in 1906 resulted in a brief period without saloons.

Demand for street car service to Clarksburg followed the oil development. In 1902, the Clarksburg and Weston Street Car Company was incorporated to build a line from Weston to connect with the Fairmont and Clarksburg lines. In 1912, the Monongahela Valley Traction Company was organized, and it took up the work in earnest. The road was well constructed throughout. The first car arrived at Jane Lew, July 26, 1913, and at Weston shortly afterward. Plans for extending the trolley line from Weston to Glenville have been considered.

After 1900, Jane Lew became an important shipping point for gas well supplies. In 1906, its expectation of securing a glass factory resulted in a large lot sale. In 1907, the village was incorporated for the purpose of forestalling future efforts to license saloons. In 1903, the Bank of Jane Lew was established and soon thereafter a trolley line was constructed.

Surrounded by a fine agricultural region and favored by a good country trade, Buckhannon had already grown to be an important place even before the advent of the railroad which greatly increased its development. Better transportation facilities gave it new manufacturing plants and made it the home office of several industries, such as the Newlon Coal works, and the A. J. G. Griffin Lumber plants, which extended their influence through the counties of Upshur and Randolph and even into Webster and Nicholas.

The first steam sawmill in Upshur had been operated on Cutright run. The commercial lumber industry, began about 1883 as a result of the construction of the railroad to Buckhannon, increased with its later extension up the river. The Buckhannon Boom and Lumber company operated large mills at Buckhannon and Ten-Mile. Buckhannon received many logs from river floats, and both logs and lumber from Ten-Mile by tramroad. Other logs were brought by railroad after the extension of the West Virginia and Pittsburg line to Newlin in 1891. In 1893 about half of Upshur county was still covered with timber, which, however, was rapidly taken out thereafter.

Buckhannon soon showed the results of the new development. In 1887, it obtained the location of the woolen mill built by Parke brothers. In 1888, it had its first electric light plant. In 1889, it had a tannery and, in 1902, it had a glass plant in operation. By 1894 the town contained a population of about 2,700 with a strong tendency toward further increase which later became stronger by the completion of new railroad lines, especially by the construction of the short line from Tygart's Valley Junction by the Baltimore and Ohio in 1904 in order to compete with the Coal and Coke.

A short line of the Baltimore and Ohio has been planned to extend from the mouth of French creek to connect with the Richwood branch in the vicinity of Holly Junction or Centralia, avoiding the heavy grades on the old route between Buckhannon and Weston. If completed it will greatly benefit Buckhannon and the people along the line. It was expected that it would haul all the heavy freight from the region between Holly Junction and Richwood—a traffic which would be greatly increased by the development of mining lands of the Baltimore and

View of Philippi
(Courtesy of West Virginia Geological Survey)

Ohio in that region. By avoiding the heavy grade between Weston and Buckhannon, great expense would be saved. By the construction of the new branch the freight from Richmond could reach Grafton by a gradually descending grade for almost the entire distance.

Below Upshur, on Tygart's Valley river, Philippi, the county seat of Barbour, also began to feel the spirit of new industrial life. Incorporated in 1871 by the legislature, by 1884 it became a terminal of the Grafton and Greenbrier Railroad, a narrow gauge road which had projected plans for extension to Charleston, and which was widened to a standard gauge a few years later and extended up Tygart's to Belington.[7] With its completion began the steady progress of portable sawmills from the line of tract toward the heads of streams producing increasing quantities of lumber which found shipping points at Meatsville, Belington, Philippi and Clements. At the beginning of this new industry much timber along the river was drifted to Grafton, where it was manufactured into lumber at Curtin's band mill.

The development of Grafton, which had begun before the war, was considerably stimulated after the war by timber industries depending upon the surrounding region and especially upon the supply of timber from Tygart's Valley river. By 1870 the manufacture of lumber on a large scale by a large circular-sawmill was begun east of Grafton at Westerman and a large water-power sawmill was operated at Valley Falls. The latter at first received timber over wooden tramways and later from the river rafts floated from points as high as Philippi. Later a large band mill constructed by Captain G. W. Curtin at Grafton received its supply of logs chiefly from points on Tygart's above the boundaries of Taylor.

In 1872, Grafton seemed to have had aspirations to become the capital of the state. A convention of "delegates from six or eight counties and citizens of Grafton" held at Grafton in the early part of the year, and presided over by ex-Governor Johnson, drafted a set of resolutions instructing the delegates of the counties at the Constitutional Convention at Charleston to submit to the people of the state the question of removing the capital from Charleston. Although the town failed to secure the capital, it was successful in the contest for the county seat in 1878.[8]

After the construction of the Grafton and Greenbrier branch to Philippi (later extended to Belington), Grafton received large quantities of dairy and farm products for shipment east.

The earliest projects of a railroad along the Monongahela to intersect the earlier Baltimore and Ohio lines between East and West, were revived under more favorable auspices and under more favorable conditions, including the completion of the line from Weston to Clarksburg. The construction of the road by sections, which were later combined into a single line, was a great stimulation to industrial and social development in each county through which it passed and also in parts of Preston.

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[7] The Grafton and Belington Railroad along the east bank of Tygart's Valley river, was chartered in April, 1881, as a narrow gauge line, under the name "Grafton and Greenbrier Railroad" and was opened for traffic from Grafton to Philippi in January, 1884. In 1892, at foreclosure sale it was purchased by the B. & O., which promptly changed it to a standard gauge and extended it to Belington. The Berryburg branch was completed in 1900. The Point Pleasant, Buckhannon and Tygart Valley Railroad was built from Tygart Junction (on the Grafton and Belington) to Century Junction in 1900 and completed in October, 1904.

[8] In November, 1878, at a special election, Grafton was chosen as the county seat by a large majority of the popular vote. It promptly arranged to remove the archives and office equipment from Pruntytown to Brinkman's Opera House. The county court at its next meeting at Pruntytown authorized the use of the opera house as a court house, and adjourned to meet at Grafton in the afternoon. Into wagons which were ready the records and equipment were quickly carried under the direction of John W. Mason, who on his bay horse proudly led the procession to Grafton, which enthusiastically celebrated her rising fortunes while Pruntytown mourned the beginning of her decline. Pruntytown was later conciliated by political negotiations which secured for her the location of the reform school for boys.

Clarksburg, which had become the terminus of the line constructed from Weston, became the starting point of the Monongahela line to Fairmont; and later it was made the eastern terminal of the short line constructed to the Ohio at New Martinsville. The town, steadily growing under the earlier impetus which it had received from its location on the Parkersburg line of the Baltimore and Ohio, had also been favored by the traffic of the turnpike which served as a prominent thoroughfare from Fairmont up West Fork and to Sutton in Braxton county, and by the limestone soil, and the earlier development of settlement, which at the opening of the war had made Harrison probably the most improved of the inland counties of West Virginia with a total valuation of live stock exceeded only by Hampshire and Greenbrier counties and a corn production exceeded only by Hampshire and Jackson counties. By the close of the war it was the center of a good coal trade. It received large additional prosperity from the construction of lines later combining to form the West Virginia and Pittsburg railroad, which penetrated southward to the richest coal and timber lands in the heart of the state and northward through great coal fields to the metropolis at the head of the Ohio.

Clarksburg had a steady growth after 1890. Its population which was 3,008 in 1890, increased to 4,050 in 1900, to 9,200 in 1910 and to 27,869 in 1920. In the decade after 1910 its population increased over 200 per cent. Following the destruction of the capitol building, at Charleston, by fire, in January, 1921, Clarksburg made a strong but unsuccessful effort to secure the re-location of the capital, claiming a geographical location which made it the logical location for the seat of the state government. In 1921, it had good hotels, improved streets, a good water supply, an efficient fire department, good electric railway service which connects it with neighboring towns, well-equipped schools, two modern hospitals, two daily newspapers, and a telephone service not surpassed by any towns in West Virginia except Wheeling. It has a progressive Chamber of Commerce with a membership of 700. It is the headquarters of the West Virginia Sunday School Association. It owns its water works and filtration plant. Its water supply is from the West Fork river, which is dammed to form a large reservoir just above the city, and also has two other storage dams. Its government is the Commission form—two commissioners and a mayor.

In 1888, seven years after the completion of the Western line to Clarksburg, the Monongahela River Railway Company was organized to build a road from Clarksburg to Fairmont. It was incorporated by J. N. Camden and others, beginning with a capital of only $5,000, which was later increased. Opened for traffic in 1889 and completed in 1891, it became the property of the Baltimore and Ohio in 1897. It opened rich coal fields, especially contributing to the success of the large plants of the Consolidated Coal Company, which produces an enormous tonnage both of coal and coke. It also increased the importance of Clarksburg as a commercial and industrial center.

The short line connecting Clarksburg with New Martinsville was incorporated by H. H. Rogers, T. Moore Jackson and others, who sold the franchise to the Baltimore and Ohio. Completed by 1902, it opened rich coal fields and timber regions which have contributed to the wealth of Clarksburg and the entire region.

Favored by geographic situation, rich resources, and increasing railroad facilities, the old town of Clarksburg found itself in a state of development exceeding all expectations and exciting larger dreams of future prosperity and greatness. Municipal improvement followed each prominent industrial advance. Illuminating gas was introduced in 1871. Natural gas for heat and light was piped from Doddridge county in 1891. An electric light plant was erected in 1887, and water works were established in 1888. Great changes followed the discovery of oil and gas—in the western end of the county in 1889—which also increased the growth of Salem. Better lighted and better paved streets and the construction of new business houses soon indicated the advent of new prosperity. A street car line was constructed in 1900. By 1903, the city was heated by gas from one of the largest wells in the world, and shortly thereafter its facilities as a business center were increased by the construction of the Waldo hotel, which ranks as one of the best modern hotels in the state.

The Monongahela River Railroad connecting Clarksburg with Fairmont, completed in 1888 and opened for traffic in 1889, was an important link and a determining factor in the combined Monongahela

system. It opened valuable mines in a rich mineral field, including those at Monongah, and gave an industrial stimulus which resulted in the rise of several towns. It supplied coal for both eastern and western markets—and also for local use in Upshur and Lewis. It gave a more direct route for passenger traffic from Clarksburg to Wheeling, and stimulated the construction of the line from Morgantown to Uniontown, by which a continuous direct connection was secured with Pittsburg—in each case superseding the elbow routes via Parkersburg or Grafton.

Fairmont, like Clarksburg, felt the flow of a new life awakened by the construction of connecting lines of railway which opened new industries. Even in the earlier post-bellum period, it began to feel a larger prosperity resulting from the return of the soldiers and others to work on farms which in some cases had long been idle. Its revival of industrial development in a larger sense really began about 1870 by the purchase of large tracts of land by capitalists interested in the mineral resources of the county. Three mines, opened in quick succession by eastern companies, soon began to make large shipments of coal, and produced a development in population and wealth which was only retarded by the panic of 1873 and the high freight rates charged by the Baltimore and Ohio. An era of improvement began in 1876, after a fire which destroyed a large part of the principal business section of the town in spite of the efforts of the primitive voluntary "bucket brigade" (of men, women and children) which at that time and place had not been superseded by the modern fire-engine. With some additions to the insurance money which largely covered the losses, the owners of the destroyed buildings were able to replace them with better structures and to secure better street grades. With the new era of development came the demand for the extension of Monongahela slack-water improvement to Fairmont—which Captain Roberts (who made the government survey from Morgantown in 1875) regarded as the head of the navigation of the Ohio.

By 1881, enterprising citizens of Fairmont actively participated in co-operative effort through county committees and public meetings, to test the sense of the people on the question of the construction of a railroad up the Monongahela through Monongalia, Marion, Harrison and Lewis counties. With the construction of sections of railway connecting the town with Morgantown in 1886 and with Clarksburg a few years later, enterprising citizens, seizing opportunity by the forelock organized the "Fairmont Development Company," which contributed greatly to the rapid growth of the town by offering inducements to new industrial plants which were seeking a location. The town was also favored by other advantages such as schools and hotels, and more recently it has been benefited by the construction of electric lines connecting it with Clarksburg and Mannington.

Fairmont has shared in the prosperity arising from the oil wells in the western part of the county, which caused a rapid increase of population at Mannington after 1889.

The growth of Fairmont for the decade after 1910 is reflected in the following statement of its Postoffice receipts:

Year	Post Office Receipts
1911	$ 53,389.75
1913	57,578.93
1915	61 285.63
1917	74,111.41
1919	104,645.14
1920	102,197.27

The decrease in 1920 was due to the reduced postage rate.

The city has twenty-four church organizations, a Y. M. C. A. and a Y. W. C. A., a normal school, two high schools, nine ward schools, and a parochial school. The Y. M. C. A. was founded in 1902 and constructed its home in 1908. The community life has been considerably influenced by the work of the normal school, which in 1893 was moved from its old location at the corner of Main and Quincy Streets to a site on Fairmont Avenue between Second and Third Streets, and finally in January, 1917, was again moved to new and more commodious quarters on the west side of Locust Avenue. The development of the Fairmont schools, first under the superintendency of Joseph Rosier, and later under the superintendency of Otis G. Wilson, has attracted more than local attention.

The city has two hospitals. The Cook Hospital, founded by John R. Cook in 1899, was moved in 1905 to a building constructed for hospital purposes. In 1914, four years after the death of Dr. Cook, the hospital was purchased by community funds collected for that purpose and was converted into a general community hospital.

Fairmont has two daily papers, one issued in the morning and one in the afternoon. It has two fire departments and good street car service. It has six banks, a Building and Loan Association and a Community Savings and Loan Association. Its stores are attractive and modern.

A commission form of government was recently adopted and is now in operation.

In the year preceding April 1, 1922, the city issued 265 building permits valued at $758,500.

The assessment of property for April 1, 1920, was as follows:

Real Estate	$13,099,900.00
Personal Property	6,026,345.00
Public Utilities	2,594,146.00

The bank deposits in 1920 were $13,266,625.77 and the bank resources were $16,395,158.01.

Fairmont is the center of a large electricity system from which high pressure lines radiate to several towns along the Monongahela. Its power plant was completed for operation in April, 1919, and its capacity was greatly increased in April, 1921. The growth of its electric service in three decades after 1890 is indicated as follows:

Year	Horsepower of Plant
1890	40
1900	550
1906	4,000
1914	5,000
1916	8,400
1917	9,700
1919	27,000
1921	53,500

The Monongahela River bridge, a high level bridge from the business section of the city to the east side at the Monongahela Railroad station, is one of the most recent improvements. This bridge was first planned when the Monongahela Railway was completed to the East Side in 1915 and became increasingly necessary because of the rapid development in the industrial development on the East Side after the arrival of the new railway. The demand for the improved communication culminated in a bond issue in 1917. Preparations for construction were begun in 1918, and actual construction was begun in April, 1919. In the spring of 1920, the progress of the work was for a short time seriously threatened by a strike of railroad employees and the consequent demoralization of traffic conditions; but through the hearty co-operation of the management of the two railways the contractor was able to arrange shipments of needed supplies so that the construction could be continued without delay and additional expense. The concrete arches were completed in August, 1920, and the work on the superstructure was completed in April, 1921. The bridge was formally opened on May 30, 1921.

In 1921, Fairmont had 35 miles of paved streets, 18 miles of sewers, 45 miles of water mains, and a municipal water plant. It obtains its water supply from the Tygarts Valley River, two miles above the city, where it has a municipal pumping station, which forces the water into a large reservoir (20,000,000 gallons) on the hills, 480 feet above the river level, overlooking the beautiful valley.

The industrial development of the city has been greatly assisted by the Chamber of Commerce, composed of over 600 members. This organization has recently assisted in underwriting the new bridge, in the formation of a traffic club, in the movement for better roads, in the formation of a temporary employment bureau, in relief of congestion at freight stations, in quotation of freight rates, in checking of freight bills, in the investigation of proposed industries, in conduct of the B. & O. industrial survey, and in the adjustment of freight rates.

The Fairmont Traffic Club was organized in October, 1920, to promote closer relationships between shippers and transportation companies and has been useful in securing better express service and in arranging for better Pullman service.

Two years before the Camden line between Fairmont and Clarksburg was built, Morgantown secured connection with the Baltimore and Ohio at Fairmont by a line later extended to connect with the Baltimore and Ohio line via Connellsville and Pittsburg. Even as early as the latter part of 1883, while the Pennsylvania interests were still endeavoring to secure the construction of a branch line into West Virginia along the Monongahela, the Fairmont, Morgantown and Pittsburg Railroad Company was organized—apparently backed by the Baltimore and Ohio—to extend the Baltimore ond Ohio line from Fairmont to Morgantown and also to connect with its line at Uniontown. Construction was delayed by contests with the West Virginia and Pennsylvania over the right of way—in 1884 at Fairmont, and later at Point Marion and along Cheat river, where there was room for only one road. The new line, operated by the Baltimore and Ohio, was opened to South Morgantown by January 30, 1886, and to Morgantown a few days later. Three years later, Morgantown secured satisfactory steamboat communication with Pittsburg by the completion of "Lock Number 8"

after a delay of ten years. The first boats which arrived at the wharf in 1889 were greeted by an enthusiastic crowd which the captain entertained by a display of an electric searchlight, the first that many of those present had ever seen.

The extension of the railroad from Morgantown to Uniontown, on which grading began in the spring of 1892, was practically completed early in 1894; and, after some delay occasioned by the bridge across Cheat at Point Marion, was opened to traffic in the following summer—soon resulting in the opening of rich coal fields in Monongalia county. In 1895, the authorized capital of the road which under the incorporation of 1893 had been $1,000,000 was increased to $2,740,000. At first inadequate for the vast freights which it carried, in 1907 the road was improved by equipment with new 85 pound rails and by a double track over part of its route.

The completion of railway connections with Fairmont revived the projected railway up Decker's creek. Grading for this road was begun in the spring of 1887 under the direction of the West Virginia Railway Company which proposed to complete a line via Masontown, Reedsville and Hardman's Furnace to Independence on the Baltimore and Ohio eleven miles east of Grafton, but on the failure to dispose of its bonds, suddenly collapsed, producing much anger among its unpaid Italian laborers and resulting in considerable friction in the settlement of its affairs. In the early nineties, the right of way and other properties belonging to the bankrupt company were purchased by George C. Sturgiss at public auction.

Coincident with the collapse of the Decker's creek line, the Tunnelton, Kingwood and Fairchance narrow gauge, surveyed in 1882 and graded in 1883, was completed from Tunnelton to Kingwood (in 1887). Originally constructed largely for transportation of timber, it was changed into a broad gauge by J. Ami Martin in 1896 in order to facilitate shipments of coal to the East. With this road is largely associated the growth of Tunnelton which until 1873 contained less than a dozen families. A new era of industrial development for the town began with the advent of the Merchants' Coal Company in 1895.

About 1891 the old expectation of the construction of a road on the west side of the river in Monongalia was temporarily revived. Stephen B. Elkins, who visited Morgantown in 1890-91 to secure options on large tracts of coal lands on the west side of the Monongahela, contemplated for awhile the purchase of the old West Virginia and Pennsylvania rights by the Davis-Elkins interests but negotiations failed largely on account of the prices demanded by the promoters.

The previous projects of a railway up Decker's creek were revived by Hon. George C. Sturgiss in 1898. The Morgantown and Kingwood Railroad was chartered in January, 1899, with a capital stock of $200,000. The new company opened an office at Morgantown and construction was begun on July 5, 1899, under the superintendence of J. Ami Martin. By November, 1900, the road was completed to the Preston county line, over eleven miles from Morgantown. From this point, after waiting in vain for expected local aid, the road was completed to Masontown in 1902. At this time there were several projects for extensions westward.

In 1902 the road passed to the control of Senator Stephen B. Elkins and his sons, who also purchased the property of the Cheat River and Pittsburg Railroad and determined upon eastward extension to connect with the Baltimore and Ohio at Rowlesburg and with the Cheat Valley Railroad.

In the meantime work was pushed on the new road and new lines projected. At a meeting of the stockholders March 28, 1902, the directors were ordered to purchase the property of the "Central Railway of West Virginia," and at the same time determined upon the extension of their lines across the Monongahela river and down its left bank into Pennsylvania to join with the Wabash system. Another extension was planned which would place a line on the left bank of the Monongahela between Morgantown and Fairmont; another would build a road up Dents run and over the hill summits of Little Indian creek, down which the road would extend to the Monongahela river. Still another line was projected up Scotts run and across Monongalia county to some point on the Ohio river and up Robinsons run to Waynesburg, Pennsylvania.

With the Elkinses came plans for extension eastward. At a stockholders' meeting, April 6, 1903, President Davis Elkins reported the purchase of the Cheat River and Pittsburg Railroad Company's property. At a meeting of the stockholders May 11, 1903, it was determined to extend the road to connect with the Cheat Valley Railroad. At the same meeting it was agreed that the road should be extended to Rowlesburg, so that eastern connection with the B. & O. might be had.

The line was completed to Kingwood in 1906 and to Rowlesburg in 1907.

On March 12, 1906, the first passenger train ran to Kingwood on the new line.

The completion of the line to Kingwood marked an era in the history of Preston county and on March 17, 1906, five days from the time the first passenger train of the M. & K. ran into Kingwood, the Preston county metropolis gave a fitting celebration of the event. J. Ami Martin, who possibly had done more toward the building of the road and the improvement of Preston county than any other man, was lionized at this celebration and presented a valuable gold watch.

This short line road has proven a very valuable factor in the industrial development of the region through which it passes, opening up valuable coal and timber lands and carrying heavily laden trains of lumber, coal and coke for shipment via the B. & O. at Morgantown and Rowlesburg. The Decker's creek valley became a beehive of modern industry with daily shipments of products equal in value to the entire products of the valley for years previous to the construction of the road. At Sabraton, near Morgantown, is located a large plant of the American Sheet and Tin Plate Company. The chief coal companies in operation along the line are the Connellsville Basin Coal and Coke Company and the Elkins Coal Company both of which make large daily shipments.

In October, 1919, the Morgantown and Kingwood Railroad was purchased by the Baltimore and Ohio with financial co-operation of the Bethlehem Steel company.

Coincident with the railroad development solving problems of transportation on which depended the larger usefulness of the vast resources so long stored away in her neighboring hills, Morgantown expanded beyond her ancient boundaries.

The influence of the railway connection affected every phase of the community life.

In 1885, stimulated by the prospective opening of railway train service to Fairmont, the town celebrated the one hundredth anniversary of its existence. The railroad then under construction was completed early in January, 1886, and the first train from Fairmont arrived on February 14. The better communication was a timely improvement for the University, which in 1885 began an era of larger usefulness under the administration of President E. M. Turner, resulting in a steadily increasing attendance, which was further increased by provisions of 1889 and 1897 for admission of women, and also resulting in a small expansion of buildings between 1889 and 1894—the first series of expansions to meet increasing needs for space and more adequate instruction under modern conditions.

Late in 1884 a company was organized to bore for gas at Morgantown and began work on a gas well between Foundry Street and Decker's Creek, but by March, 1885, having failed to find gas, abandoned the enterprise.

In the election of May, 1885, the town by a vote of 119 to 36 decided to subscribe $5,000 for water works, but no further action was taken. Many improvements were undertaken under the leadership of Col. Richard E. Fast, who became mayor in May, 1888. Surveys were made to determine whether buildings jutted upon the streets. Many property owners were induced to try brick sidewalks. Streets were named. Within the following year, gas mains were laid, gas lights replaced the old oil lamps for street lighting.

Late in 1888 the Union Improvement Company was formed by E. M. Grant and others (with outside capital) to supply the town with gas, and on February 12, 1889, turned the gas into the mains for use. The company later became the Union Gas and Water Company which was absorbed by the West Virginia Utilities Company in 1903. The latter was absorbed by a larger consolidating company in 1913.

The year 1889 marked the beginning of a series of improvements indicating an increasing spirit of enterprise which was doubtless influenced by the realization of a dream of half a century, the opening of regular steamboat communication with Pittsburgh following the completion of Lock No. 9 late in the year.

In 1889, the town council inaugurated plans for water works, sewers and a fire department, but encountered opposition and difficulties. Finally in April, 1889, E. M. Grant, manager of the Union Improvement Company, agreed to undertake to install a system of water works, and on September 13 turned the water into the mains for use. Under an ordinance of November 24, 1891, George C. Sturgiss by June, 1892, installed on the river bank near the Victor Mills a small electric plant which was later (1903) acquired by the Union Utilities Company. In 1903, to supply the increasing needs for water, new water works plants, a pumping station and a filtration plant were erected on the Monongahela above the mouth of Cobuns Creek. In 1903, a larger electric plant was constructed on Deckers Creek by the Morgantown Electric and Traction Company, which in the same year begun the operation of the first electric street car line (The "Loop").

After three defeats of a proposed bond issue for sewers (in 1889 and 1892 and 1894), the council found other ways to begin such sewer improvements as were immediately needed to protect the people from disease.

In September, 1890, the town influenced the county court to contract for the erection of a new courthouse which was badly needed.

As early as October, 1884, the old courthouse was pronounced dangerous. In July, 1888, when steps were taken to secure plans for a new building, strong objection was raised by some who proposed to remodel the old building until more money could be obtained for a new one. On September 13, 1890, the court decided to award contract for a new structure and arrange to rent the Methodist Protestant church-building for temporary use during the period of construction on the new

court building. In January, 1891, it added to the public square by purchase of the Lazier block by which a complete frontage was obtained on Chancery Row, Walnut Street, and High Street.

In 1895, railway connection with Uniontown and Connellsville was obtained by the completion of the branch of the Baltimore and Ohio begun in 1892.

In 1895 the first telephones. belonging to the peoples Telephone Company of Monongalia County, were installed.

In 1897, the Morgantown Independent School District was created. Although response to the needs of better educational facilities was rather slow, in 1901 the town finally completed at the corner of Spruce and Walnut an artistic brick building to replace the old Academy building which had been used from 1868 to 1896, when a fire made it unfit for school purposes.

In 1914-15 the needs of a high school were met by the construction of a new brick building in front of the older one.

On March 9, 1899, an important step in the later development of the town was taken by the county court—the purchase of the old Monongahela suspension (constructed in 1852) bridge from the West Morgantown Bridge Company, and the abolition of the tolls. The purchase which had been agitated for ten years was finally accomplished only after steps had been taken to obtain from the War Department permission to construct a free public bridge. Several years later (in 1907) another important step was taken in replacing the old bridge with a modern structure adequate to the needs of increasing travel and traffic.

Business soon increased beyond the capacity of the two banks which existed when railroad connection was opened. In 1888, the Monongahela Bank was established by reorganization of an older bank. Banks later organized were: The Farmers and Merchants, in 1895; the Citizens' National, in 1900; the Federal Savings and Trust, in 1904; the Bank of Morgantown, in 1906; the Union Bank and Trust Company in 1920; and the Commercial Bank, in 1921.

The Morgantown Savings and Loan Society began business in 1897, and was followed closely by the Athens Building and Loan Association in 1904 and the Monongalia Building and Loan Association, in 1904. Among the later organizations of this kind are the Union Building and Loan (1916) and the Morgantown Building Association (1918).

In 1901, the town was incorporated as a city and tripled its previous area by absorption of three other corporations: Seneca, Greenmont and South Morgantown.

In 1902, opportunities for new growth were provided by various land companies, two of which built bridges across Decker's creek—one to South Park, and the other to the Chancery addition. In the next ten years it had a rapid growth both in population and in industrial activity.

In the decades after 1900 it was the leading glass manufacturing town in the state. Its chief glass plants were the Seneca A (established in 1896), the Seneca B of Star City (established in 1911), the W. R. Jones (established in 1901), The Marilla (established in 1902), the Mississippi (established in 1902), The Pressed Prison Plate of Sabraton (established in 1903), The Star (established in 1904), The Union Stopper (established in 1905), The Economy Tumbler (established in 1906), The Crystal Tumbler (established in 1910-11), the S. R. Wightman (established in 1905).

The Sabraton Works of the American Sheet and Tin Plate Company were established in 1905.

Among other manufacturing plants established after 1890 were the following: The Morgantown Brick Company, Westover Plant, in 1890 (Seneca Works 1898), The Victor Mills, in 1891, The Morgantown Planing Mills Company in 1894, The Morgantown Wholesale Company, 1897, The Morgantown Printing and Binding Company, 1898, Morgantown and Kingwood Railroad Shops, 1899, The Kincaid and Arnett Feed Mills, in 1900, The Morgantown Ice Company, in 1901, The Morgantown Foundry and Machine Company in 1903, R. A. Wilbourn Company, in 1908, Chrisman Foundry and Machine, in 1909, Morgantown and Wheeling Railway Company, in 1910, General Woodworking Company, in 1910, Lough-Simpson Grocery Company, in 1911, Monongahela Supply Company, in 1913, The Morgantown Broom Company, in 1919, Jackson and Grow Machine Company, in 1919, Morgantown Macaroni Company, in 1921.

Connections with the western part of the county were greatly improved by the construction of the Morgantown and Dunkard Valley Railroad to Cassville in 1908-11, and by its later extension under the new name Morgantown and Wheeling Railway.

In 1914-15, to facilitate communication with South Morgantown whose business activity was largely increasing, the county built a fine concrete bridge across Deckers Creek near the railroad bridge.

Early in the new century two small hospitals were established. Plans for a large city hospital and more adequate hotel facilities were postponed by immediate demands of other business.

More adequate quarters for the post office were obtained by the construction of a Federal building in 1913-15. A movement to secure a city hall—a movement which began in 1890—finally resulted in the purchase of an inadequate building and grounds on Spruce Street in 1914.

An attempt to secure a commission or business manager form of government was defeated by popular vote in 1917, but a modified business manager government was adopted in 1921.

With new industrial development came many other changes—in population, property, prices, public problems and prosperity. At the opening of the second decade of the new century, the bright prospects resulting from the continued growth of established business and population were increased by the extension of electric lines beyond the immediate vicinity of the town and the construction of the "Buckhannon and Northern" Railroad on the west side of the river, completed in 1912 between Fairmont and the Pennsylvania line.

In the eastern panhandle, in addition to the Shenandoah branch, the Baltimore and Ohio Railway has a branch which was chartered in 1871 and opened in 1884 from Green Spring to Romney. An extension line, the Hampshire-Southern Railroad, was organized in 1906, begun in 1909, and opened from Romney to Moorefield in April, 1910, and to Petersburg in the following October. It furnishes facilities for shipment of large quantities of export cattle, hard wood timber and limestone. It

Romney County Court House

has also given a vigorous impetus to the business of fruit growing along the South Branch. Its futher extension southward into valuable forests of timber in Pendleton county was planned by its promoters.

Development in the eastern panhandle after 1900 was influenced by two north and south railroads which cross the main line of the Baltimore and Ohio—the Cumberland Valley at Martinsburg and the Norfolk and Western at Shenandoah Junction. The latter road especially stimulated improvements in the two old towns, Shepherdstown and Charleston.

Railways Along the Ohio

In the upper panhandle, and southward along the Ohio the touch of new industrial enterprise has set its mark at many points. Among the chief new industrial factors which contributed to the development were the production of oil and gas, and the establishment of glass and steel manufactures. Farther south the timber industries were more important. The extension of railroad lines was also a determining feature.

To connect Wellsburg with Wheeling, the Panhandle Railway Company was incorporated in 1868, at the initiative of Wellsburg, to construct a line from Holliday's Cove via Wellsburg to Wheeling. By act of 1871 the road was designated as the Pittsburg, Wheeling and Kentucky ("Pe-wi-ky" Railroad, but it was never built southward from

Wheeling. The original company began grading in 1870, the new company, aided by a subsidy voted by Ohio county in 1872, completed the grading and bridging by 1874 but was compelled by the hard times to abandon further work. In 1876 the Pittsburg, Columbus and St. Louis, securing a ninety-nine year lease on the property and franchise, laid the rails and ran the first trains. By 1890, the line was extended from Steubenville Junction in Hancock county to New Cumberland.[9]

In September, 1890, the completion and opening of the terminal bridge from North Wheeling across the Ohio above Martin's Ferry—an important achievement which marked the end of forty years of striving, giving Wheeling a direct outlet to the West without depending upon the Bellaire bridge or the Steubenville bridge. The Wheeling Bridge and Terminal Company was organized in 1882 as the Wheeling and Harrisburg Railway Company. In 1888 is received a subsidy of $300,000 and began construction. In the same year the Wheeling and Lake Erie Rail-

Down Draft Kilns at the Cresent Yard, New Cumberland, Hancock County
(Courtesy of West Virginia Geological Survey)

way Company, organized in 1886, was also voted a subsidy of $300,000 by Wheeling and by 1889 it built its road from Bowerston to the Ohio at Portland station from whence it entered Wheeling by the terminal bridge line. By 1890 it was completed to Toledo and over it the first train ran on August 2, 1891. The terminal bridge railway was purchased by the Pennsylvania system at a forced sale in 1905.

Between Bellaire and Martin's Ferry four great bridges now span

[9] The people of New Cumberland even before the arrival of the railway believed their town was the most convenient location for the court house and offered to donate the grounds and brick to erect a building. At a special election held October, 1884, to determine the question of the relocation of the court house, New Cumberland was selected as the county seat by a vote of 747 against 401. In vain did the people of Fairview employ lawyers to resist the relocation by application to the supreme court for an injunction to prevent the removal of the records.

The removal to temporary quarters was accomplished on December 24. A permanent building was promptly constructed, and a special night expedition secured for it the bell of the old court house at Fairview (now Pughtown). In 1905 Chester, the residence of the sheriff, aspired to be the county seat but at a special election held April 25 was only able to secure 917 votes against 926 for New Cumberland. Several Fairview leaders urged the removal to Chester. Recently there have been suggestions of the possibility of later removal to Wierton, at which a large steel plant was established in 1911.

the Ohio. The great "steel bridge," at Eleventh Street, begun in 1891 under a city franchise of 1890, rests on great piers of masonry at an elevation safely above any of the tall chimneys which decorated the Pittsburg boats of the fifties.

The Wabash railway bridge, constructed in 1905, crosses the river about six miles south of Steubenville. The Wheeling and Lake Erie bridge, at Martin's Ferry, is operated by the Baltimore and Ohio. About 1909 a trolley and general traffic bridge was built across the Ohio at Steubenville.[10]

At Wheeling, street cars were introduced in 1866, and by 1880 connected the extremities of the city and furnished a means of communication with all towns lying within a radius of five miles from its center.

Until about 1880, when a labor strike contributed to the decline of the industry, the city was a great nail manufacturing center. Later its

Clifton Sewer Pipe Yard, New Cumberland, Hancock County
(Courtesy of West Virginia Geological Survey)

interests were diverted to iron and steel manufactures. In the last quarter century it has undergone great changes resulting from the combinations of mills and the strengthening and expansion of industry in the whole Wheeling district—including establishments at Martin's Ferry and Steubenville, in which Wheeling capital dominates, and in Bellaire, which may be regarded as tributary to Wheeling.[11] Besides the works owned by the United States Steel Corporation there are several large independent companies. In the various manufacturing establishments of Wheeling proper, 176 by the census of 1910, were employed about one-fourth of the entire population of the city.

In trade and business relations the city by excellent electric transportation facilities linked to itself the population of Benwood, McMechen, Glendale, Moundsville, Elm Grove, Wellsburg and Follansbee. By 1913,

[10] Communication of the upper end of the panhandle with Wheeling via Steubenville was facilitated by the construction of two trolley bridges across the Ohio at East Liverpool—one to Chester (about 1900) and the other to Newell (about 1910).

[11] In 1887 about 30% of Wheeling's manufactured goods was conveyed to market via the Ohio (12% up-river and 18% down-river), and 70% by rail (25% over the Baltimore and Ohio to eastern cities and 30 to 35% to western markets and the remainder over the Pittsburg, Wheeling and Kentucky and the Cleveland, Lorain and Wheeling railways). Imports arrived by the same routes in about the same proportion.

a movement toward prospective unification of several communities under one government began to take form.[12]

Favored with great natural shipping facilities, the city is a great commercial and jobbing center. Its increasing future advantages are indicated by the prospective canalization of the Ohio and the opening of canal traffic into Lake Erie.

Between 1908 and 1913, Wheeling was much benefited by the construction of freight and passenger terminals and the elimination of grade crossings in the city.

The New York Central, through the Lake Erie, Alliance, and Wheeling, which was constructed to Dillonville, Ohio, by 1911, made attempts to enter the city.

The population of Wheeling, which was 34,522 in 1890, increased to 38,878 in 1900, to 41,641 in 1910 and to 54,323 in 1920. In its population many nationalities are represented. Thirty per cent is native born of foreign or mixed parentage. Thirteen per cent is foreign born, chiefly from Germany, Austria, Russia and England. Only three per cent are negroes. The population of Wheeling district, including the many suburban towns is about 225,000. The following statement of postoffice receipts for the decade after 1912 reflects the increase of population and of business.

1912	$225,649.53
1913	230,567.49
1914	235,821.22
1915	240,388.58
1916	274,757.27
1917	287,449.98
1918	345,371.86
1919	331,951.97
1920	341,971.66

Some idea of the amount of business in the Wheeling district may be obtained from the following statement of the condition of Wheeling banks on January 1, 1921:

	Date of Organization	Capital	Resources	Surplus	Loans	Deposits
Dollar Savings and Trust Co.	1887	750,000.00	$13,500,000.00	$1,500,000.00	$7,900,000.00	$10,500,000.00
The National Exchange Bank	1899	500,000.00	7,698,344.04	500,000.00	4,860,367.29	5,234,674.97
The National Bank of West Virginia	1817	500,000.00	6,771,094.59	250,000.00	3,442,722.36	4,532,766.42
Wheeling Bank and Trust Co.	1870	300,000.00	5,500,000.00	400,000.00	3,800,000.00	4,850,000.00
Security Trust Company	1903	300,000.00	3,631,524.63	348,136.94	3,167,812.08	2,982,546.67
Citizens-Peoples Trust Co.	1916	300,000.00	3,012,683.55	100,000.00	2,272,202.84	2,514,974.29
Mutual Savings Bank	1887	None	2,329,432.19	98,739.83	708,364.31	2,185,219.50
Quarter Savings and Trust Co.	1901	200,000.00	1,494,504.71	100,000.00	1,244,796.47	1,192,588.70
Bank of the Ohio Valley	1875	175,000.00	2,146,186.49	49,000.00	1,435,065.54	1,909.528.91
Half-Dollar Savings Bank	1896	100,000.00	2,268.914.83	150,000.00	1,957,422.27	1,997,297.16
Center Wheeling Savings Bank	1901	100,000.00	1,826,121.15	64,111.50	1,198,813.73	1,658,298.16
South Side Bank & Trust Co.	1890	100,000.00	1,800,000.00	100,000.00	1,100,000.00	1,150,000.00
State Bank of Elm Grove (City)	1904	100,000.00	1,423,766.16	45,000.00	1,080,992.18	1,273,054.96
Fulton Bank and Trust Co. (City)	1919	100,000.00	520,000.00	22,000.00	420,000.00	395,000.00
First National Bank of Elm Grove (City)	1908	100,000.00	775,000.00	30,000.00	675,000.00	750,000.00
Bank of Warwood (City)	1911	25,000.00	653,543.68	15,000.00	501,239.57	588,223.20
Community Savings and Loan Co.	.....	200,000.00	622,940.52	27,212.94	612,079.74	355,727.58
Industrial Savings & Loan Co.	.....	100,000.00	408,000.00	18,406.70	390,000.00	193,000.00
		$3,950,000.00	$56,372,056.54	$3,817,607.91	$36,766,878.35	$44,612,900.00

[12] In 1913, Wheeling was governed under a modern charter which vested great powers in a board of control, consisting of a mayor and two elective members with a council composed of ward representatives. The municipality owned several public utilities—including waterworks, a gas plant, an electric light plant and incinerator. It had a lower tax rate than any other city of its size in the country. The first attempt at municipal regulation of milk supply was made in 1906, and was followed by more effective legislation under a new charter in 1907. The Wheeling Milk Commission was organized in 1909 and began the certification of milk in 1910. The sewage system of the city was still antiquated and inadequate, and the method of sewage disposal was open to grave criticism.

Activity in the year 1921 was indicated by the 627 building permits which were issued by the city, and which represented a cost of construction aggregating $1,152,687.

Wheeling is the principal wholesale center for a large part of West Virginia and has about 100 traveling salesmen serving regular routes of trade. Its principal industries are iron, steel, glass, and coal mining. The iron industry grew from small beginnings. The original supply of iron from the ores from Glen's Run was later supplanted by the better ores from the Great Lakes.

The city has 22 hotels, three of which are ranked commercially as first class. It has 20 theaters, two of which have a rank above the other 18 which are moving picture theaters. It has four daily newspapers.

It obtains its gas from the City and Suburban Gas Company which furnishes the supply from 26 producing wells located in Spring Hill and Rich Hill townships in the county and assisted by a compressor station located at Majorsville W. Va. Its domestic gas supply is furnished by the Natural Gas Company of West Virginia, but its industrial gas supply is partly furnished by the Manufacturers' Light and Heat Company whose head offices are at Pittsburgh. Its electric light is furnished chiefly by the Wheeling Electric Company. Its telephone service is supplied entirely by the Chesapeake and Potomac Telephone Company which recently absorbed the holdings of the old National Telephone Company.

It owns a system of efficiently conducted waterworks which represents an investment of over $1,208,000. It has forty-seven miles of paved streets, of which thirty are paved with bricks and asphalt.

The health department has proven very useful in food inspection, sanitation, garbage collection, water tests, milk tests. The city government is located in the former State capitol, a fine building at the corner of Sixteenth and Chapline streets, which is also used as a county court house. It is operated under the city manager plan adopted in 1915 under a charter from the legislature which reduced the old system of a council of about forty to a council of nine, one from each ward, and one at large. The council appoints the city clerk, chief of police, city solicitor, judge of police court and the city manager. The city manager appoints all other employees for other departments and has entire supervision of the executive business of the city, including the enforcement of the ordinances and directions of council. The new plan has proven useful in fixing responsibility and in securing non-partisan administration.

Wheeling is connected with other points along the Ohio by a network of electric railways, on both sides of the river. The Wheeling Traction Company connects with the large steel and iron mills of Bellaire and Martins Ferry, and also serves the mill towns of Benwood, McMechen and Moundsville.

Its subsidiary, the Panhandle Traction Company, operates its vast service between Wheeling and Steubenville and intermediate points.

From Wellsburg to Bethany an independent electric railway is operated on a daily schedule by a small but enterprising company organized by President Cramblet of Bethany College.

West Virginia Traction and Electric Company operates from central Wheeling eastward through the residential district along the national turnpike to Elm Grove, Triadelphia, and West Alexander. It owns and operates Wheeling Park, the chief amusement park in the Wheeling district. Its subsidiary, the West Virginia Traction and Electric Company, operates from North and South Wheeling.

The Wheeling Improvement Association was formed in June, 1919, to aid a program of city planning and suburban development. It employed trained engineers to consider a number of definite projects, including the proposition of extending a roadway along the west side of Wheeling Hill, a plan for parking Wheeling Hill, a plan for straightening Wheeling Creek, a plan of making the highlands of Chapline Hill accessible as a residential section. It also began investigations for plan to protect the south side and other low grounds of the city from floods.

Wheeling ranks high as a church city. In Greater Wheeling in 1920 there were 71 churches, of all denominations, with a combined membership of 32,000—15,000 Roman Catholics and 17,000 Protestants. One of its most valuable religious and social assets is the Union Mission (for rescue work), supported and endorsed by all Protestant churches of the community.

The city is prominent for its benevolent organizations. Wheeling Hospital, founded by Bishop Whelan early in 1850, is in charge of the Sisters of St. Joseph and is controlled by a board of directors of which Bishop Donahue is president. The Ohio Valley General Hospital, organized as the City Hospital, received its charter in January, 1890, and in 1892 found a home at the corner of Twentieth and Eoff streets, in the building of the Wheeling Female Seminary, which in 1914 was replaced by a new fireproof building on the same site. The Children's Home was founded in 1870. The Young Men's Christian Association, organized in December, 1884, obtained a new building for its home in May, 1920. The Young Women's Christian Association was organized in 1907, and has a dignified centrally located building which is partly sustained by a well conducted cafeteria. The Associated Charities was formed in 1909 by a merger of several philanthropic agencies operating entirely on a volunteer basis. The Ohio Anti-Tuberculosis League, organized in 1909, maintained a sanitarium at Elm Grove for several years and in 1918 secured a more satisfactory location in the same neighborhood. The Florence Crittenden Home was reorganized in 1910. The House of the Good Shep-

herd, for destitute and wayward young girls, was established in 1900. St. Vincent's Home for Girls, originally established in 1856 in connection with the Wheeling Hospital, obtained a home at Elm Grove in 1894. St. John's Home for Boys was opened at Elm Grove in 1895, by the Sisters of St. Joseph. St. Alphonsus Home and Orphan Asylum was established in 1890. The Home for the Aged, Altenheim (founded by Anton Reymann), was opened in 1900 for worthy women of advanced age. It is located at Woodsdale on the national road. The West Virginia Home for Aged and Friendless Women was first founded, under a different name, in 1887. The Union Mission was organized in 1917.

A factor of no small importance in the industrial growth of Wheeling and other cities southward along the Ohio was the Ohio River Railroad which, after its completion, supplemented the declining commerce of the river[13] and furnished a more rapid means of transportation.

For two decades or more following the Civil war steamboat business on the upper Ohio was extensive and profitable. During a large part of this period large packets, the *Dakota, Montana, Wyoming* and others carried passengers, railroad iron, and agricultural implements from Pittsburgh to the West, and local favorites, the *Emma Graham, Katie Stockdale, Keystone State, Scotia, Hudson* and others, plied the trade between Pittsburgh and Cincinnati. Meanwhile the local traffic between intermediate points more than held its own, some of the participants becoming independent financially. The *Andes* (Captain Charles Muhleman), and the *St. Lawrence* (Captain List), were in the trade between Wheeling and Cincinnati; the *Courier* (Captain John H. Roberts, one of the most popular of rivermen), and the *Diurnal* (Captain Asa Booth), maintained daily communication between Wheeling and Parkersburg. Each of the smaller towns such as Steubenville, Sunfish, Mattamoras, and Marietta had its daily packet connecting it

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[13] During the Civil war, through-traffic southward on the Ohio entirely ceased. The rail-lines which most seriously threatened river commerce were located north of the Ohio, and were undisturbed by military operations. Although hampered by lack of capital, the progress made in railway building during the time of disturbance was sufficient to increase materially their competitive power. Bridges across the Ohio were authorized by Congress in 1866, and the connections between the two banks of the river were soon thereafter made.

During the period of waterway inactivity, the railways were not only extending their lines, but they were making more efficient their existing facilities. Consolidation of connecting lines into single systems for the purpose of increasing the efficiency of long-distance operations was proceeding rapidly. In the sixties appeared the first of the fast freight lines, which facilitated enormously the handling of thru business from the West. Co-operation of railways in the construction of union stations, connecting tracks and similar facilities increased in the decade 1860-1870. * * * In short, business relations were established which carried over after the waterways were again available; and, except at certain periods when circumstances were exceptional, the rivers did not even approach their former position of importance.

The consolidation of connecting railroad links had given the eastern trunk lines control of their western connections, and with it the power to reach out to the source of traffic and control its transit. By the end of the sixties, the railways had gained a considerable degree of confidence in their ability to compete with western rivers and lakes.

After the war steamboats were constructed with special reference to the carrying of freight. The towboat, or propelling steamer, built with powerful engines, stern wheel, and shallow draft, to handle the tons of barges, flats and rafts, also appeared on a larger scale, and became a factor in the development of the coal trade of the river.

Competition between the two forms of transportation had a steadying effect upon water rates. The river rates had earlier been determined wholly by the supply and demand of transportation, and this had been influenced greatly by the condition of navigation. But by 1870 it appeared that an enhancement of the water rate during a season of low water had a tendency to divert traffic to the railway, and that the boats could therefore no longer enjoy the full benefit of their situation. To some extent agreements for prorating on thru traffic were entered into between rail and water lines. For example, the C. & O. prorated with Ohio steamboats on an allowance of two miles of waterways for one mile of rail. These agreements, however, were difficult to arrange and to keep in force because of the lack of boating organization and the necessity of making contracts with so many individual steamboat owners. Nevertheless prorating arrangements between railways and the packets operating on the Ohio for the purpose of handling Pittsburg steel products continued until about 1900, when they were terminated in response to the desire of railways serving the Pittsburg district.

with some larger city and intermediate landings, and on the lower Ohio the Bays of Ironton operated packets between Pomeroy, Gallipolis, Kanawha river ports,[14] and Huntington and points farther south. Moreover, after 1873, when the Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad reached the Ohio river at Guyandotte, the Cincinnati and Big Sandy steamboats, known as the Railroad Line, did a good business under the management of Captain "Wash" Honshell. In fact the raftsmen of the Great Kanawha and the Big Sandy came to look upon Honshell as a sort of monarch of the river and are said to have written him from time to time for permission to float their rafts on his river.

But these days of glory and profit were doomed. Many things contributed to that end, chief of which was the desire of a growing country for the best possible transportation. But the rivermen probably hastened their own undoing. In the late seventies some of them had defied the Standard Oil Company, then developing into a powerful monopoly. It controlled the railroads from the upper Ohio to the East and had practically closed them to independent producers of oil. To aid the latter the steamboats carried large quantities of crude oil to Huntington, West Virginia, for shipments east over the Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad, then in the throes of bankruptcy and eager for business. An act of Congress prohibiting all shipments of oil, either crude or refined, on steamboats did not serve the purposes of monopoly. By the use of open barges the rivermen continued to carry the production of the independent producers.[15]

It was under these conditions that plans for a railroad to parallel the Ohio river were revived. For some time construction was delayed for lack of funds, but, after two years of agitation, local parties under the leadership of Captain John McClure of Wheeling, a former riverman of note, and J. N. Camden, of Parkersburg and Standard Oil connections, announced that eastern capital was available and construction began. The fact that W. H. Vanderbilt was said to own 80,000 shares and the control of the proposed road may be significant.

The Ohio River Railroad, a connecting link between the great Pennsylvania system and the Chesapeake and Ohio, was first chartered in 1881 as the Wheeling, Parkersburg and Cincinnati Railroad, but was chartered in its later name in 1882. The road was opened for traffic from Wheeling to Parkersburg on June 15, 1884, from Parkersburg June 15, 1884, from Parkersburg to Point Pleasant on January 1, 1886, from Point Pleasant to Huntington on April 1, 1888, and from Huntington to the Big Sandy in 1893. The entire Ohio River Railroad with its branches was purchased by the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company in August, 1901. A branch was constructed from Millwood to Ripley in Jackson county in 1888 and another from Ravenswood to Spencer in Roane county in 1892. A connecting branch from New Martinsville to Clarksburg was completed in 1902, and another from New Martins-

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[14] In good stage of water, in the early seventies, the Ohio and Kanawha river navigation gave direct access to fifteen counties. There were frequent steamers from Wheeling to Parkersburg, and mail boats from Parkersburg to Charleston via Point Pleasant.

After her formation in 1863, West Virginia created a Kanawha board to continue the work of the old James River and Kanawha Company, and to make adequate improvement to supply the needs of the rapidly increasing population and business of the Kanawha valley. In 1871-72, in connection with the lively interest which was aroused in favor of improvement of internal waterways, and when there was revival of the old idea of a James River and Kanawha Canal, the United States government was asked for aid. In the following two years, Congress appropriated a total of $50,000 which was expended on sluice and wing-dam improvement. Early in 1875 lock and dam improvements were recommended and in March, Congress appropriated $300,000 to begin the permanent improvement of the river. After a quarter of a century the work was completed practically to Montgomery at a cost of over $4,000,000. Of the ten dams constructed, eight were movable. Those constructed in 1880 were the first movable dams in America.

[15] This statement in regard to post-bellum transportation on the Ohio is based upon the conclusions of Dr. Charles Henry Ambler, who has made a careful study of the subject and has in preparation for early publication a volume on the history of Ohio River influences.

ville with a view to connection with Salem was completed to Middlebourne in 1913. An electric line was completed from Sistersville to Middlebourne in 1913.

Moundsville, at the junction of the new road with the Baltimore and Ohio, received a new stimulus to growth. New Martinsville felt the beginning of a new life which was further stimulated by manufacturing plants and the oil industry. Sistersville and St. Mary's received their largest stimulus from the oil industry. Williamstown later felt the influence of closer relations with Marietta by bridge connection across the river.

Parkersburg, which owed much of its prosperity to the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad and the magnificent bridge by which it was connected with the Cincinnati Railway, also received a new impetus by the railway connection north and south. In 1887 it had three petroleum refineries with an annual product of 300,000 barrels which was shipped largely by rail (only 20 per cent by down-river navigation). From Elizabeth and other points it received large quantities of grain. It still received some flatboat traffic of other native products from the Little Kanawha,[16] and especially rafts of logs of hardwood for the Parkersburg mills. Its interests were benefited by the passage of the Interstate Commerce Act in 1887. Its river trade was threatened with reduction by the construction of the railway from Zanesville to the mouth of the Muskingum, but its railway facilities gave it a compensating increase for any reduction in other directions.[17]

Between Parkersburg and Huntington, several towns obtained new advantages for growth, Point Pleasant especially received a new stimulus to growth which was reinforced by the completion of the Kanawha and Michigan along the Great Kanawha to Charleston in 1884 and later by the construction of the railway bridge over the Ohio in 1885, and the Baltimore and Ohio bridge across the Kanawha in 1887.

The decline of river traffic at various points, coincident with the extension of railway competition was not indicative of commercial decay at such places.

The effects of the construction of the Ohio River Railroad on the local river traffic were immediate and disastrous. At once the passenger list of the *Courier* fell from a hundred or more to twelve. Deprived of the income from their contract for carrying the mails the *Diurnal*, her sister boat, was soon libeled for debt and it was announced that the *Courier* would follow her into the courts. Soon the *St. Lawrence* passed to the Big Sandy trade, and Captain Muhleman sold the *Andes* and retired from the river. When the Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad extended from Huntington to Cincinnati, 1889, a similar shifting of the steamboats in that trade took place, and all along the West Virginia part of the Ohio, the case of the steamboatmen became desperate. Some extended the length of their runs; others cut rates; many entered trades on the lower Ohio and even the western and southern rivers; but most of them were compelled to make new acquaintances among lawyers and

[16] On February 4, 1863, the legislature of the reorganized government of Virginia by incorporating the Little Kanawha Navigation Company with authority to issue stock took the first step to improve the Little Kanawha, whose commercial importance had attracted attention long before. The Company constructed several locks and dams. The proposition for further improvement was renewed after the war and under the provisions of an act of January 28, 1866, amended by an act of March 4, 1868, the work of improvement from Parkersburg to Burning Springs in Wirt county was begun in 1870 and actively prosecuted by General J. J. Jackson and Hon. J. N. Camden. The completion of work to Burning Springs opened up a new field of commercial enterprise to the back counties along the valley of the river and its tributaries.

[17] The Little Kanawha Railway, chartered in 1896 to connect Parkersburg and Burnsville, was begun in 1897 and opened to Palestine above Elizabeth in 1898. It is now operated by the B. and O. Railway Company. Along the survey of the Wabash system, considerable grading was done between Palestine and Grantsville and as far up as Glenville but construction suddenly ceased in 1903, for financial reasons. Later there were rumors of a prospective line from Parkersburg to Charleston via Elizabeth, Spencer, Walton, down Two Mile and up the Great Kanawha.

judges. Some few survived the thinning out processes and continued to ply the river for a decade or more, reluctant to yield to the forces of progress and the plans and schemes of big business.

Western Maryland Railway

Another important line of railway, constructed up the North Branch of the Potomac from Piedmont and later supplemented by a line up the Elk from Charleston, pierced a region centering at Elkins in Randolph and on the upper Cheat above Parsons in Tucker.

Perhaps the most remarkable industrial changes which have been made in any of the counties of the northern part of the State since the war have appeared in Tucker and Randolph, especially since the first penetration of the railroad into the Upper Cheat and Tygart's Valley country in 1885. In these counties, in 1870, there was a waste of valuable timber which indicated the economic wisdom of the speedy construction of an outlet to the nearest navigable point on Cheat or at Tucker Court House twenty-five miles above Rowlesburg station of the Baltimore and Ohio. In 1870, Diss Debar, the State Commissioner of Immigration, who issued a handbook to exhibit the various resources of the state, proposed a fifty-five mile double track tramway from the Staunton turnpike to Tucker Court House, or St. George, via the Laurel Fork of Cheat—an enterprise which he said would promote the development of a rich timber region large enough to form a separate county. About the same time (1869) the Randolph, Tucker and Preston Turnpike was projected with a proposed termination at West Union or Chisholm's Mills.

Randolph, although settled a century earlier, remained so inaccessible that few people had settled in its borders. The families of the earliest settlers in many instances still occupied the property of their pioneer ancestors. Although Tygart's Valley region was fairly well settled and prosperous, other regions were in a wild and unsettled condition—resulting from the difficulty of making mountain roads and the distance from railroad connection. The streams as a rule were not navigable for boats and were too swift for any use except to float timber. From 1865 to 1895 many logs were floated on Cheat to Rowlesburg and Point Marion, and on Tygart's to Grafton (largely to the Purdee and Curtin Lumber Company). From 1888 to 1896, much spruce timber was floated from Shaver's Fork (almost at the head of Cheat) to Point Marion. The steam saw mill industry began in 1878 with the appearance of a portable mill brought from Virginia to Dry Fork. The more active industry followed the arrival of railroads which made accessible the great coniferous and hardwood forests and, after 1894, encouraged the increase of the lumber business by the use of many huge band mills supplemented by the smaller portable saw mills.

Canaan Valley in Tucker and the surrounding plateau country remained practically undisturbed until the fire of 1863 destroyed the spruce on a large area, and some parts were undisturbed until the storm of 1877 swept a path through the spruce belt. The lumber industry, which had begun by the erection of a saw mill on Cheat as early as 1830, was stimulated by the gradual introduction of steam mills after the close of the Civil war, especially after the completion of the railroad through the timber to Davis and westward to Parsons.

For over a decade after the close of the Civil war period, although the settlement of the tillable parts of the county developed more rapidly than in the period before the war, Randolph was neglected while the tide of investment and immigration passed by to the far west. By 1880, however, it began to receive new accessions by immigration. In 1879 the main body of a thrifty Swiss colony artfully decoyed into the wilderness of woe by land agents, crossed Shaver's Mountain to Alpina. Food was high, for Webster was then the nearest railroad point and difficult to reach by wagon. Instead of burning spruce-pine logs as the earliest settlers had done, they sawed them into lengths suitable for lumber in hope of placing them on the market—only to find that there was no accessible market.

The construction of a railroad from Piedmont up the North Branch to tap the undeveloped resources of Randolph county was proposed long before it was accomplished.

Railroad projects are partly the product of environment and usually grow in the mind of the originator before they are finally realized. They usually originate in a knowledge of resources awaiting development, and are partly based on faith in future profits.

In the almost inaccessable and sparsely populated interior region between the upper Potomac and the Elk, which had no east and west trunk line railroad, Henry G. Davis early used his opportunities to discover vast untouched natural resources of timber and coal, for which he finally found a means of transportation to market. Beginning with his observation and experience at Piedmont, his vision gradually extended to the crest of the Alleghenies and to a wider horizon beyond,

and from this vision was born within him a conception of a new railroad which later found outward expression in the charter of the Piedmont and Potomac Railroad and ultimately developed into the West Virginia Central and Pittsburgh Railway.

Following his marriage early in 1853, Davis sought a wider field than that offered in his earlier railroad experience since 1842. At Piedmont, whose importance was first determined by the necessity of larger locomotives to operate trains westward over the summit, he saw new opportunities in the possibilities of the future development of the timber and coal resources of the region. In accepting the position of station agent there, he really assumed in part the duties of a division superintendent. He became responsible for directing the movements of trains up the long incline to the summit and the selection of engineers and crews for that purpose. During the first year he lived in a box car, but built a house to which he brought his wife the next year.

While acting as station agent and superintendent of motive power, Davis started a general store in connection with his brother. In 1858 he resigned in order to get more time for the private enterprises in which he had been engaged. The firm of H. G. Davis & Co., while trading with the farmers of the narrow valley, found a larger business in supplying the railroad with oil and lumber and in shipping coal. It opened the timber sources of the back country by its sawmills and its pioneer lumber camps in which John Reilly acted as foreman. At the same time (1858) it established the Piedmont Savings Bank, which later became a state bank and finally a national bank. During the civil war the firm was the principal business concern of the upper Potomac region—a region which was the border land between the Union and Confederate forces. It supplied the government with horses and anticipated the needs of the railway for lumber and cross ties and bridge timber, and pushed its sawmills and tramways farther into the wilderness.

With the profits accumulated from the sale of supplies to the government and of equipment to the railroad, Mr. Davis pursued his larger plans, based on his confidence in the resources of the upper Potomac. He had already acquired wild lands on George's creek. He now bought several thousand acres of fine timber land in the wild Cheat river region at the summit of the Alleghenies—lands which had once been a part of the estate of Lord Fairfax, reaching to Fairfax stone, and whose later development was closely associated with the construction of a railroad into the interior wilds beyond the headwaters of the Potomac. In the spring of 1867 he moved to Deer Park, Maryland, which continued to be his summer home until 1892. From this point he traversed the wild country on foot and on horseback in order to observe its resources. In August, 1868, accompanied by his brother, Thomas, he made a pioneer exploring trip westward via Greenland to First creek to examine veins of coal. In October, 1872, over a year after his first election to the United States Senate, and again in September, 1877, he made a horseback trip to inspect the timber on the Savage and its tributaries. In November, 1874, he made a trip to Tucker, Randolph and Barbour counties to look at coal deposits. In December, 1875, he examined new coal fields which had recently been discovered or opened on Stony river and Difficult creek. Early in July, 1881, he and Stephen B. Elkins went on horseback from Deer Park for a three-day trip to examine the country in the vicinity of Fairfax stone and on the backwater of Cheat river along the proposed line of railroad which was then being surveyed by Mr. Parsons. They slept at night at the deserted Dobbins House, using their saddles for pillows. Two weeks later, starting from Deer Park and accompanied by Elkins, Senator Bayard, Senator Camden, Secretary Windom, Major Shaw and Lewis Baker, he made a ten days' horseback camping trip from Deer Park over part of the proposed route of the railway and beyond to White Sulphur Springs which he expected to reach by extensions of his original line of railway. They passed through Canaan Valley, Meade's Corners via

Mullinix's on Dry fork, Traveler's Repose on the upper Greenbrier and Huntersville (then the county seat of Pocahontas).

Meantime construction of the long proposed road had begun at Piedmont. The Potomac and Piedmont Coal and Railway Company, which had been incorporated by the legislature in 1866, had begun construction in 1880. In 1881 it secured a new charter under a new name—the West Virginia Central and Pittsburgh Railway Company, which was organized with H. G. Davis as president. Early in November, 1881, the first section of the road, that to the Elk Garden coal fields, was formally opened. Passing over the divide beyond the headwaters of the Potomac, the new road continued south of the Great Backbone Mountains to Davis in the heart of the hard wood forests by November, 1884.

In the heart of a region of almost impenetrable forests the town of Davis had been laid out with the original intention of making it the terminal of the railway, but later a new terminal was selected in the heart of Randolph county. The density of the forest stimulated the efforts for conquest. Trails were hewn and blazed into the unpenetrated forests of spruce and hard woods which soon became a source of new wealth. Within a year (after 1880) Davis became the center of important lumber and mining industries. At Thomas were located the coke ovens.

The main stem was pushed forward through the primeval tangled wilderness beyond Thomas until the proposed terminal in Tygart's Valley was reached and a thriving little city (Elkins) begun.

Meantime, in order to avoid dependence on the Baltimore and Ohio for an outlet eastward, plans were made to extend the new road to Cumberland, where connection could be had with the Pennsylvania system and the C. & O. canal. The construction of this extension was bitterly fought by the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad in the courts and even by physical obstructions, but the Davis interests won in the courts and completed the extension, after which they resumed friendly relations with the Baltimore and Ohio.

The eastward extension, at first known as the Piedmont and Cumberland Railway, was constructed in 1886 (and 1887) as a separate road, but the majority of its stock was owned and controlled by controlling stockholders and friends of the West Virginia Central, who saw the advantage of securing at Cumberland three competitive outlets—the Pennsylvania system, the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, besides the Baltimore and Ohio Railway. Its chief engineer was J. U. Crawford, the chief engineer of the branch lines of the Pennsylvania Railroad at Philadelphia. Plans to complete the road for active operation by April, 1887, were delayed by obstacles thrown in its way by the Baltimore and Ohio, whose track it paralleled for the entire thirty miles. The chief conflict occurred at Cookerly farm, through which the legal agent of the Piedmont and Cumberland purchased a right-of-way from Mrs. Cookerly, but which was at that time leased or rented by a stubborn tenant who refused to recognize the right-of-way before the expiration of his period of lease. Considerable litigation followed. The managers of the new railroad, refusing to pay the lessee of the farm for a right-of-way purchased from the owner, continued the grading of the road through the farm and laid the tracks which were used by construction trains in hauling materials to complete the tracks between the farm and Cumberland. One night, in this period of operation, a large force of Baltimore and Ohio men went to the farm, removed the track and ties to some point near Martinsburg and put a wire fence around the farm property, and established a guard. The result was a new litigation in the courts of Allegheny county, Maryland. After several months of delay, a force of 500 to 600 miners from Elk Garden arrived at the farm one night by train over the new road, put the Baltimore and Ohio guards to flight, relaid the track through the farm, took possession and established guards to protect trains which were promptly run over the entire route to Cumberland. According to tradition the trains carried

United States mails over the road that night and thereafter. The costly proceedings were finally terminated by arrangements between the legal departments of the rival roads, by which the new railway obtained considerable damages.

Pending permanent arrangements, the West Virginia Central operated the link to Cumberland for sixty per cent of the gross earnings. Favorable traffic arrangements were made with the Pennsylvania Railroad Company and the Chesapeake and Ohio Central at the Cumberland terminal.

Early in 1889 the main line of the road, west of Thomas, following the waters of the wild and picturesque Blackwater Run, was completed down the the lower section of the Dry Fork through the mountain gap to Parsons on the main branch of the Cheat; and, later in the year, after turning up Shaver's Fork for a short distance, it crossed to Leading creek and reached picturesque Elkins (previously known as Leadsville), which was established as a town with terminal facilities, and has had a steady growth partly due to the proximity of the exhaustless Roaring Creek coal fields. From Elkins (by gradual extensions) one branch followed up the Valley river (sending off a smaller branch at Roaring creek, five miles west of Elkins) and another pushed eastward to Shaver's Fork, which was reached at a point above Alpena. The eastward branch followed the Shaver's Fork, until finding a way through Shaver's Mountains, it crossed to Glady Fork, ascended it to the divide and descended the West Fork of the Greenbrier to Durbin in Pocahontas. Another line was contemplated from Belington to Clarksburg to connect with the West Virginia and Pennsylvania Railroad that had been surveyed from Clarksburg to Brownsville, but was abandoned. By 1891, trains were running on extensions to Beverly, and to Belington, where connection was made with a Tygart's Valley branch of the Baltimore and Ohio from Grafton. By 1904 connections were made at Durbin. Parsons became the terminal of a branch line constructed up Dry creek from Hendricks to Horton.

The new road, after passing through Mineral and Grant, penetrated the vast coal fields of Tucker and Randolph. It carried into the silence of the primeval woods the hum of modern industry, and expressed its material usefulness in gigantic lumber plants and rich coal mines, and in newly made and growing towns—living monuments to men such as Windom, Blaine, Gorman, Bayard, Wilson, Fairfax, Davis, Douglas, Hendricks and Elkins. The opening of mineral and timber resources created towns such as Bayard, Thomas, Davis, Douglas, Hendricks, Bretz and Parsons in Tucker; such as Montrose and Elkins in Randolph. and such as Belington in Barbour.

Bayard received its earliest stimulus from the large Buffalo Lumber Company and the Middlesex Leather Company. Another factor in its growth was the North Branch Coal and Coke Company whose principal office was located there. At Thomas were located the large Davis-Elkins Coal and Coke works. Six miles eastward on the branch from Thomas, the coal works and manufacturing industries together with a tannery and lumber plants soon supported a population of 1,500, forming the town of Davis, with quite a mercantile trade increased by that of the surrounding country. Elkins, located in a lovely valley, bordering the northwestern bank of Tygart's Valley river, received its first stimulus to growth from the construction of engine and car shops by the railway company and the erection of homes for many operatives of the road. The resulting activity attracted a good class of merchants who increasingly attracted trade from the surrounding country.

The completion of the railroad through the timber to Davis and beyond furnished an outlet for the timber in the eastern and central sections and admitting portable and stationary sawmills which have since continued to operate. The later construction of the Dry Fork Railroad and its branch to Laneville opened a new field of operations. Everywhere, temporary railroads were forced into the heart of the woods followed by sawmills, tanneries, pulp mills, and lumber camps, to aid

in the campaign of conquest and destruction of the previously unmolested forests—leaving behind the desolating tracks and unsightly debris of their triumphant march.

In 1905, along much of the old Fishinghawk pack-trail of early days from Beverly via Files creek and Fishinghawk to the Sinks of Gandy, the axe of the lumberman just beginning to break the primeval solitude, and steam whistles were heard both on west and east sounding the death knell of West Virginia's greatest primeval forest. On the forty-three miles of the Coal and Iron Railway between Elkins and Durbin there were forty-nine saw mills. The wilderness had been cut in two by the railroad, and again further east by the Dry Fork, and again by log roads, one of which was twenty miles long. At the same time lumbermen were advancing from the waters of Greenbrier to attack the mighty forests from that side.

With the rapid disappearance of the timber, there emerged the problems of conservation and replanting. The West Virginia Pulp and Paper Company by 1912 was already making extensive plantations of spruce on its cut-over lands near the head of Shaver's Fork of Cheat.

The Babcock Lumber and Boom Company established a large lumber industry at Davis and in 1921 were constructing about fifty miles of standard gauge railroad into the lumber woods on Allegheny front mountain for use in transporting logs to their mill at Davis.

The industrial changes following the railroad resulted in demands for relocation of the court houses in three counties.

The first contest resulted from a demand for the removal of the county seat from old St. George to the more convenient location at Parsons. At a special election regularly held on April 28, 1893, to determine the question, the vote stood in favor of removal but was thrown out on a technicality. At another special election held July 15, 1893, the returns were again in favor of removal. Thereupon William E. Cayton, county clerk, and Nige Parsons, a lawyer, both of St. George secured an injunction against the action of the county court, but before the penal bond could be secured the court ordered the records, safes and everything pertaining to the court house in St. George removed to Parsons, August 7. To prevent the inconveniences of a long suit in the courts and to circumvent further technical proceedings from the officers and lawyers at St. George, the leaders along the railroad decided upon a course of successful action. A contract for the removal was given by the court to James Poling of Parsons, for a very meager sum but every person who had wagons and teams in the immediate vicinity joined the movement and assisted Mr. Poling without pay. The work was undertaken under the leadership of Mr. Ward Parsons and his deputies with about seven hundred men, twenty-five wagons and teams, and a number of saddle horses. The party rendezvoused in Parsons, immediately after the arrival of the 7:00 p. m. Cumberland train, which brought in about four hundred men from Canaan Valley, Davis and Fairfax district. The roads leading to St. George were carefully patrolled. The work was accomplished that night without any resistance by the St. George people although they had made great preparations to prevent the removal and set off some dynamite as a signal for the collection of their forces. The opposition, disheartened by reports of their pickets, did not appear in force on the scene of action. Everything was removed from the court house with as little damage as possible. If there had been resistance the affair might have had serious consequences. It was suspected that men on both sides were prepared for battle. After the removal of everything to the Wamsley farm, about three miles south of St. George on their way to Parsons, the party camped while some of the men went to Parsons to secure rations prepared by the anxious wives and daughters and weak-kneed men who had remained in town waiting the hazardous return of the expedition. The following day (August 8) the work was completed. The heavy safes and records were placed in the new temporary court house in Parsons. In vain did the St. George people renew the contest in the circuit court on the ground that the county court had broken the injunction. Judge Hoke sustained the county court. When the circuit court convened at Parsons after the removal, the county officers who resided at St. George were very reluctant to attend. Thereupon, A. M. Cunningham, prosecuting attorney of Tucker county, who lived in Parsons, served notice on William E. Cupp, sheriff, William E. Cayton, county clerk, and C. W. Minear, circuit clerk, to attend court and take up their duties as officers in the new county seat, or their offices would be declared vacant, and would be filled according to law. Every officer obeyed the notice, and later purchased property and located at the new county seat.

Elkins became the county seat of Randolph county after a spirited contest, or rather a series of contests, against Beverly at which a new court house was begun in 1892 and completed in 1894. The town, on August 30, 1897, made a proposition to furnish a court house and jail and requested an election to determine the question of removal. The county court at first ordered an election for October 5, but later delayed action (September 6) and finally declined to take action. In

the election of October, Beverly won. The contest was renewed when the county court, on April 29, 1898, accepted a bid for the construction of a new court house at Beverly on the site of the old building which had been burned. Strong interests at Elkins began injunction proceedings to prevent the construction. In November, 1898, the question of removal was again submitted to the people, Elkins again agreeing to furnish grounds. Elkins, which received three-fifths of the vote cast on the question, but not three-fifths of the total vote, demanded a recount which the county court refused to grant. On February 4, 1899, she obtained a mandamus from the supreme court of appeals ordering a re-canvass of the vote. On March 28, the county court made a re-count, recording only the total number of ballots returned by the districts. It entered objections to the returns from Roaring creek district on the ground that the election officers had not been sworn. On March 29, the total vote was announced: 2,145 in favor of relocation, 1,320 against, and 312 blank. The court finally decided that the 312 blank ballots should be counted as part of the total number of votes cast, making a total of 3,777—of which less than three-fifths had voted for removal. Elkins again appealed to the supreme court of appeals, which reversed the decision of the commissioners.[18] The county court then released citizens of Elkins from their proposition to furnish a site for buildings, and by order of July 5, 1900, proceeded to purchase grounds at Elkins on which the new court house was soon erected.

The rapid growth of Belington and the ambitions of its property owners, together with the local sectional feeling in the two ends of Barbour county, in 1903 produced a county seat contest in which the adherents of Philippi and of Belington spent considerable effort and money. After a strenuous campaign, in which Belington especially opposed the methods of the "court house ring" at Philippi, the people by their votes at a special election decided against removal of the county seat.

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[18] While awaiting judgment of the supreme court there were frequent rumors of impending hostilities between the two towns, only six miles apart. The tension reached a high pitch. Elkins people avoided visits to Beverly and Beverly people avoided intercourse with Elkins. For a while, few ventured to travel on the turnpike between the towns after dark unless armed. Rumors that the Elkins citizens were arming preparatory to a march to Beverly to storm the court house and capture the records caused intense excitement through the county, and attracted rural sympathizers to each town to aid the townsmen in a prospective fight.

At Elkins military organization and drills were frequent at evening after the men had quit their work in the shops and factories. The Elkins forces were encouraged and directed principally by John T. Davis, James Posten, W. G. Wilson (sometime speaker of the House of Delegates), Jesse Goddin and other leading citizens.

Meanwhile, the supporters of Beverly were not idle. Apprehensive of imminent danger of attack, the citizens of Beverly banded together under the leadership of Major J. French Harding of Confederate fame, Lieutenant William H. Wilson, F. A. Rowan and others who had experienced active military service. They threw up around the court house a line of intrenchments, designed to protect the clerk's office. Armed squads stood guard over the vaults containing the records. Over a hundred armed men were drilled by Major Harding and ready to occupy the intrenchment at the first signal of danger. Among these men were many mountaineers, expert shooters, armed with Winchester rifles. The townsmen were chiefly armed with shot guns loaded with buck shot. Beverly had an advantage through the support of the county officials whose influence was almost solidly in favor of the old county seat, from which it was popularly believed the records could never be taken. She also had another advantage over Elkins which although she had twice as many men in arms felt her disadvantage as the attacking party. Determined to resist an attempt at attack, she placed pickets at a distance of one-half mile, one and one-half miles and two miles down the pike and along the right of way of the railroad.

The crisis was reached one night when Squire John DeWitt, an Elkins shoemaker and a famous county character, whose sympathy for Beverly could not be suppressed even by a shower of rotten eggs, rode into Beverly out of breath, and excitedly and dramatically announced that the "Hessians" were coming. At the same time all communication by telephone and telegraph between the two towns was cut off by Elkins sympathizers. Within a half hour after DeWitt's arrival one hundred and fifty Beverly patriots armed to the teeth were prepared to defend the site of their ancient seat of local government, and advanced to the breastworks at the foot of Mt. Iser where but thirty years before Imboden's cohorts had been intrenched. At Elkins a special train stood at the railway station awaiting the order to carry to Beverly five hundred armed Elkins supporters who thronged the streets. Plans were completed to leave at 9 p. m.

Older heads discouraged the expedition and probably prevented serious conflict. At a quarter of nine the band began to play on the corner in front of the Elkins National Bank and attracted the awaiting crowd. The late attorney C. Wood Dailey (a brother of Judge Dailey of Moorefield), the chief counsel of the West Virginia Central, now the Western Maryland, mounted the bank steps, obtained the attention of the throng, and began a most remarkable speech, pleading for law and order, and urging his hearers to await the verdict of the supreme court before prosecuting their rash action. He spoke of the certainty of bloodshed; and as he continued his speech, which was over an hour in length, his eloquence reached a

For twenty years Senator Davis managed and developed the West Virginia Central Railway, and made it a valuable road with greater possibilities. In 1902 he sold it to the Goulds, who had purchased the western Maryland and projected its extension from Hagerstown to Cumberland[19] with a desire to extend a railroad into Pittsburg from the region tapped by the West Virginia Central.

The Coal and Coke Railway

The industrial activity and prospective future of the regions along the upper Monongahela, and along the Elk, received new promise of importance by the construction of an important outlet in 1906.

Finding himself in possession of several million dollars of cash capital, resulting from the sale of his interests in the Western Maryland, Senator Davis was ambitious to use it in the further development of West Virginia, by the construction of a new road northward from the Kanawha at Charleston, to release the imprisoned resources of coal and timber in the interior region bordering on territory, which he had already developed. In February, 1902, he bought from E. J. Berwind of New York, the Roaring creek coal property and twenty-two miles of railroad (The Roaring Creek and Belington Railway), and also other coal lands in Randolph, Upshur, Braxton and Gilmer counties.

Meantime he organized the Coal and Coke Railway Company, beginning by the purchase of the link known as the Charleston, Clendennin and Sutton Railway (extending from Charleston to Gassaway), which had already been built by Pittsburg capitalists and mine owners, who had begun construction at Charleston in 1893. He promptly began construction of the eastern link. In May, 1903, at the age of eighty years he rode on horseback from Elkins to Sutton over the contemplated route of the new road, which was under construction. In the construction many engineering difficulties were encountered and overcome. On the one hundred miles of new road, it was necessary to pierce the mountain twelve times, to make many deep cuts and fills and to construct thirty steel bridges. On the sixty-three miles of old road, heavier rails were laid and trestles were replaced by fills without interruption of traffic. The last spike, which completed the construction of the entire line, was driven in the small hamlet of Walkersville in Lewis county. The eastern end was completed to the Buckhannon river early in 1904, and to the Elk at the new town of Gassaway later in 1905. The first train over the entire line from Elkins to Charleston was run in January, 1906. The road, in which Senator Stephen B. Elkins also had an interest, was completed in co-operation with the Wabash interests. Its authorized capital was $10,000,000.

The convenience of the road for travel was appreciated by the people of a large area, who could now reach the capital by a trip of a single day. Conceived as a means in the development of vast coal and timber properties, it fortunately became a connecting link between great trunk lines, especially by its old established and valuable Charleston terminals adjacent to those of the Kanawha and Michigan, with which track connection was formed. Favored by its geographical location, the road

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high pitch which served to dampen the ardor of the crowd before him. When he closed, the crowd disbanded quietly, and hot headed leaders sought a retreat. Orders were given that the special train was not wanted.

A few days later, the decision of the court was announced and the removal of the records was accomplished quietly and legally.

[19] The connecting link from Big Pool, Maryland, to Cumberland was completed in 1906. The line from Cumberland to Connellsville, where it connected with the P. & L. E. was completed in 1912.

In 1914 the Western Maryland Railway (under the influence of the Rockefeller interests) proceeded to construct two branch lines up Helens Run and Bingamon creeks, tributaries of the West Fork river, between Fairmont and Clarksburg, to afford adequate railroad facilities for mining the vast area of Pittsburgh coal located on these streams. Lines were completed and put in operation in 1916 and 1917. Coal mined on these lines was shipped on Western Maryland trains which used the B. & O. tracks from a point near Fairmont to Connellsville.

Fall of Glady Creek at Duffy, Lewis County
(Courtesy of West Virginia Geological Survey)

obtained good connections with both eastern and western markets for coal and coke produced along its line. At the south, it reached the middle and western states by the Kanawha and Michigan and the Chesapeake and Ohio lines. At the north, it had connections with the lakes and the eastern seaboard by the Wabash (Western Maryland) and Baltimore and Ohio systems. The company owned carefully selected coal lands and coal rights along the route of the road in four counties drained by the Monongahela—Randolph, Barbour, Upshur and Lewis—and also in Gilmer and Braxton. The Pittsburg vein in this region is regarded as better coal than its type in the Fairmont and Clarksburg districts—being harder and yielding a greater per cent of large blocks.

Along the entire line of the road many communities, villages and towns, began to emerge. The chief towns along the Elk were Gassaway in Braxton, Clay in Clay, and Clendennin in Kanawha. Branch lines were extended from Gassaway to Sutton and from Clay up Buffalo. Clendennin received a new stimulus from oil operations. Gassaway, about midway on the route, received an impetus from the location of railway shops and the principal divisional headquarters. Other towns arose through the development of natural resources, especially coal and timber. Almost every community felt the stimulation of the period of construction. The Collins settlement in Lewis county is an illustration. Immediately upon the beginning of the construction work in the fall of 1903, it had a market for dairy products, poultry and truck in the construction camps along the route. The two tunnels caused two considerable towns to appear with hundreds of laborers, doctors, timekeepers, merchants and others. The sudden prosperity was not confined to paper towns. Jacksonville, Walkersville,[20] Crawford and Orlando awoke to new life. Walkersville began a period of prosperity. Orlando continued to grow.

Eastward in Upshur, stations were established at Frenchton, French Creek, Sago, Kedron and Sandrun; and in Randolph at Middlefork, Lantz, Kingsville, Leiter and Monroe.

From Roaring Creek Junction, the Coal and Coke at first used the Western Maryland tracks to Elkins but in 1911, extended its own line to that point. Elkins began a period of larger improvements, including a street car line. The Elkins Electric Railway was begun in May, 1907, ran its first cars in December, 1910, and was completed to Harding in May, 1914.

The northern division from Belington along the west bank of the Tygart Valley to Roaring Creek Junction and thence to Mabie, was completed from Roaring Creek Junction to Coalton in 1893, from Coalton to Mabie in 1896, and from Roaring Creek Junction to Belington in 1898. The Moore and Keppel Railroad, a standard gauge lumber road from Midvale on the Coal and Coke to Adolph (17.5 miles), built to haul logs to the mill at Ellamore, was completed in 1915. The first line of railroad from Elkins to Belington, the Belington and Beaver Creek Railroad, was acquired by the Western Maryland in November, 1905. The Belington and Northern, begun as a coal road in 1902, with plans to connect with the Little Kanawha at Glenville, was soon abandoned.

For over five years Senator Davis personally directed details of management of the new road, and the general supervision necessitating incessant travel, but in November, 1912, following his eighty-ninth birthday, he relinquished active management. During the last summer of his life, the summer of 1915, in the ordinary course of business activities, he visited the towns which had grown up from the wilderness along the route of the West Virginia Central Railway under his guiding hand—Thomas, Davis, Parsons, Hendricks, Bayard and others—and also Gas-

[20] Walkersville in 1869, reported that over two hundred acres of land had lately been cleared on two farms adjoining the village, forcing the squirrels to the hill tops and depriving the foxes of brush thickets in which to hide. There were then seven residences, one store, a hotel, a blacksmith shop, a tannery, a shoe shop, a cabinet shop and a village school.

View of Orlando, Showing Junction of Baltimore and Ohio and Coal and Coke Railroads
(Courtesy of West Virginia Geological Survey)

saway and other new communities along the route of the Coal and Coke, which owed their existence largely to his enterprise.

Early in 1917, the Baltimore and Ohio purchased the controlling interest in the Coal and Coke, which thereafter became the Charleston division of the Baltimore and Ohio. The deal has solved many of the problems of the older road. Heavy freight from Richwood and way points is routed over the Coal and Coke from Orlando to Sago, thus avoiding the heavy grades on Oil creek and on Buckhannon mountain. Empty cars are sent from Grafton via Clarksburg and Weston, thus giving what is in effect a double track from Grafton to Orlando. The condition of the old roadbed along Oil creek led to a proposal to abandon it and to construct a short stretch of railroad from Arnold to connect with the Charleston division near Jacksonville.

The purchase of the Coal and Coke increased the importance of Weston as a railroad center. Late in 1919, some of the principal offices of the Charleston division were moved from Gassaway to Weston.

The Baltimore and Ohio promptly established over the Coal and Coke route a through train service from Grafton, via Tygart's Junction to Charleston, and contemplated its use for the establishment of through trains from Charleston to Pittsburgh via Weston, Clarksburg, Fairmont and Morgantown.

CHAPTER XXVIII

THE AWAKENING SOUTH OF THE KANAWHA

Along the southern border of the state, and across the southern interior, as in other parts of the state, the development of railway systems in recent years created an industrial revolution, and the beginning of a great material development which is still in its infancy. The railroads opened communication with the markets of the world and attracted capital to exploit rich coal fields and valuable timber lands. Every delay in securing transportation facilities postponed the day of prosperity. Every extension of railroads has resulted in great industrial and social changes, including large increase in the permanent population.

In no part of the state has the railroad created a greater transformation, than that which has recently occurred along the southern border and through the interior, between the upper Kanawha and the upper Bluestone.

Along the Route of the Norfolk and Western Railway

The Norfolk and Western Railway of Virginia emerged in 1881, as a result of the foreclosure sale of the unsuccessful Atlantic, Mississippi and Ohio Railroad, which had been formed in 1870, by the consolidation of the Norfolk and Petersburg, the Southside and the Virginia and Tennessee railroads. Organized primarily to develop coal, iron and other resources, and especially attracted by the discovery of good coal near the site of Pocahontas in Virginia, it began its existence by the purchase of the proposed New River Railroad,[1] which was projected as a narrow gauge to connect with the Chesapeake and Ohio at Hinton, but was completed as a broad gauge which, ascending East river from New and passing along the valley of the Bluestone, penetrated the great Flat Top coal field of Pocahontas coal. This New river division terminating at Pocahontas, selected partly with a view to later extension to the Ohio, was constructed in 1881-82, resulting in large shipments of coal by 1883. The Flat Top mountain extension down the Bluestone and up its western branches, begun in 1884, greatly increased shipments.

The original five feet gauge of the western extension was changed to 4 feet 9 inches on May 29, 1886, and the gauge of the main line was also changed on June 1, 1886.

The Elkhorn tunnel, following the famous coal vein through Flat Top mountain, was begun in 1886, and completed in 1886.

The construction of the line was rather slow. The tunnel through Flat Top mountain, to reach the coal on the west side of the mountain at the head of Elkhorn Creek, was not undertaken for several years

[1] General Gabriel C. Wharton, an ex-Confederate of Montgomery county, Virginia, who had become impressed with the commercial value of the Pocahontas coal by observing its outcrop on Flat Top mountain, in 1872 secured from the Virginia legislature a charter incorporating the New River Railroad Mining and Manufacturing Company to construct and operate a railroad from New river depot in Pulaski county on the line of the Atlantic, Mississippi and Ohio Railroad to a point at or near the head of Camp creek in Mercer county and with provisions for building branch roads in Mercer and other counties. In 1875, experimental lines were surveyed from New river depot down the New river to Hinton on the Chesapeake and Ohio road. Shortly thereafter, Colonel Thomas Graham of Philadelphia, who through friends got control of the majority of the stock and began work to secure all the coal land in the Pocahontas region, prepared to push the railroad. He succeeded in securing the Virginia state convicts and placed them on the line and began the construction of a narrow gauge (3 feet) railroad.

Birdseye View of Central Portion of Charleston, 1913
(Courtesy of West Virginia Geological Survey)

after the opening of the road to the Pocahontas mines and those in the vicinity of Bramwell. Following the construction of the tunnel the development of the Elkhorn field began. For several years Elkhorn was the principal station in McDowell county. The line was not completed to Welch until 1892.

In the entire region traversed by the surveyors, from the Elkhorn tunnel to the Ohio in 1887-88, there was no village, excepting a small settlement at the mouth of Pond creek opposite the site of Williamson. Between the tunnel and the site of Welch there were no roads larger than a bridle path or a sled path, and thence along Tug Fork to the site of Williamson the path was very poor. Throughout the region the population was scant and scattered and the dwellings inferior.

The original northwesterly route to the Ohio, surveyed in 1886, via Elkhorn creek, Pinnacle creek, Clear Fork, Coal creek and Mud river, was regarded unsatisfactory and was abandoned in 1888. The route adopted for the Ohio extension followed down Elkhorn to Tug, thence to Pigeon, thence up Pigeon and Laurel Fork and across the divide to Twelve Pole, which was followed to its mouth at Ceredo. The difficult construction of this extension was begun in 1890, and opened on November 12, 1892, by the completion of the Hatfield tunnel, eight miles east of Williamson.[2] The Ohio river bridge was completed in 1891. Meantime, in 1890, the purchase of the Scioto Valley Railroad and the Shenandoah Valley Railroad furnished additional terminal facilities.

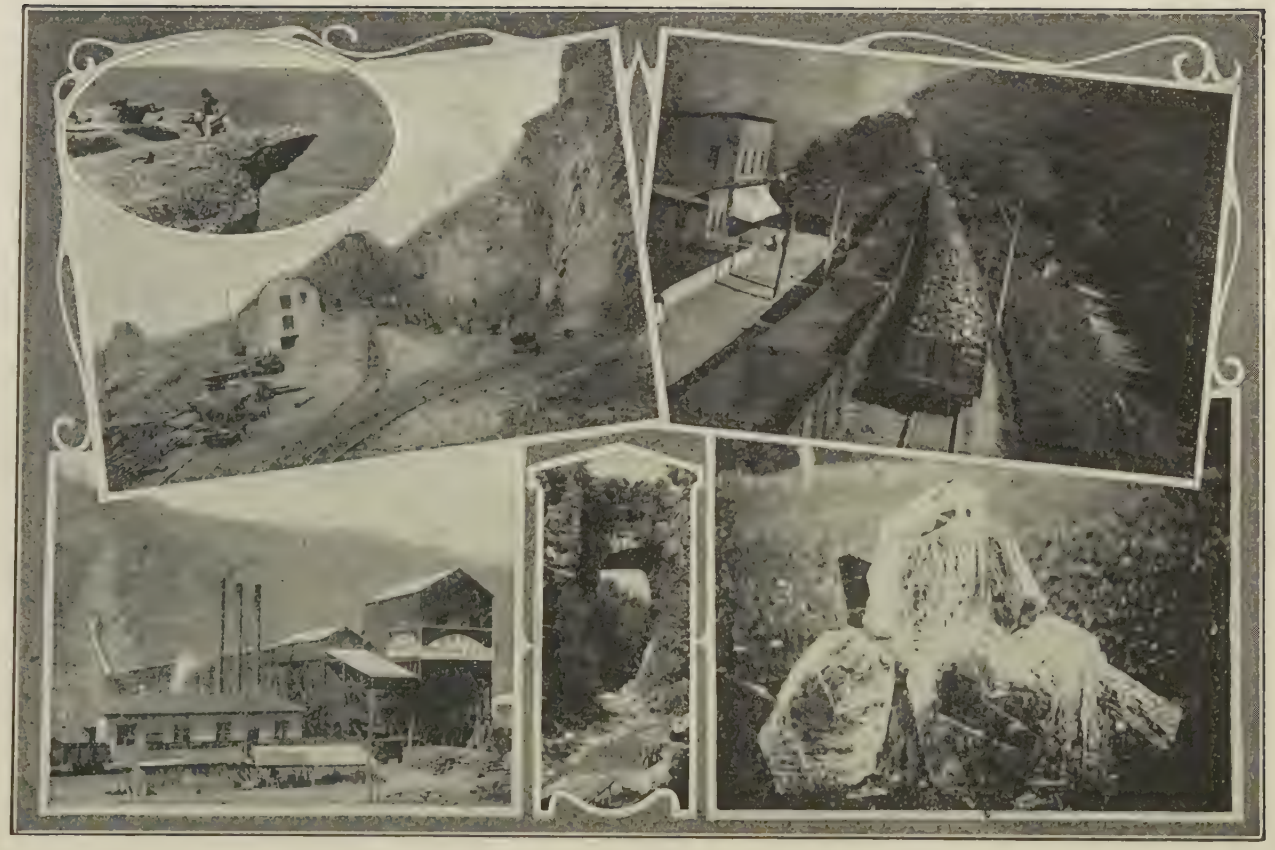
The engineering problems met and successfully solved, in accomplishing the strategic purposes of the railway directors, resulting in the opening of vast previously secluded regions to the larger life of the world, were many and complicated. As the earlier problems were solved, subsequent ones arose in the necessity of perfecting the original road to meet the demands of increasing traffic.

A large portion of the original line of extension to the Ohio was remote from other railways, and therefore, required cross-country transportation for men, sustenance and construction materials. From a financial standpoint, the venture was hazardous; and therefore, the route was first located with considerable curvature to secure immediate economy of construction. From the necessity of revising both grades and curvatures, the road was later practically rebuilt; and branches, sidings and double tracks were added to meet new demands.

In constructing the original line across from Naugatuck on Tug Fork, to Dingess and down Twelve Pole, the purpose of the management was to locate as near as possible to the Ohio, a coal of good quality which could be easily transported to Kenova for shipment down the river on barges. Later, finding the earlier service too uncertain for the steady movement of traffic westward, and confronted with the necessity of a second track for the economical and prompt movement of the vast traffic resulting from the great development of the Pocahontas fields, and the increasing growth of traffic toward the Northwest, the directors of the railroad decided to construct a second track along the line of the Big Sandy, which furnished a better grade for heavy traffic. This line for an established and growing traffic was constructed with less attention to the immediate economy illustrated in the numerous curves of the earlier route. It began operation in 1905, and largely supplanted the old line, both for passenger traffic and for heavy freight traffic. The use of the old route is largely confined to local traffic and to through trains of returning "empties."

The contractors who managed the construction secured labor from wherever it could be obtained. The laborers were of all kinds and classes, typical of those usually employed on rough construction work in undeveloped and inaccessible regions. Comparatively few were native born white Americans. Many were foreigners and more were colored. Apparently the laborers who did the work did not remain as citizens of

[2] According to Judge James French Strother, the two sections of construction, one westward and the other eastward, were connected at Roderfield, in McDowell county in 1892.



Scenes Along the Norfolk and Western Railway in Virginia and West Virginia

the region. When their work was done they folded their tents, like the Arabs, and quietly stole away. A very few of the contractors, who were always strong men, lingered along the route.

Among the branches extended were the following: North Fork branch, 1894; Briar Mountain branch, 1902; Crane Creek branch, 1903; Tug Fork branch to Gary, 1904, with extensions in subsequent years; Clear Fork branch, 1905; Widemouth branch, 1905; Dry Fork branch, 1906, with extensions in subsequent years; Spice creek branch, 1909; Poplar Creek branch, 1909; and Sycamore branch, 1911.

A continuous plan of improving the line on Tug river, from Vivian to Naugatuck, was begun and successfully completed. The alignment and grades were improved, a new second track was constructed and at many points a third and fourth track were constructed.

Later improvements on the line down Big Sandy, from Naugatuck to Kenova, were found necessary on account of increased demands for efficiency in transportation. The work of improvement was continuous. The re-building and strengthening of bridges, the driving and lining of new tunnels for two tracks, the construction of new station buildings of a permanent character, and enlargement of old depots in order to take care of the business from the timber and coal development, continued almost without interruption.

The railroad was practically rebuilt through McDowell county in the first decade of the twentieth century, and at a much greater cost than the original construction. On one mile of the line through the town of Welch are five bridges and three tunnels which cost the railroad about $2,000,000 for a double track and the entire work was completed without disturbing the residents of the town, many of whom were hardly aware that the work was in progress.

Additional railroad extensions were made in Mercer county along the Bluestone river and its tributaries, as far down as Widemouth creek and on its various branches. In McDowell county, extensions on Tug fork were made in 1909 above Pageton and in 1912, to Jenkin-Jones in order to reach the well-known No. 3 "Pocahontas Coal Seam." King branch was extended in 1913, and Superior branch in 1917. On Dry Fork branch, extended in 1905-06, from Iaeger to Canebrake above Berwind a further extension was begun in 1912, through the dividing ridge between Dry Fork waters of Tug, and of Indian creek of Clinch river, to Cedar Bluff in the state of Virginia in order to relieve Bluefield of through-tonnage from the Clinch Valley coal field (of Virginia) to the Ohio river and western points. The latter extension was completed in 1913. In 1915 the Jacobs Fork branch of Dry Fork was constructed in order to develop timber and coal of that territory. In Mingo, the Lick Fork branch was extended in 1911.

Mate Creek branch was acquired in 1915, the Alma branch in 1915, and the Wayne branch (between Wayne C. H. and East Lynne) in 1908.

The unusual growth and development along the line of the road necessitated improvements made at Bluefield, North Fork, Keystone, Welch, Williamson and other points. One of the most important improvements was the electrification of the section of the railroad between Bluefield, on the east, and Kimball, on the west—locally known as "Vivian Yard" and also, from Bluestone Junction down the Bluestone river to Simmons. This successful project, known as the "Elkhorn Grade Electrification," was completed in the Spring of 1915, and included about 106 miles of main tracks, yards, sidings and branches.

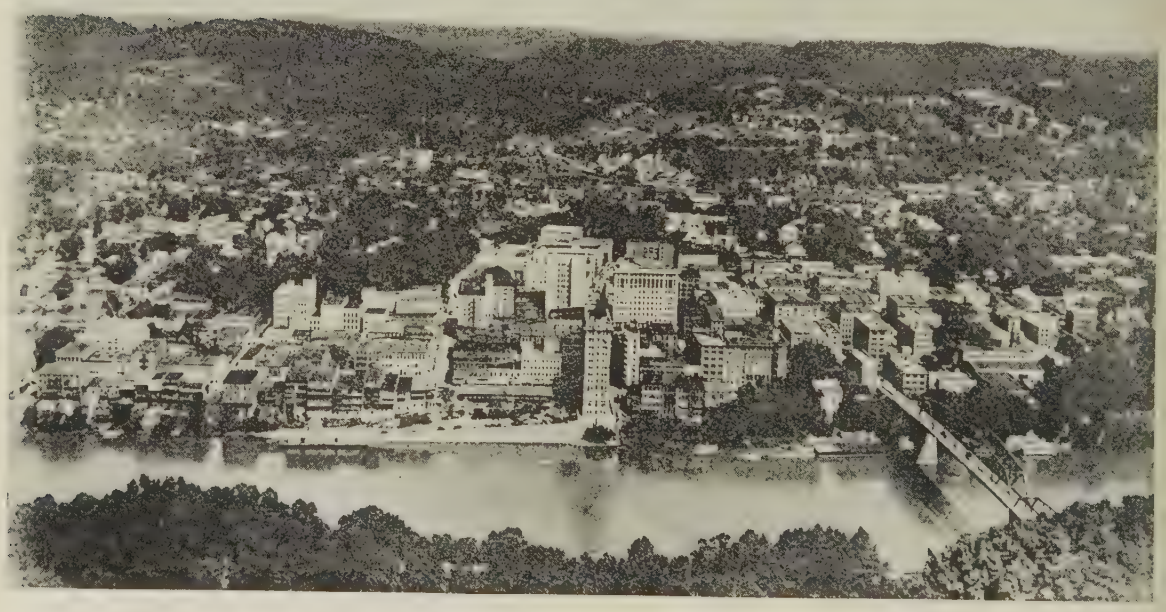
Additional extensions of the Electrification Field were subsequently made, from Kimball to Farm, about three (3) miles west of Welch, and up the Tug Fork Branch from Welch to Wilcoe, but further plans for extension were postponed by conditions of the period of the World war.

In the year 1913, the Ohio river bridge which crosses the river at Kenova was rebuilt and changed from single to double track, being in continuous use under the stress of most heavy traffic.

In 1920, a branch line was put under construction up Pigeon creek, from Lenore, in Mingo county, for a distance of 18 miles, in order to place under development a new coal field not heretofore reached by railway.

The influence of the road on the undeveloped regions through which the route was surveyed was remarkable. Regions in which the managers of the road at first were unable to secure proper police protection were developed into law-abiding communities by the influences resulting from the influx of people and the establishment of schools, churches and other social institutions.

On the crest of the Alleghenies, in Mercer county, Bluefield, "the gateway to the Pocahontas coal field," has had a phenomenal growth fostered by substantial business conditions. In 1888 it was a mere flag station on the farm of John B. Higginbotham. In December, 1889, it was in-



Birdseye View, Charleston

corporated as a town, with Joseph M. Sanders as its first mayor. Its population increased from 600 in 1890 to 4,644 in 1900, and 11,188 in 1910. Its post office, established in September, 1887, was advanced to first-class rank in 1911. It has exceptional railway transportation facilities, and has promising prospects of becoming the center of a series of important electric lines. It is the official seat of the Appalachian Power Company, which owns five separate power sites on New river near Pulaski, Virginia, aggregating a total fall of 275 feet (75,000 horse power).

Bluefield was located on the old farm of John B. Higginbotham who deeded it to three of his five sons just before the railway sought it for yards. It was named by Mrs. Hattie Hannah, a sister. Its first post office was a successor of an earlier one which had been established at the "Cross Roads" (about two miles southeast of Bluefield) in 1886. Its first newspaper, *The Bluefield Journal*, was established in 1891; and its first daily, *The Daily Journal*, was started two years later. *The Weekly Telegraph* was also started in 1893 and became a daily in 1895. *The Labor Advocate* was first published in 1893.

The first water supply after that from individual wells, was brought by gravity from East River mountain for the Virginia Land Company and the hotel, soon after the birth of the town in 1888. Later, the company obtained water from Beaver Pond Spring, pumping it through the property of Walter M. Sanders. Following a litigation, it was allowed only the surplus water—by a decision of the United States Circuit Court of Appeals. The water supply in 1921, entirely from

springs—Ada Springs, Beaver Pond, and East River mountain—was pure but not adequate. The water works company planned an increase by a northwest supply or by installing another pump on the Brush Fork Watershed. It seemed willing to sell its plants to the city, which was inclined to purchase it at a reasonable price.

About 1900, the town began to pave its streets with brick and continued by a series of bond issues. About 1911 to 1913 it began to use macadam (gravel and tar). In 1902-03 its first trunk line sewers were constructed, one emptying into East river and another into Bluestone. Early in 1911 a gas company, a subsidiary of the Southern Gas and Electric Company of Baltimore, established north of the railway a plant for the manufacture of gas for the town.

At its beginning the town had electric lights furnished by the railroad company. The city buys its electricity from the great Appalachian Power Company, which gets it from two hydro-electric plants on the New river at Byllesby, Virginia, and a steam plant at Glenn Lynn, Virginia, and supplies light and power for the Pocahontas Coal Fields, for the Virginia Railway shops at Princeton, and for the towns of Princeton, Welch, North Fork, Bramwell and others. The Appalachian Power Company has an interchange (at Switchback) with the Northwestern Electric Power Plant (with a capacity of 3300 K. W.) at Bluestone. This company owned the Bluefield and Princeton electric lines and cars and tracks, but in the spring of 1921 several months of poor service, due to a strike, transferred them to the Princeton Power Company which installed new cars and improved the service.

Bluefield became a thriving business center—a great shipping center for the Pocahontas coal field. Its population rapidly grew to 11,188 by 1910. By 1916 it had three banks, seven hotels, several small manufacturing plants, railroad repair shops, two daily newspapers, paved streets, an electric railroad, and good water and sewer systems.

In 1921 it had four banks, with capital and surplus as follows:

	Capital	Surplus and Undivided Profits
Bluefield National	$250,000	$ 50,000
Commercial	100,000	25,000
First National	250,000	455,000
Flat Top	100,000	150,000

Its churches included: 4 Baptist, 1 Catholic, 2 Christian, 1 Dunkard, 1 Episcopalian, 1 Hebrew, 1 Lutheran, 4 Methodist, 1 Presbyterian, 1 Church of God, 1 Salvation Army, 1 Y. M. C. A., 1 Railway Y. M. C. A.

It had four hospitals. It had one daily newspaper, *The Bluefield Daily Telegraph.*

In addition to its electric lines it had auto bus passenger service to Princeton, and to Hinton and Beckley every day. The auto competition with the Princeton Power Company in 1921 threatened to curtail the excellent suburban passenger service of that line, or to necessitate an increase of fares on the suburban lines. In order to complete highway connection through the Pocahontas coal field by hard surface road the city has urged the State Road Commission to construct an uncompleted link of five miles.

The capital employed in industries increased from $1,130,000 in 1914 to $2,419,000 in 1920 (114%). The amount paid for wages in Bluefield factories increased from $904,000 in 1914 to $2,136,000 in 1919. From January 1 to October, 1921, the city issued 215 permits for construction work—including 141 houses, 10 business buildings, three churches, and 33 garages—aggregating a value of approximately $2,300,000.

The Bluefield Chamber of Commerce, which has nearly 500 members, has been useful in recent development of the city. In November, 1921, it established a "Traffic Bureau" under direction of an expert traffic man to assist local shippers by audit of freight bills, quotation of rates, training of shipments and general advice on various subjects.

In May, 1921, the city by popular vote adopted the commission-manager form of government, which was strongly opposed by many of the local politicians. In July, 1921, the new government was begun, the new Board of Directors (chosen for four years) selecting for city manager, a Michigan man, at a salary of about $5,000.

A new hotel is under construction by the Coal Realty Company which expects it to cost $1,000,000.

The industrial awakening around Bluefield naturally produced some agitation in favor of removing the county seat from Princeton to the center of greater activities. In November, 1898, on petition of 1,257 persons residing principally at Bluefield, Bramwell and neighboring places, the question was submitted to popular election, resulting in the defeat of the proposition by a large majority (882 for relocation and 2,373 against). In March, 1906, the question was again submitted to election, resulting in a vote of 2,098 for removal and 5,174 against removal. Bramwell on the Blue Spring river, in Mercer, rapidly grew from a village to a town. By 1910 its population was 1,458. By 1916

it had five churches, five stores, four restaurants, and a bank and a hotel.

In McDowell county, Welch was located on practically wild lands acquired in 1885 by John Henry Hunt and transferred in 1889 to Captain I. A. Welch, J. H. Bramwell and J. H. Juring, who laid out the town and in 1893 transferred the larger number of lots to the Welch Land and Improvement Company. The arrival of the railroad in 1891 gave the town a steady growth and soon stimulated the old life and created a new life in the entire county, which was without bridges and wagons until 1880, and still had little more than bridle path communication in 1891. Land which had only been worth $1.00 per acre increased rapidly in value. The meagre exports of furs and ginseng were soon supplemented by vast exports of coal. The simple life of widely separated homes was rapidly disturbed by the increasing appearance of the evidences of modern highly developed community life. Taxes which in 1892 were only $4,000.00 for the entire county rose in proportion to

Birdseye View of Business Section, Charleston

the demands for the conveniences supplied through the agency of government.

The development along the railway in McDowell county determined the removal of the county seat [3] from Peeryville to the village of Welch. At the popular election held September, 1891, the question of relocation at Welch was settled by an overwhelming vote of 1,455 against 145. The removal was delayed for another year by an injunction awarded George W. Payne to restrain and prohibit the removal of the county records to Welch. After bitter litigation for a year, the injunction was dissolved, and in October, 1892, the records were removed to a two-story house which was offered rent free for two years. A commodious and substantial courthouse was built in 1894 and an annex was added in 1910.

The population of McDowell increased abnormally during the two decades ending with 1900 and 1910. This was directly due to the rapid development of its great coal fields and the lumber industry after the

[3] The first court in McDowell was held at the house of G. Washington Paine immediately below the site of Peeryville on Dry Fork. During the Civil war, through the Republican influence of the Elkhorn side of the county, the county seat was removed to the Tug river five miles above the site of Welch and near the site of Wilcoe where the first court house was built. In 1872 it was relocated at Peeryville (now English).

completion of the Norfolk and Western Railway, and its numerous branches within the borders of the county.

Keystone, which was the largest town in McDowell in 1915, is situated on Elkhorn Creek, three fourths of a mile west of the mouth of North Fork, on the main line of the Norfolk & Western Railway. It was incorporated as a town in 1896, when the population was estimated at 664 persons. The town owes its remarkable growth to the coal mining industry in the immediately surrounding region. It was incorporated as a city in 1909.

The town of Kimball, also located on Elkhorn Creek, just above the mouth of Laurel Branch, about eight miles east of Welch, was incorporated as a town in December, 1906, when its population was estimated at 907 persons.

In 1902 at Gary the United States Steel Corporation completed one of the largest operating plants in the world and subsequently built two branch lines of railway connecting with the Norfolk and Western in the Flat Top field.

According to Judge James French Strother of Welch, McDowell was first settled by a hunting class of people largely from Virginia, North Carolina, and Kentucky, one of the earliest grants being for 40 acres at Peeryville—now English—in 1823. Over a large portion of the county even as late as 1915, practically the only means of communication were unimproved dirt roads, bridle paths and foot trails. In the thickly settled coal mining regions, however, a great awakening on the importance of good roads began by 1910. Between 1910 and 1915, better roads were constructed both by paid labor and prison labor under the immediate charge of W. J. McClaren, the county road engineer. The short-term prisoners of the county and of its incorporated towns were employed very effectively. The result was not only an economic saving for the county but was also useful in improving the "moral fiber" of the prisoner. In the five years, over thirty-six miles of road were graded, and eight miles were macadamized with native sandstone.

McDowell is essentially a fuel producing county. It has practically no farms. It has but few local traditions and lives very little in the past. Its interest is largely in active work of the present—largely the work of making money, but its people show much interest in permanent civic improvements.

It is a corporation-owned county which has a larger population than any other county in the state except Kanawha. Probably many of its people have better homes on corporation property than they would have on property of their own, although this system of tenantry is generally regarded as a great hindrance to the health of community life. In many respects McDowell ranks among the first counties of the state. It pays the highest salaries to its teachers. It has district supervision of schools throughout the county. It has 450 miles of public road of which 100 miles are concrete. One of its banks received the largest number of individual subscriptions in the state for Second Liberty Bonds.

The development in the vicinity of Williamson together with the inconvenience of communication with the county seat at Logan logically led to the formation of Mingo county from the southern territory of Logan in 1895. Since Logan and Mingo counties are served by two entirely different railroad systems, communication between them by rail is possible only at Kenova, Wayne County, where the Norfolk and Western crosses the Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad. The lack of direct connection between the two counties makes trade between them difficult and expensive.

Williamson, situated about midway between the McDowell county line and the Wayne county line, was incorporated as a town in 1894 and as a city in 1905. Although it had no population in 1890 it reported a population of 1,200 in 1900 and 3,561 in 1910. It is built on a sandy terrace high enough above the river to give it drainage and protection from floods. Besides its importance as the county seat it is the supply point for a considerable portion of Mingo county and for a large part of Pike county, Kentucky. It is the center of the great coal mining industry of Mingo, and is the headquarters for many of the operating companies. Its growth, following the construction of the railroad in 1892, was phenomenal.

Williamson began to use electric lights by 1900, obtaining its supply from the Williamson Electric Company which until 1918 obtained from its own plant, but now purchases from the Kentucky and West Virginia Power Plant at Sprigg, West Virginia. The city owns its water works. Its first water plant, established in 1900,

was leased to a private company in 1902 but was taken back in 1906 or 1907. It began a system of sewers about 1905. Since 1912 the town has used gas furnished by the United Fuel Company. Its first ice plant was established about 1912. Before that date its ice was shipped from Ashland, Kentucky. Its city hall was constructed in 1915. It has a commission form of government which was established in 1915 and the success of which has been somewhat restricted by partisan politics. W. R. Farrer was city manager in 1921. The community has developed excellent schools, which under the direction of Superintendent A. C. Davis steadily extended their facilities. In 1921, the city constructed a new high school building. The opportunities for future industrial development are large. Within 25 miles of Williamson are 62 coal mines with a yearly production of $12,000,000.

Matewan, situated on Tug Fork at the mouth of Mate creek, nine miles east of Williamson by rail, was incorporated as a city September 16, 1895. Its population by 1910 was 588. The town owes its existence and growth to the lumber and coal mining industries of the surrounding region, the traffic being handled by the Norfolk and Western. It has no factories.

MINGO COUNTY COURT HOUSE

Kermit, situated on Tug Fork about one mile from the Wayne County Line, and incorporated as a village December 15, 1909, and by 1913, had a population estimated at 300. It is the center of a large gas industry. Tributary to the Norfolk and Western at Rapp, a narrow gauge road is in operation on Right Fork of Laurel Fork of Pigeon creek. Another narrow gauge road is in operation on Spruce Fork of the Left Fork of Laurel, connecting with the Norfolk and Western at the mouth of the Fork, one-half mile north of Rapp.

Through Wayne county development was less marked. On the Big Sandy line, opened for traffic on December 15, 1904, the most important point west of Mingo county was opposite Louise, Kentucky (the terminus of a Kentucky branch of the C. & O. Railway from Catlettsburg). Here by 1913 the old town of Cassville (incorporated 1850) had a population of about 500, with three hotels, four churches and a graded school. In the same year the Big Sandy was locked and dammed for navigation to Fort Gay and plans to make it navigable to Glenhayes on Tug Fork were under consideration.

At the mouth of Big Sandy, Kenova, built on the site where Stephen Kelley built his cabin in 1798, had several industrial plants by 1913 and a population of over 1,000. By 1920 its population increased to 2,162.

On the Twelve Pole branch, Wayne, the county seat, had a population of only 981 in 1920. A proposition to remove the county seat of Wayne to a point midway between Ceredo and Kenova was defeated at a special election on February 6, 1906, by a vote of 2,566 against 1,148. As a result of the continued increase of de-

velopment on the Ohio above the mouth of the Big Sandy, the proposition became more insistent. On September 15, 1921, at another election on the question a majority of the votes were in favor of removal to Kenova, but this majority was 460 votes short of the necessary three-fifths. The destruction of the court house by fire on October 4, 1921, revived and increased the agitation for removal to Kenova. Citizens of the town of Wayne set a guard over the county jail in which they placed the records not destroyed, and promptly pledged their united efforts to solve the mystery of the fire. Citizens of Kenova promptly started a petition for a new election and soon had enough names to indicate a large increase of sentiment in favor of removal.

Of the southern tier of West Virginia counties bordering on Virginia, Monroe, the most eastern, was the last one penetrated by the road. It finally obtained a branch road, the Potts Creek Railroad, in 1909. This branch leaves the main line on New river, climbs the divide between Stony and Potts creeks, and follows the latter stream to Paint Bank. The stations in Potts Creek precinct are Waiteville and Laurel Branch. Only mixed trains are in service, and timber products form the chief item of freight.

The development of the country traversed by the Norfolk and Western Railway in the first two decades after 1892 is indicated by the following table showing the growth of passenger business at certain West Virginia stations located on the road:

	Passengers Forwarded 1893	Passengers Forwarded 1912	Passengers Received 1893	Passengers Received 1912
Bluefield	51,167	163,461	48,035	153,591
Bluestone	6,070	61,385	5,531	61,649
Cooper	24,507	14,127	20,421	17,954
Bramwell	23,419	30,566	20,904	27,878
Simmons	18,061	17,275	22,815	19,813
*Mora	.....	12,204	.....	13,641
*Matoaka	.....	21,442	.....	21,341
Maybeury	20,063	26,847	24,438	29,533
Elkhorn	18,941	38,369	22,017	37,894
North Fork	9,196	128,449	8,024	124,805
Keystone	20,625	79,029	17,921	69,562
Eckman	7,210	15,342	6,366	20,007
Vivian	9,931	64,590	12,255	67,417
Welch	14,489	132,590	14,598	133,525
*Wilcoe	.....	16,904	.....	17,977
*Gary	.....	31,993	.....	45,152
Davy	2,822	23,870	2,847	25,679
Iaeger	2,747	36,427	2,719	32,949
*Berwind	.....	12,636	.....	10,290
Devon	1,347	10,257	1,653	10,639
Thacker	2,224	16,436	2,094	18,101
Matewan	3,857	24,864	4,269	25,677
Williamson	7,446	88,044	6,921	87,401
*Chattaroy	.....	18,786	.....	20,737
Naugatuck	2,274	14,311	2,229	16,693
*Fort Gary	.....	16,863	.....	16,693
Wayne	7,790	12,507	7,294	10,719
Kenova—Local	14,312	61,309	14,860	54,441
Kenova—Connection	1,948	6,339	2,550	8,429

*Not in existence in 1893.

The development of the passenger traffic of the region along the Norfolk and Western in the decade after 1912 is indicated by the following table:

	Passengers Forwarded 1912	Passengers Forwarded 1920	Passengers Received 1912	Passengers Received 1920
Bluefield	163,461	244,153	153,591	222,437
Bluestone	61,385	44,437	61,649	60,431
Cooper	14,127	12,963	17,954	17,090
Bramwell	30,566	21,200	27,878	20,692
Simmons	17,275	16,844	19,813	18,114
Mora	12,204	17,048	13,641	13,271
Matoaka	21,442	28,217	21,341	35,923
Maybeury	26,847	24,009	29,533	23,804
Elkhorn	38,369	19,671	37,894	20,730
North Fork	128,449	215,950	124,805	201,501
Keystone	79,029	32,122	69,562	30,397
Eckman	15,342	14,916	20,007	9,251
Vivian	64,590	11,534	67,417	13,187
Welch	132,590	193,944	133,525	203,678

	Passengers Forwarded		Passengers Received	
	1912	1920	1912	1920
Wilcoe	16,904	8,257	17,977	10,628
Gary	31,993	28,391	45,152	59,446
Davy	23,870	32,108	25,679	39,704
Iaeger	36,427	56,072	32,949	56,278
Berwind	12,636	7,225	10,290	11,104
Devon	10,257	13,576	10,639	12,333
Thacker	16,436	15,937	18,101	16,632
Matewan	24,864	31,740	25,677	32,690
Williamson	88,044	184,734	87,401	159,389
Chattaroy	18,786	24,559	20,737	25,609
Naugatuck	14,311	24,336	16,693	23,367
Fort Gay	16,863	31,409	16,693	32,410
Wayne	12,507	19,225	10,719	18,068
Kenova—Local	61,309	117,622	54,441	116,876
Kenova—Connection	6,339	16,814	8,429	19,280

A comparison of coal loaded in the various West Virginia fields along the Norfolk and Western Railroad for the years 1910 and 1920 is presented in the following table:

	1910	1920
Pocahontas field	10,270,064 tons	14,832,210 tons
Tug River field	1,966,711 tons	3,903,545 tons
Thacker field	1,933,834 tons	4,390,330 tons
Kenova field	727,965 tons	500,220 tons
Total	14,898,574 tons	23,626,305 tons

The Virginian Railway

Within the last decade the wild region between the upper Kanawha and the upper Bluestone has been penetrated by the Virginian Railway which in West Virginia was begun in 1894 by the construction of the little five-mile road south from Deepwater on the Kanawha to serve certain lumber interests in the region. In 1902 the extension of this line toward the coal fields[4] was begun on a more careful plan of construction, with straighter alignment and lighter grades. In 1907 the ambitious and far-reaching plan of the release of the vast coal domain to the tidewater came to fruition by the consolidation of the Deepwater Railway of West Virginia and the Tidewater Railway of Virginia which were built together by the same management and incorporated as the Virginian Railway.

The road was built by Mr. H. H. Rogers and his associates to secure

[4] The original certificate of incorporation of Deepwater (January 28, 1898) called for a route from Deepwater up Lower Loup, across the divide and down White Oak creek and Dunloup to its mouth at Glen Jean. Early in 1902 conceiving the idea of extension in the southeast through coal fields, from Glen Jean across the divide to Piney creek and up Piney to Flat Top mountain across to Camp creek and to Bluestone. This route was later changed, April, 1902, further west through Jenny's Gap and Clark's Gap in order to reach better coal territory. Finally a preliminary survey was rue connecting with Jenny's Gap (August, 30). At the same time surveyors of the Chesapeake and Ohio appeared in Jenny's Gap, but the Deepwater projected their survey through the gap and staked off their line September 1 and 2, although the north end of the line, between Jenny's Gap and Glen Jean, had not yet been surveyed nor had the Deepwater ordered or agreed to make the extension beyond either termini fixed by the articles of incorporation. On September 2 a meeting of directors passed a resolution of extension which was filed in the office of the secretary of state, and on September 8, filed maps. From the date of the contact with the Chesapeake and Ohio engineers, the Deepwater Railway engineers and officials pressed work of location of the entire line and completed the same February 27, 1903—filing maps as fast as data could be procured and prepared.

The Chesapeake and Ohio completed to connect with the old survey of 1899 and on September 11, 1902, filed a map of the projected location and on the same day filed a map of the old 1899 survey. It completed actual location of the new road on November 1, 1902. On October 2 it got deeds to land in Jenny's Gap and about December 30 began work of construction on the disputed strip and proceeded at the cost of $8,500 until June, 1903, when the trial court decided that the Chesapeake and Ohio had paramount right of appropriation. The Deepwater by a writ of error obtained from the court of appeals a reversal of the decision of the Raleigh court.

the best possible line regardless of expense, or of connecting railways, or of adjacent towns or to get the revenue of immediate traffic, but with a view to future possibilities inherent to the terminal and intermediate territory. Its main objective points were to penetrate the heart of the New river-Pocahontas and Kanawha coal fields which were not thoroughly served by existing roads, and to secure facilities for unloading coal at the tidewater terminal. Its course was selected by engineers who had a free hand to select a route and produce a line having the most economical grades and curves from the standpoint of operation. Its location and grade were determined only after the completion of five or six thousand miles of field surveys and careful consideration of various ruling factors. Over much of its route from Deepwater to Princeton, it has a succession of heavy cuts and fills, with many tunnels and high steel viaducts. Its easy grades toward the East were selected with a view to the heavier freight traffic in that direction.

In March, 1907, its head of travel was Mullens. On July 1, 1909, it was in operation throughout its entire course. Its efficiency was assured by many improvements and the increased equipment which rapidly followed. Its assembling yard was located at Princeton, from which long trains of coal are drawn eastward behind huge Mallet locomotives.

At Pax, twenty-seven miles from Deepwater, it has a six-mile connection with twelve mines by the Kanawha, Glen Jean and Eastern Railroad owned and operated by William McKell. At Bishop it connects with the White Oak Railway which is operated by the large New River Company with the Glen Jean and carries the production of four mines. At Page it receives the large exports of the Loup Creek Colliery Company's mine. At Mullens it connects with the important Winding Gulf branch along which are many important mines. It receives the shipments of large lumbering operations at Maben, Herndon and Gardner.

At Deepwater the company planned to build a bridge across the Kanawha and Michigan in order to secure additional facilities for shipping coal.

The Piney River and Paint Creek Road, extending from Beckley Junction to Prosperity, was constructed in 1907 and was later leased and operated by the Virginian Railway Company. The Winding Gulf Branch of the Virginian Railroad was begun in 1904 and completed in 1910. The Kanawha Glen Jean and Eastern Railway, extended from Glen Jean to Pax, and connecting Loop Creek and Paint Creek, was completed into Raleigh county in 1906.

Along the route of the road many communities soon felt its stimulating influence.

Princeton, after the location of the Virginian shops, grew steadily. The population in 1910 was 3,027. By 1916 it had two banks, several wholesale and retail stores, five churches, three newspapers, an electric railway, and good water and sewerage systems. Its population in 1920 was 6,224. In 1916 it was connected with Bluefield by an electric railway line. By 1919 it had a modern improved highway to Athens, the seat of the Concord State Normal School.

Matoaka, fifteen miles northwest of Princeton, had a population of 647 people in 1920. In 1916 it had two churches, five stores, two hotels, four restaurants, and a bank.

Mullens, situated in the eastern edge of Wyoming county, at the mouth of Slab Fork of Guyandotte river, is much the largest town in the county. Its population in January, 1915, was 1,000. It was first settled by A. J. Mullens soon after 1890. It is the junction point on the Virginian for the railroad leading up Guyandotte and Winding Gulf to the developed commercial coal mines on the latter stream in Raleigh county. It has a weekly newspaper which was established in 1915. It has two banks, one of which began business in 1910, and the other in 1916.

To Mullens a daily hack line was immediately established from Pineville which became the county seat of Wyoming county in January, 1907, and was incorporated as a town in June, 1907. Pineville is only a country village with no manufacturing

industries. It was not settled until about 1853. It is surrounded by large coal deposits whose development is retarded by lack of transportation facilities. It became the county seat only after a long and bitter fight against its older but less central rival, Oceana (in the northwestern part of the county), which finally lost by a disastrous fire which destroyed the old court house. Its population was 334 in 1910, and decreased to 304 in 1920. It has a weekly newspaper which was established in 1899. It has two banks.

McAlkin, a mining village on the Winding Gulf, on the Virginian Railway, became headquarters for two large coal companies, and by 1916 had a population of 1,000.

Lester developed largely due to mining and lumber industries. By 1916 it had nine stores, three restaurants, one sawmill, one planing mill, three hotels and three churches, and a population of about 1,200. In 1920 its population was 1,412.

Beckley increased in population from 342 in 1900 to 2,161 in 1910 (a gain of nearly 600%) and to 4.149 in 1920. In 1908 it was incorporated as a city. Its growth was largely the result of the mining and lumber interest in the county. By 1906 it became the home of Beckley Institute established by a board of the Christian Church. By 1916 it had ten stores, four hotels, seven churches, and a high school. In 1920 it had two weekly newspapers and three banks.

In 1922 the Virginian-Wyoming Railway Company had under construction a line of railway connecting with the main line of the Virginian railway near Maben, W. Va., and extending through Polks Gap, down Milans Fork and up Laurel creek to Glen Rogers, W. Va., a distance of fourteen and one-half miles. "This line when completed will be leased by the Virginian and besides serving the developing mines of the Raleigh Wyoming Coal Company will serve other mines shortly to be developed."

Besides the coal mines on its own lines, the Virginian, under trackage arrangements with the Chesapeake & Ohio Railway, serves coal mines in Raleigh county between Pemberton and Cranberry; two mines (Scarboro and Whipple) in Fayette county and in connection with the Kanawha, Glen Jean & Eastern Railroad, all the mines on that line. The mines which it serves represent a capital investment of over $25,000,000. An appreciation of the rapid development in a decade of coal mining in the field newly opened by the Virginian can be gained from the following data:

In 1910:—14 mines, with a production of 1,685,875 net tons.

In 1920:—103 mines, with a production of 7,602,381 net tons.

In 1921, there were more than 150,000 acres under development on the main line, branches and connections, of the Virginian. An equal area of smokeless and high volatile coal lands was accessible for development by the construction of additional branch lines.

The Virginian Railway, already unique among coal carriers by reason of the rapid growth of its coal tonnage and of its large tonnage trains, has recently made, and is still making, physical improvements which will result in a still greater showing. Among these improvements is the double tracking of Clarks Gap Hill in Wyoming county. Clarks Gap is the summit of the Virginian's line. To reach it a two per cent grade is encountered for a distance of about fourteen miles eastward from Elmore. This work of improvement enlarges the "neck of the bottle" for a greatly increased freight movement over this summit. Included in this work is the double tracking of several steel bridges and the widening of five tunnels. By 1922, the double track was connected and in operation. The work of concreting the tunnels was almost completed in January, 1922. The total cost of these particular improvements will be in excess of $2,500,000.

At the tidewater end of the line, 9.7 miles of road starting from Sewall's Point was double tracked, and upon it was installed mechanical and electrical interlocking equipment and automatic signals. At Sewall's Point a large double car dumper was added to the facilities. In it two standard coal cars are dumped at one time. It was designed

View of Oceana Looking Northwest
(Courtesy of West Virginia Geological Survey)

primarily for use in dumping the large newly-constructed 120-ton cars, which were put into operation by the Virginian in 1921. These cars have a greater carrying capacity than any coal cars elsewhere in use and are confined strictly to the tidewater service. The Virginian has also recently purchased and put into regular road service a number of locomotives of the Mallet type, the most powerful in the world for such service.

Quite naturally with the growth of the coal traffic and the improvements in the physical facilities of the railway there has been a growth in other lines of traffic though perhaps not so marked as that of coal. The increase in population, especially in the coal field, is indicated by the increased sales of passenger tickets. The gross ticket sales at Princeton in 1913 amounted to $25,731.17 and in 1920 to $71,163.36. At Mullens the sales in 1913 amounted to $13,931.84 and in 1920 to $89,326.11.

CHAPTER XXIX

OIL, GAS, AND COAL DEVELOPMENT

The "political revolution of 1872 could not check the steadily growing economic revolution which through the peaceful process of time changed the industrial character of the state."

The vast resources of West Virginia, whose development was so long delayed and retarded by lack of transportation facilities, have recently furnished the incentive for many new enterprises which have greatly changed the life of the region. The recent industrial development had its origin largely in the increasing demand for timber, coal, oil and gas, and to the resulting inducements for the construction of railroads and the establishment of certain manufactures, such as glass, iron and steel for which a portion of the state furnishes a clean, cheap fuel.

In 1876 at the expense of $20,000 West Virginia prepared for the Centennial Exposition at Philadelphia an exhibit of her resources which attracted the attention of the world and the investment of capital in the state. The West Virginia building was made entirely of the eighteen varieties of hardwoods of Marshall county. Among the many exhibits were large blocks and masses of bituminous coal, some of which had been hauled over fifty miles by ox teams before they could reach a railway station for transportation to Philadelphia.

Petroleum, first obtained in large quantities in 1860 on the Little Kanawha near Parkersburg, developed a thriving business which, although ruined by the Confederates in 1863, was revived in 1864-65 and greatly extended by operations in Wirt, Wood and Pleasants counties. In these years, coincident with increasing steamboat traffic on the Ohio, the oil excitement attracted many speculators and promoters to the region.

From 1876 to 1889 there was little extension of productive area, but the yearly production which steadily declined in these years rapidly increased in the following decade—rising from 544,000 barrels in 1889 to 16,000,000 barrels in 1900, surpassing both Pennsylvania and New York. In 1910 West Virginia produced 11,753,071 barrels of oil, ranking fourth in production in the United States. In 1911 she produced 9,795,464 barrels, ranking fifth in production. The speculation in oil, although it ruined some, built fortunes for others. By means of a series of pumping stations constructed after 1890 the product was forced through pipe lines over the mountains to the seaboard cities.

After 1882, by the opening of new gas wells, and the discovery of new gas fields, the practical use of gas became a large factor in the industrial and social development of the state, furnishing the inducement for the location of many manufacturing establishments seeking cheap fuel. It also attracted immigrants desiring a clean and convenient fuel for their homes.

Its convenience resulted in the establishment of many glass plants in West Virginia. As early as 1821 a window glass factory was erected at Wheeling. In 1864 the cost of manufacture was reduced by one-half by the discovery of a new process which is regarded as the second great improvement in modern glass manufacture. As early as 1879 gas was used for fuel in the glass works at Wheeling. In 1900 it was used almost exclusively in all the glass works of the state. As a fuel in the manufacture of glass it has no equal. In 1870 there were in the state (at Wheeling) six glass works employing 860 persons with products exceeding $600,000 per annum. In 1890 there were seven establishments employing 1,371 persons with products valued at $945,234. In 1900 the number had increased to 16 employing 1,949 persons and with products valued at $1,871.795.

In 1911 there were 28 flint glass factories employing 6,033 persons and produc-

ing annually a product value at $6,854.187; and 21 window glass factories employing 3,153 persons and with an annual production value at $3,467,622.

At the close of the war, following the awakened interest in the latent mineral resources of the region and the investments of capitalists indicated the beginnings of a new era of development, coal mining companies were formed and coal mining operations were begun in Putnam, Boone, Wayne, Mason and Monongalia counties by 1869, and in Marion in 1870, and in Sewell Mountain on New river in 1873. Operations were extensive in these counties and in Fayette, Harrison and Ohio by 1880, and at the same time embryo operations were begun in the coke industry which steadily increased after 1880 and especially after 1890 when machines were introduced for mining. In June, 1883, the first coal was shipped from the Flat Top field. The valuable Pittsburg vein of coal was easily accessible along the Monongahela, especially cropping out above the water level in Monongalia, Marion, Harrison and Lewis counties. In 1903 there were 530 mines inspected in the state, and the total production was 24,000,000 long tons, of which nearly 19,500,000 tons were shipped to market. Coke burning which began in a small way as early as 1853 did not begin its rapid development until 1902.

Oil Development

The petroleum industry owes more to West Virginia than to Pennsylvania. The tools which Captain Drake used in penetrating the earth's rocky strata near Titusville, Pennsylvania in 1859 were invented in Western Virginia a half a century earlier. Many years before he completed the historic oil well of 1859, large quantities of oil were marketed from the territory on Hughes river in Ritchie and Wirt counties.

Oil was first discovered in West Virginia in connection with the boring or drilling of salt wells which began on the Great Kanawha above Charleston in 1807. Although, at first, it was regarded as a nuisance except for limited use as a "medicine," by 1826 it began to produce considerable profit by its use for lamps in workshops and manufactories. Ten years later, above the mouth of Hughes' river, upon whose waters the early settlers found oil floating Dr. Hildreth reported that fifty or one hundred barrels were collected annually from pits dug in the sand. Here, it was sold as "Seneca oil" to which was ascribed rare medicinal properties. George S. Lemon, who arrived from lower Virginia and reared his home at the forks of Hughes' river, and who promptly engaged in the collection and sale of the oil from a well which he sank in quest of salt, secured an increased production of oil. Bushrod W. Creel, who later appeared as claimant of the oil land and supplanted Lemon in the sale of oil, found his principal market at Marietta with Bosworth, Wells & Company who sold it to drug and chemical companies in Pittsburg, Baltimore, Cincinnati, New York and St. Louis. His sales to this company increased from $238.95 in 1848 to $4,400.76 in 1851, then declined to $239 in 1855 and amounted to $1,000 in 1860. The price per gallon rose from 33 cents in 1855 to 40 cents in 1857.

Up the Little Kanawha, and not far distant from Hughes' river was a small stream which the early settlers called Burning Spring run, because near its mouth there were two springs from which natural gas escaped. The land on which these springs were located was purchased by two Rathbone brothers, who came from New York to Parkersburg in 1842. To make a test for salt brine below the mouth of the small stream, in 1859 they bored a well in which they struck petroleum at a depth of 200 feet. Abandoning the salt project, and enlisting other Parkersburg men in the enterprise, they bored a deeper well which produced 200 barrels of oil daily. They then organized the Rathbone Oil Company which sunk another, yielding 1,200 barrels daily, and producing an excitement which rapidly spread and increased in intensity and dramatic interest. Here was the Eldorado of 1860! The history associated with it reads like a romance.

In a wild thicket of 1860 there suddenly arose, by April, 1861, a

town with a hotel brilliantly lighted from mains of natural gas, and with a population of several thousand inhabitants [1]—a swarming mass of humanity, capitalists, adventurers and public men. It marked the beginning of the later era of oil and gas development in West Virginia in which so many fortunes have been made and lost.

Hundreds of thousands of barrels of oil were shipped—floated—in flat-boats, on rafts, or adrift, to Parkersburg, there to be sent to market by rail or river. At last, the production exceeded the cooperage, and the oil was pumped in bulk into barges lashed to the river shore at the mouth of Burning Springs run. About 300,000 barrels thus stored were destroyed on May 9, 1863, by General Jones of the Confederate army, with 1,500 troops, who visited the town, destroyed the machinery and kindled the largest fire ever started in West Virginia. The oil was simultaneously ignited, and the boats set adrift to float down stream. The light was clearly seen at Parkersburg forty miles away.

For awhile, the whole enterprise perished. "The derrick stood in the field with the half bored well, the oil gushed up and overspread the ground, the houses were torn down for campfires * * *. The few brave men who remained—the Rathbones, Camdens and McFarlands—made their money by buying these lands at low prices, sinking good wells, and disposing of their purchases to companies formed in New York and Philadelphia."

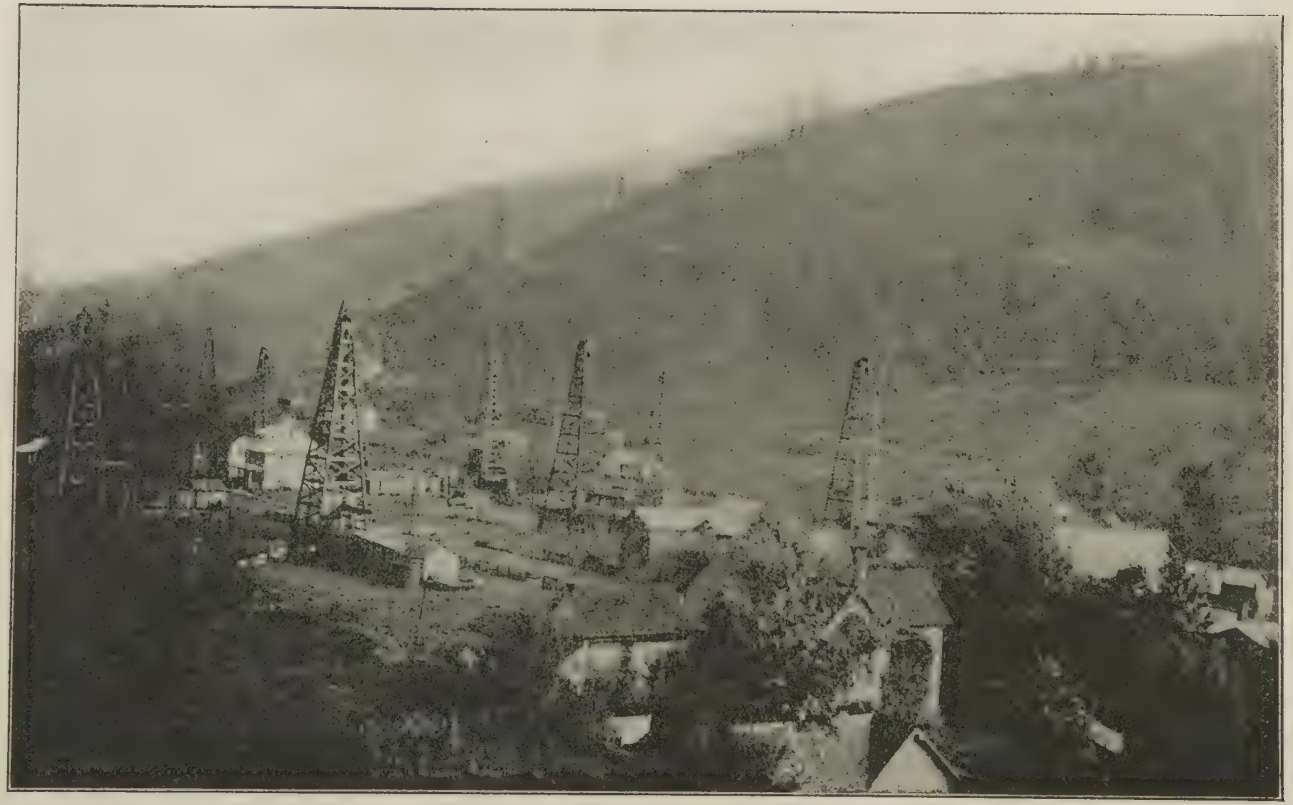
In 1864, with the approaching close of the war, oil hunters began to arrive at Parkersburg, impelled by the thirst for riches which might be obtained along the Little Kanawha above the oil metropolis. "All the world was pushing to Burning Springs along the Elizabeth pike." In 1865, there was a revival of the development and consequent excitement of five years before. Operations extended along a northwest line from Burning Springs through Wirt, Wood and Pleasants counties to the Ohio river on the anticlinal called the "Oil Break." The chief points of development were Burning Springs, Oil Rock, the California House, on Hughes' river two miles below the forks, Volcano, Sand Hill, and White Oak. Light oil was found at all these places except at Volcano and Sand Hill where the "heavy oil," used for lubricators, was obtained.

While excitement was high along Fishing creek in Wetzel county and in Tyler county, oil speculators and well-borers had already been attracted by indications of gas and oil along the tributaries of the West Fork in Lewis county and along the Pennsylvania boundary of Monongalia. Even in the Cheat river valley in Preston they were prospecting and purchasing with expression of confident expectations which materially increased the value of undeveloped tracts of land. Harrison county was affected by a strong show of oil on the head waters of Cabin run (a tributary of Hughes river) in Ritchie county, and became excited by an oil strike at a depth of 200 feet in Clarkburg which resulted in the beginning of oil leases on town lots, cultivated farms and wild lands. In Taylor county, too, an oil strike was reported at a depth of 300 feet. Fortunately the mania for buying "shares" in unknown companies had somewhat subsided. Except in a few instances of wild investment in untested petroleum lands, prices continued to rise. In Monongalia county considerable excitement caused by the expectation of striking a rich oil field in the spring of 1861, and quieted by the intense excitement of the war, was revived in 1865.

Wells in the oil territory multiplied in number, with a corresponding increase in production. In April, 1876, ex-Governor William E. Stevenson, of Parkersburg, who collected the statistics of petroleum for the Centennial commissioners, stated that there were then 292 wells in the state averaging about 3 barrels each, or a total production of about 900 barrels daily. Parkersburg, then the chief oil market, had a rectifying capacity of 2,000 barrels per day. The estimated amount of oil produced in the state from 1859 to 1876 was 3,000,000 barrels.

A second period of development extended from 1876 to 1889, in which there was but little extension of the productive area. Capitalists expended much money in drilling in new territory but without success.

[1] On a dark and stormy night in the winter of 1867, every light and fire in the town was suddenly extinguished by the exhaustion of the supply of gas, causing much suffering before a supply of fuel could be obtained from another source.



Oil Wells at Rosedale

The new wells were not deep enough to reach the lower sands. There was almost a steady decline in the production, especially between 1879 and 1885, as shown by the following statement of the number of barrels of each year:

1876	120,000	1883	126,000
1877	172,000	1884	90,000
1878	180,000	1885	91,000
1879	180,000	1886	102,000
1880	179,000	1887	145,000
1881	151,000	1888	119,448
1882	128,000		

As well boring became a business, the invention of improved appliances resulted from necessity. Although borings along the Little Kanawha had been made with ease, operators as they advanced to new attempts in other regions of softer rock encountered difficulties which were not overcome for a quarter of a century—resulting in a check upon oil development. Finally, to prevent the choking of their uncased opening by crumbling walls, they used large iron pipes which enabled them to bore to far greater depths. By this discovery, the oil development was revived in 1889. At the same time the earlier chance methods of searching for petroleum were supplanted by methods based on scientific knowledge of its relation to certain rock formation and rock foldings. In 1874, W. C. Stiles of Wood county discovered a method to reduce the expense of pumping by connecting a series of wells, so that the entire series of wells could be pumped with one engine and one man.

A third period in the development of the oil industry began in 1889 with a sudden increase in production caused by the discovery of deeper sands by the drillers. The Doll's run, Eureka, Mannington and Sistersville fields were found and developed; and, from that time until 1900 the growth of West Virginia's oil production increased rapidly.

The beginning of the larger oil development of West Virginia was a direct result of a discovery in geology which was put to a practical test by Dr. I. C. White who later became state geologist and obtained a reputation as one of the great economic geologists.

The discovery resulted in the location of probable territory by a study of rock foundation in advance of drilling operations. Dr. White's investigations and practical work in locating oil fields were based upon the "anticlinal theory." An anticline, in geology is a stratum of rock, or many strata, forming a series, folded in the form of an arch. It had been long known that many wide and long anticlines existed in West Virginia; some buried deeply underground, others approaching the surface. Some of them are measured in length by scores of miles; and from side to side many miles wide. The general course of the largest anticlines is northeast and southwest across the state, generally parallel with the ranges of the Allegheny Mountains, and in fact, owing their origin for the most part to the same agencies which formed the Allegheny and associated ranges of mountains. They are vast folds in the layers of rock, due to crumpling by lateral pressure. Though the general direction of the folds is pretty regular, there are many local irregularities, which if studied in detail, would involve many complex problems.

The earlier shadowy belief that oil had collected under the arches or anticlines led to important results under the investigation and conclusions of a trained geologist whose work greatly reduced the doubt and the gamble in boring for oil. Gradually oil operators recognized certainty and importance of the new discovery and induced oil operators of Pennsylvania and others to make new ventures southward in West Virginia where the production had greatly fallen between 1882 and 1888.

Because of the little confidence of practical oil men in the ability of geologists, Dr. White received little encouragement when he undertook the field work tests to determine whether geology can assist the drill in locating oil. The preliminary work required much surveying, and

much minute examination of the region's formation. He chose as his territory the region about Mannington, Marion county, which was twenty miles from any producing oil well. An account of how the work was done, and its result, deserves a prominent place in the industrial history of West Virginia.

The following statement by Dr. White concerning his success in testing the anticline theory is quoted from his article on the development of the Mannington oil field which was published in the bulletin of the Geological Society of America (1892):

"Guided by this theory, I located in 1884 the important gas and oil field near Washington, Pennsylvania; also the Grapeville gas field along the great arch of the same name in Westmoreland county; and the Belvernon field on the Monongahela river. On the same theory I located and mapped out the celebrated Taylortown oil field nine months before the drill demonstrated the truth of my conclusions. On the Mannington-Mount Morris belt a derrick was built to bore for oil on one of my locations at Fairview more than five years before the drill finally proved that my location was immediately over one of the richest pools in the county and before the drill had shown that there was any oil in that portion of West Virginia. The negative results in condemning immense areas of both oil and gas are even more important in preventing unnecessary expenditure and waste of capital where a search for either gas or oil would certainly have been in vain.

"My first work was to determine the tide elevation of these coal beds, especially the Waynesburg, with reference to oil, gas, and saltwater as developed by the Mount Morris borings. For this purpose one of my associates ran a line of levels from the Monongahela river (using a Baltimore and Ohio railroad datum) out to the oil field, and made a complete survey and map of the twenty or more wells that had been drilled at that time (February, 1889) in and about the village of Mount Morris. He also obtained the elevations of the coal beds at every possible point. From the data thus acquired, it was learned that wherever the Waynesburg coal had an elevation of 950 feet above tide, gas and not oil was found, and that where it had dipped down below 870 feet, saltwater was a certainty—in the Mount Morris region at least. As the Washington coal is 155 feet above the Waynesburg bed, the gas and saltwater limits were found to be 1,105 and 1,125 feet above tide, respectively, when referred to the Washington bed as a datum line.

"With these facts in hand, it was only a question of correct identification, or tracing of coal beds, and a simple matter of leveling in order to follow the strike of the surface rocks at least, for a hundred miles or more. But the query arose: Suppose the surface rocks do not lie parallel to the oil sand, then where will the oil belt be found? The interval between these coal beds and the oil sand might either thin away considerably, or thicken up an equal amount in passing southward from Mount Morris. Of course, if either of these things should happen, the strike of the oil would not run with the strike of the surface rocks, but would gradually veer away from the latter either eastwest or westward, depending upon whether the intervening measures should thicken up or thin away. To meet any such possible contingencies, the territory within which it was considered possible for oil to exist, was gradually widened southward, and at Mannington extended eastward to where the Waynesburg coal had an elevation of 1,025 feet instead of 950 (the eastern limit of oil at Mount Morris), and carried westward to where it had an elevation of 800 instead of 870 feet (the western limit of oil at the north).

"In following the strike line from Mount Morris to Mannington its direction was found to vary greatly. For the first five or six miles between Mount Morris and Doll's run, the strike was about south 30 degrees west; but toward the head of Doll's run, the line turned rapidly westward, making a great curve or elbow, and running westward past the village of Fairview, from which, with many curves and sinuosities, it crossed successively Plum run, Mods run, and Buffalo creek at Mannington, on a general course of south 45 degrees west, but varying from this 10 to 15 degrees either way in certain localities. The strike line carried on southward from Mannington, passed into Harrison county.

"This course which I thus mapped out for the extension of the Mount Morris oil belt was so crooked, and passed so much farther westward than the practical oil men had considered possible, that my geologic line, or hypothetical belt, furnished occasion for many jokes and jibes at my expense among the oil fraternity; and it was with the greatest difficulty, and only by liberal gifts of supposed oil territory, that I could induce any of them to risk their money on a purely geological theory. Finally however, a contract to drill a test well in the vicinity of Mannington was entered into in the spring of 1889.

"The problem I had to solve was, whether the interval between the surface rocks and the oil sand would remain the same as at Mt. Morris, or whether it would either thicken or thin; since, upon my theory, if I made a location at Mannington where the Waynesburg coal had an elevation of 900 feet above tide, and the interval from it to the oil sand remained the same (1 625 feet) as at Mount Morris, then if the oil rock proved open and porous, a fair oil well should be found; while if, on the other hand, this interval should thin away to, say 1,575 feet, then gas would be found, and if it should thicken up to 1,675 feet, salt water would be obtained, and this, especially, would be fatal to my theory, for practical oil men were pre-

dicting that Mannington was several miles too far west, and hence was a salt water territory.

"In the absence of any evidence bearing upon the subject, and rather in opposition to a general geological fact, viz.: that the sedimentary beds thin away rapidly westward from the Alleghenies, I made up my mind to take no chance on salt water in this, the first test well, and in finally determining the location, placed it where the Waynesburg coal had an altitude of 970 feet, and the Washington about 1,125 feet. Such a location at Mount Morris would have been in the gas belt by an elevation of 20 to 25 feet to spare.

"As the drill progressed it was found that the intervening rocks were thickening instead of thinning when compared with the Mount Morris column, and when the top of the oil sand (Big Injun) was finally struck, the interval from it to the Waynesburg coal measured exactly 1,725 feet instead of 1,625 feet as at Mount Morris. Finally, on October 11, 1889, the drill penetrated the oil-bearing zone of this sand, and was immediately followed by copious showing of oil, the result being that my theory was at once raised from the domain of conjecture to that of demonstrated fact. Thus a great victory was won for geology, since it taught the practical oil men once for all that they could not afford to disregard geological truths in their search for oil deposits.

"This thickening of the interval between the Waynesburg coal and the oil sand to the extent of 100 feet in the distance of 25 miles from Mount Morris to Mannington, proved to be exactly the effect that I had anticipated, that is, it caused the oil belt to veer westward until it gradually encroached upon the territory occupied by the gas belt in the vicinity of Mount Morris; so that the western edge of the oil belt at Mannington is found where the Waynesburg coal has an altitude of 950 feet above tide, which is where the western edge occurs at Mount Morris, and the gas belt begins; and hence, had the first location at Mannington been made without taking into account a possible thickening, the well would have been too far westward, and a dry hole or salt water would have been the certain result. The amount of this eastward shifting of the strike of the oil sand compared with the strike of the surface rocks between Mount Morris and Mannington is something more than half a mile.

"Since this Mannington test well was drilled, about 200 others have been sunk along the belt, as previously defined by me, between Mount Morris and Mannington; and the correctness of my theoretical work has been demonstrated by the drill in opening up this belt through Marion and Monongalia counties one of the largest and most valuable oil fields of the country. Fewer dry holes have been found along this belt than on any other oil belt known to me, not more than five per cent of the wells drilled within the defined limit proving totally dry."

In the year 1893—just after the oil and gas fields of West Virginia had been developed in the northern end of the State Dr. White, in a talk before the members of the West Virginia Legislature, predicted that the petroleum and natural gas fields of the State would extend entirely across it from Hancock county on the north to the Kentucky line on the southwest. The West Virginia Coal, Oil, and Gas Map, as well as the State's Survey Detailed County Maps, show how closely that prediction was fulfilled, and also how the structural theory of oil and gas was verified by every pool of gas or oil found along this great petroliferous belt.

The Fairview oil fields were first opened by the penetration of the Big Injun sand by the Fleming oil well drilled by E. M. Hukill, of Mt. Morris, Pennsylvania, and later (in 1890) by the Hamilton well near Mannington, which, was a producer at first but was later plugged. The first well in Mannington, drilled by the Burt Oil Company, was begun in October, 1889, and completed in April, 1890, immediately attracting the attention of the Standard Oil Company to West Virginia fields. Its completion was delayed by the distance of the nearest oil well supply companies at Clarksburg, and by the inconvenience of carrying damaged tools to that point for repair. It was a big "gusher" and was named the "Daisy." After it was placed under control, it produced 240 barrels per day. It continued to produce for sixteen years (until 1906).[2]

Development increased after 1901, and the Mannington field rapidly became one of the largest in the state. The number of fortunes made continued to increase for several years.

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2 After the drilling of the first well in the Mannington field in 1888, wells were put down rapidly. The "boom" probably reached its height in 1893. The largest well ever drilled in the Mannington field was the Robert P. Floyd well which produced about 1,600 barrels a day. During the oil "boom," the population of Mannington increased from about 400 to 5,000.

In 1893 oil was also discovered in the Gordon sand on Whetstone run three miles southwest of Mannington.

The productive fields of Doddridge and Wetzel counties were opened in the spring of 1892, by the completion of a well of small production on the Sullivan farm in Doddridge county.

After this date, the development over the entire western part of the state made rapid progress. The Whiskey run field in Ritchie county was developed in 1893 and 1894. The Cairo field was developed within the next year or two, and the Hendershot immediately followed. These fields have been extended until they join each other and make a practically solid producing territory, with the exception of dry streaks and spots that always appear in oil regions.

Another early development, begun at Nineveh, Pennsylvania, in 1888, was extended into West Virginia. This long and narrow field, which might be called a "shoestring" belt, extends through the western part of Greene county, Pennsylvania, into Wetzel county, West Virginia. It is a Gordon field, and produces both oil and gas. Its most prolific spots were in the vicinity of Higbee, Greene county, Pennsylvania, and at Littleton, Wetzel county, West Virginia.

The Sistersville field was opened in the winter of 1891-1892. The Eureka or Belmont pool on the Ohio river, thirty miles below Sistersville, was opened in the winter of 1890-91. The Wolf Summit field was opened in the fifth sand in the early part of 1889-90.

In 1893 the Sistersville field was regarded as the greatest producing oil field in the world. Although many counties contributed to the aggregate oil production of the state, there were but three main producing fields—the Sistersville field, the Eureka-Belmont field, both along the Ohio river, and the Marion county field in the northern part of the state. In these producing fields the derricks stood in every yard and at the street corner and even on the property devoted to religious worship.

The Mt. Morris, Doll's Run, Fairview, Mannington oil and gas field whose southern end had not yet been found was largely covered by leases which were held by a Pittsburgh syndicate.

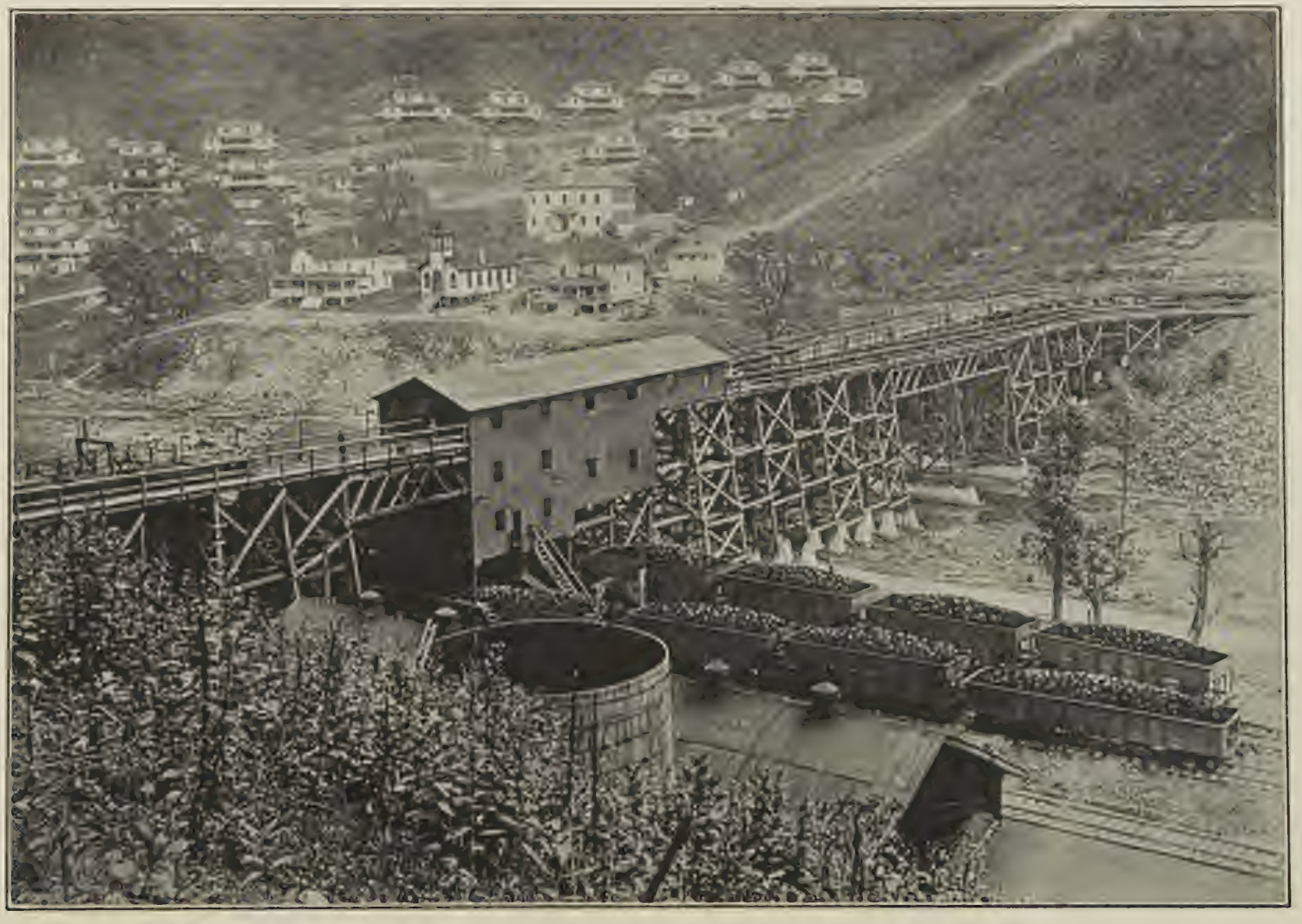
The gas wells at Warfield on the Big Sandy, and those at Burning Springs above Charleston completed the chain of evidence that the oil belt would extend entirely across West Virginia from the Pan-handle to Kentucky; for the gas was evidence that the heavier fluid was near.

The details of the negotiation of leases and rentals on oil territory from the Ohio eastward to Doddridge and other northern interior counties, gathered and properly collected and arranged would present a story of intense human interest. At the earliest period of active leasing, when there were no banks in Tyler or Doddridge counties and when the farmer would not accept checks, the "leasers" carried on their persons large sums of money and were also well armed. One of the oldest "leasers" was Joseph Noble of West Union.

The regions about Mannington have furnished oil from four different strata or paying sands. The Wetzel county territory has been prolific from two different strata. The Ritchie county and Wood county fields have produced oil from three or four different sands.

In the summer of 1900 the famous "Copeley" well, drilled in Lewis county, West Virginia, opened what was then entirely new territory in Gordon sand. Immediately eastward, in its development, oil was discovered in the fifth sand which furnishes most of the present production of oil. Territory included in Lewis county and adjoining counties is one of the most prolific gas fields in the entire state.

The greatest excitement of 1899 centered around oil developments on Polk Creek (in Lewis county), where the Camden well No. 1 was started as a test at the mouth of Dry creek. So much gas was encountered that operations were suspended for a time. Suddenly, on October 5, the well came in as a gusher with an estimated production of from 1,000 to 3,000 barrels a day. The oil was thrown nearly to the top of the derrick and flowed for some distance in the channel of Polk



Tipples at Micco, Logan County

creek. Dams were constructed in the channel to hold it back, and barrels were submerged in the pools to collect as much of the precious fluid as possible. The construction of tanks was rushed with all possible speed. One week after the strike, eight 250-barrel tanks and two 1,200 barrel tanks were standing near the well, at least partly filled with oil. Efforts were being made by the company to confine the output of the well until a pipe line could be laid to the Jarvisville field.

A close watch was maintained by the company to prevent other parties from gaining the secret of the amount of production. The successful strike undoubtedly cost the company thousands of dollars in the increased prices which they were compelled to pay to secure leases on the farms adjoining.

The news of the gusher on the Camden farm created the greatest excitement which had appeared in that region since the years of the Confederate raiders. All classes of people rushed to the scene with curiosity to see the marvel. The fever of speculation rapidly spread. Royalties were bought at unheard-of prices, and farmers were offered fabulous prices for their lands. "Men rushed madly in all directions from the well," said a writer in the *Weston Independent,* "determined, if possible, to secure leases at any cost."

The opening of the first "gusher" of the Sand Fork fields of Lewis county on September 22, 1900, on the Copeley farm of the old Camden-Bailey lands, was a remarkable event in the history of the oil industry —an event which produced a sudden tide of prosperity, which disturbed the social equilibrium for miles around. The increasing flow from 200 barrels per hour to 7,000 barrels per day, rapidly filling ten large, hastily improvised 250-barrel tanks, and rising rapidly in the bed of the stream which was dammed to save it, and flowing down the stream eight miles beyond the first dams, soon raised the four maiden sisters of a pioneer Irish family from poverty to wealth and created a rapid demand for immediate development on adjacent lands which in the main had been leased by the South Penn Oil company. The signs of new life were seen in the faces of the crowds of curious visitors, and the active industry of many new operators and speculators.

The oil spurted far above the top of the derrick. Laborers clad in oil skin worked constantly and with frantic efforts to control or to reduce the flow. They hastily improvised tin tanks, each with a capacity of 50 barrels, which were filled in a few hours. The over flowing oil formed a riverlet flowing into Sandfork, which rapidly rose in the bed of the stream. Laborers hastily threw up in the channels of the streams a series of dams one below the other for a distance of eight miles. They worked day and night at fabulous wages and sometimes fell exhausted for the want of sleep. The oil flowed on over the last dam and continued down the channels of the streams to the Little Kanawha. Weeks passed before sufficient tankage could be brought to the field, or before a pipe line could be constructed to provide for the production of the well.

The greatest excitement followed the strike, visitors came from far and near, roads were crowded with people riding or driving to see the wells. A general rush was made to get material into the field, 200 teams were employed in hauling engines, boilers, pipes and casings from Weston. Boarding houses, feed stores and barns sprang up in the neighborhood of the new well which "disturbed the social equilibrium for miles around." The four maiden sisters, descendants of the pioneer Copeley, who had taught numerous terms of school, were enabled to retire from the profession in ease and comfort for the remainder of their lives. Their neighbors, most of whom had experienced some difficulty in securing a comfortable living from their rough farms, became wealthy over night. Prosperity, such as the first Irish settlers had never dreamed of, came suddenly to the rough hollows of Sandfork. By 1902 the oil production of Lewis county approached its highest point. By 1912 there were in the county about 200 wells producing oil and 500 producing gas. The oil and gas industry was principally in the Freeman's creek, Court House, and Hacker's creek districts. The product from

the few wells drilled in Collins settlement and Skin creek districts, was very light. In Hacker's creek district, the gas wells had a light volume (one million to ten million feet), but had a heavy rock pressure. In both Freeman's creek and Court House districts, both the volume and the pressure were heavy. In these districts were found all the paying oil wells.

Later, new fields of importance were developed toward the southwest—especially in Roane county and the southwestern part of Clay county, and in Kanawha, Boone, Lincoln, Cabell and Wayne.

In addition to the principal oil fields of the first two decades after 1889 there were several smaller pools such as the Cow run pool near Moundsville, the Injun field near Middlebourne, Tyler county, the Cameron, or Adeline, pool which is also of some extent; and the Jug Handle pool, in Tyler county, which is really a part of the Middlebourne development.

The depths of the wells, from which the most of the oil is pumped from the West Virginia fields, is an interesting matter for consideration. Scarcely any two oil wells are of exactly the same depth. Some are quite shallow, others penetrate far down into the hidden recesses of earth.

Practically all the West Virginia oil, however, is obtained from strata far below the level of the sea. The hills, ridges, and plateaus where the wells are bored, are sometimes high above the level of the ocean; but, to reach the oil, the drill must go to sea level and usually far below.

The various pools have produced oils of many different grades and characteristics. In the department of History and Archives at Charleston, there are more than one hundred samples of oil taken from wells of various fields of the state. No two samples are alike. They vary from colorless to jet black. They also show a specific gravity varying from 65 or 70 down to 30.

The growth of oil production in barrels for the three decades after 1889 is indicated by the following figures:

1889	544,113	1906	10,120,935
1890	492,578	1907	9,095,296
1891	2,406,318	1908	9,523,176
1892	3,810,086	1909	10,745,092
1893	8,445,412	1910	11,753,071
1894	8,577,624	1911	9,795,464
1895	8,120,125	1912	12,128,962
1896	10,019,770	1913	11,567,299
1897	13,090,045	1914	9,680,033
1898	13,603,135	1915	9,264,798
1899	13,910,630	1916	8,731,184
1900	16,195,675	1917	8,379,285
1901	14,177,126	1918	7,866,628
1902	13,513,345	1919 (estimated)	8,000,000
1903	12,903,706	1920 (estimated)	8,173,000
1904	12,644,686	1921 (estimated)	7,942,000
1905	11,578,110		

In 1898, the production in West Virginia surpassed that of Pennsylvania for the first time, and has since been greater than the production of that state and New York combined. In 1900 the highest amount of production was reached.

In the meantime a cheaper method of transportation was secured by lines of iron pipes connecting numerous wells and large tanks [3] and larger trunk lines through which a series of powerful engines and pumps forced the oil over the mountains, and from station to station for hundreds of miles to market on the seaboard and elsewhere.

[3] In early stages of oil development it was customary to pump one well at a time, with a steam engine for each well. That made the process expensive. When wells were tolerably near together, a central boiler was rigged up, and steam was sent through pipes to engines located at several wells, and they were pumped in that manner. The plan was wasteful, for so much steam condensed in the transmission pipes that a large part of the power was lost. Another plan made use of connecting rods from a central engine to several pumps; but when distance between wells was considerable, this method was not practicable.

The Eureka pipe line, connecting series of large tanks, was begun in 1890 to meet the needs of better market facilities. The first main line was laid from Eureka (Pleasants county) to Morgantown (about 77 miles), and from there on east toward Philadelphia. In 1892 when the Sistersville field was opened, another line was laid from Sistersville to Morgantown (about 70 miles). In the same year, two other lines—one from the Pennsylvania state line to Morgantown (about 13 miles) and one from the state line of Pennsylvania to Downs (about 15 miles)—were also laid. In 1897 a main line was run from Elm Run, Ritchie county to Morgantown (about 76 miles). In 1900 a main line was laid from Downs to Sand Fork (about 50 miles), from Downs to Ten Mile (about 18 miles), and from Downs to Dolls Run (about 16 miles), a total of 84 miles of main line. In 1902 a main line was laid from Elm Run to the Kentucky state line (about 116 miles) to connect with the Cumberland Pipe Line Company at that point and another main line was laid from Elm Run to Parkersburg (about 22 miles). In 1909, 83 miles of pipe were laid from Elm Run to Hamlin. In 1912 about 110 miles were laid from Blue Creek field to Downs. Small lines were laid to the different pools as they were opened after 1890.

The petroleum was not only pumped from the wells, but it was pumped to market. Railroads never carried much West Virginia crude oil as freight. The large pipe lines were laid from the oil fields to the Atlantic seaboard, and the oil was forced hundreds of miles through the pipes. The pipes varied in size, but many were six inches or a foot in diameter. They were of iron, and were buried in the earth deep enough to equalize the temperature and to prevent expansion and contraction of the metal by heat and cold. The pipes are buried for two reasons: for protection from injury and to facilitate location through fields, farms, forests, over mountains, and under rivers. By being deeply buried, the fields through which they pass may be cultivated over the top of the pipes. Pump stations are located at certain points along the lines to force the oil forward. Immense power is required, for ranges of mountains are crossed by the lines, and the oil must be forced from the base to the summit.

The designing, construction, and maintenance of the long oil pipe lines involved engineering problems that were worked out by master minds which made the development of the oil industry possible on a gigantic scale.

From 1901 to 1907 the production of oil in West Virginia steadily declined. With 1908 began a period of increase which (excepting the year 1911) continued until 1913. After 1912 there was a steady decline except for the years 1919 and 1920. The decline was lessened by new oil development on Cabin creek after 1916.

The state did not share in the general decline in the production of petroleum in 1909. This was due to active developments in Roane, Harrison and Lincoln counties—especially at Shinnston pool where a gusher estimated at 4,000 barrels a day was opened on December 8. Its product of 1910 was greatly increased by the discovery of several important oil fields during the year. In 1911 the number of oil wells completed in the state was 1,191. The increase of production in 1912 was due to the remarkable development in the Blue Creek field in Kanawha county, which was begun in September, 1911. The field, in 1912, extended rapidly northeast and southwest, until it attained a length of about ten miles. In May, the production reached about 25,000 barrels a day, but this decreased until at the end of the year there was a total production of 8,000 barrels. Other developments in the same locality resulted in other productive wells. The total number of wells in the state in 1912 was $4,775,874, an increase of $442,454 over 1911. The output of 1914 showed an abrupt decline, due to a continued smaller output in the Blue creek pool, and to falling prices in the market at the season of the year when drilling activity is usually at its height. The diminution from 1912 to 1916 was due both to lack of discovery of new pools and to the small capacity of new wells sunk as well as to the regular decline in the older districts.

On January 1, 1912, West Virginia had 4,755 productive gas wells distributed over 33 of the 55 counties with rock pressure varying from 0 to 1,040 pounds to the square inch, according to the statistics of the U. S. Geological Survey. The following is the list of counties producing natural gas in commercial quantity: Boone, Clay,

Brooke, Cabell, Calhoun, Doddridge, Fayette, Gilmer, Hancock, Harrison, Kanawha, Lewis, Lincoln, Marion, Marshall, Mingo, Wayne, Monongalia, Nicholas, Ohio, Pleasants, Putnam, Upshur, Ritchie, Roane, Taylor, Tyler, Wetzel, Wirt, Wood.

In addition to these gas producing counties, it is possible that pools of gas of commercial value may hereafter be found in Preston, Barbour, Randolph, Webster, Raleigh, Wyoming and McDowell counties, especially if drilling operations should be carried to great depths.

The petroleum industry in West Virginia has been much better managed than other industries such as coal and gas. Although the oil men wasted natural gas they did not waste oil. No great enterprise in the state has been developed with more economy. The millions given to found Chicago University represented only a small part of the savings made possible by utilization of the by-products of the oil industry—by-products which represent a distinct saving. The coal waste in the state would build ten such Universities. The waste in smoke from coke ovens would have been enough to found such a university every year. The waste of natural gas would have built and endowed a hundred such universities.

The development of the petroleum industry was an important factor in the stimulation of other industries. Although it was a great source of wealth and of community activity, its results were not always good. In many instances the oil business, while increasing the amount of capital invested and furnishing a supply of ready money to farmers for royalties, resulted in destruction of local roads, the immigration of farmers to the towns, and has not contributed sufficiently to permanent institutional development. Although it influenced many valuable economic changes, its effects on agricultural interests were in some ways directly harmful. In oil and gas territory, many of the best farms were soon covered with briers and bushes; country homes, and rural churches and schools were neglected; and bad habits of extravagance and idleness were encouraged.

Various phases of the development of the oil business are illustrated by the experience of Colonel John J. Carter, an oil operator of Pennsylvania who came to West Virginia in 1893, and on his own account bought properties at Sistersville known as the Shay, Ludwig & Mooney, and Gillespie Companies. Shortly after 1893 the Carter holdings were sold to the Standard Oil Company and on May 1, 1893, these were incorporated as the Carter Oil Company, a subsidiary of the Standard. Col. John J. Carter was the president, and George A. Echbert secretary-treasurer. The main office was first at Titusville, Pennsylvania, until August, 1915, when Col. Carter retired from the presidency and was succeeded by A. F. Corwin. In 1915 the offices were removed to Sistersville, and from there, in 1918, to Parkersburg, its present headquarters. In 1915, an eastern and a western division was created, the eastern division, comprising Ohio, West Virginia, Kentucky and Tennessee, and the western division, Kansas, Oklahoma, New Mexico and Wyoming. The present officers of the eastern division are A. F. Corwin, president, A. V. Hoenig, vice president and general manager, C. B. Ware, treasurer, and Richardson Pratt, secretary. For years F. C. Harrington was an official and became widely known. Originally the wells at Sistersville showed water and because of that investors were loath to invest in them. It was Col. Carter's belief that effective pumping would clear these wells of water, and thus result in producing an oil which would pay. This proved to be true when put into effect. The company invaded other sections of West Virginia and eventually became one of the largest oil producers of the state.

In time it was discovered that the gas which they discovered had a considerable content which by compression could be converted into gasoline. W. H. Cooper, employed as a mechanical engineer, was given charge of this feature, and in 1911 he established a compression plant as Sistersville. Since then gasoline has been an important product of the Carter Oil Company and this corporation has increased the value of the wealth of the state to a very considerable extent.

Gas Development

Although bubbles of natural gas had been obtained long before, the first gas was struck in a well which was drilled for salt at Charleston in 1815. It was first used as a fuel for manufacturing purposes on the Great Kanawha in 1843. A great gas reservoir, tapped by accident, furnished force to lift the salt brine to the salt furnace where it also furnished the heat to boil it—thereby reducing the price of salt. Al-

Blue Creek Oil Field, Fourteen Miles from Charleston

though it became the principal fuel at the Kanawha salt works, vast quantities were wasted before its great value as a fuel became generally recognized. With the development of the Burning Springs oil region, vast quantities of gas were accidentally found, in boring for oil, and allowed to escape with no effort to control it for use. In that field alone, the gas wasted was enough to light the cities of America for many years. Prior to the year 1882, nearly all the gas known in the state was accidentally discovered in boring for oil. Later it was sought and found chiefly along the crest of anticlines, while those who tested the synclines almost invariably met with failure and consequent financial disaster.

Much of the gas development in West Virginia was based upon the theory of anticlines. Gas, oil and water arranged themselves within the subterranean reservoir according to their specific gravities, water at the bottom, oil next and gas at the top beneath the anticline. A well in penetrating the highest part of the anticline will strike gas first. If it penetrates farther down on the side of the anticline it may strike oil first, or water. The wells were usually bored on the highest part of the anticline. Lines of gas and oil productions mark the direction of the anticlines.

Before the year 1882 no systematic search was made for gas, but after that date the opening of new wells and the discovery of new gas fields was a large factor in the industrial and social development of West Virginia, furnishing the inducement for the location of many manufacturing establishments seeking cheap fuel, and attracting immigrants who desire a clean and convenient fuel for their homes.

The oil operators were not slow to learn that natural gas could be made to do the oil pumping. There was nearly always plenty of gas within piping distance of oil wells. This gas frequently issued from the wells under great pressure—it was sometimes as great as the pressure of steam in a boiler. The gas was occasionally piped directly into steam engines and was made to act as steam. The pressure forced it into the cylinders and it drove the pistons just as steam would do. A steam engine might be seen running smoothly and pumping the wells, without any fire near. The gas did the work but the waste was enormous. Enough of the gas was blown through the cylinder in running one pump to have operated fifty pumps by the use of good gas engines. In many parts of the oil fields nobody thought anything of wasting gas, and no protest was heard against using it in any amount. But better methods finally prevailed, and gas engines came into use. These were operated by exploding, by means of electric sparks, small quantities of gas in cylinders by which pistons were driven to and fro, and the pumps were operated. It made one of the cheapest powers in the world. A twenty-horse power gas engine could be run at a cost for gas of only three or four dollars a month, the gas costing but a few cents per thousand cubic feet. The availability of that cheap power greatly facilitated oil development in West Virginia. The gas engine needed no engineer. Once started, it would run hours or even days without attention. One overseer could look after a considerable number of such engines in a small territory. In a short time villages in the vicinity of large wells commenced the use of the gas for light and fuel. It was found so cheap and so satisfactory that its use spread rapidly. Pipe lines were laid to towns many miles from the region of production, and coal and wood nearly went out of use as fuel in the towns; and many farm houses in the gas territory put down pipes, and employed gas to heat their homes, light their premises indoors and out, and in some cases flambeaux were installed in sheltered places in fields where cattle congregated in cold weather to warm by the cheerful blaze. The use of gas for domestic purposes was an innovation which spread with remarkable rapidity among the people.

It spread with equal rapidity among manufacturers. It drove coal and coke largely out of use for heating furnaces and boilers; and it quickly displaced artificial gas and electricity for lighting purposes in many places. It was not long in reaching large manufacturing centers,

and in a short time Pittsburgh and Wheeling had undergone a remarkable change.

Gas from West Virginia fields was piped to Pittsburgh, Cleveland, Columbus and Cumberland. Gas lines like the oil pipe lines were constructed across the country over mountains and under rivers by the most direct routes possible.

On main lines the pipes were largely 20 inches in diameter. In many instances the pressure of gas was strong enough to force itself through the pipes for long distances without artificial pressure. A well six miles from Mannington developed a pressure of 800 pounds per square inch almost instantly in a three-inch pipe. Some of the greatest gas wells in West Virginia were never tested for pressure; but measurements or attempted measurements have been made for others. A well in Wetzel county which blew several months before it was possible to shut it in, was finally curbed in July, 1898, and after all the waste—perhaps four or five billion cubic feet of gas—the pressure was still 1,200 pounds to the square inch. Another well in Wetzel county showed a pressure of 1,075 pounds in one minute, which was the limit of the apparatus measuring the pressure. The well was 2,800 feet deep. A well in Monongalia county went to the limit of the gauge in one minute, at 1,200 pounds. What was believed to be the largest gas well ever struck in West Virginia, or in any state, both in volume of gas and in pressure, was drilled in 1893, six miles southwest of Mannington, Marion county, to a depth of 3,055 feet.

After 1908 West Virginia ranked first among all the states in the production of gas.

By 1904 nearly all the principal towns west of the Alleghenies were supplied, or about to be supplied, with this fuel; and the Pittsburgh region received many million feet daily through a great sixteen-inch pipe line of the Philadelphia company, which, crossing through the immense field of Wetzel county, extends down into the central portion of Tyler county. The Tri-State Gas Company supplied Steubenville and many other Ohio towns from West Virginia. The Wheeling Natural Gas Company, the Mountain State Gas Company, and others had extensive plants; and the Carnegie Company, which consumed in its various iron and steel works at Bessemer, Duquesne, Homestead, and Pittsburgh, thirty to fifty million feet daily, let the contract for an extension of its lines into West Virginia territory. In June, 1913, tentative investigations indicated that plans to supply Baltimore with natural gas from West Virginia were under consideration.

The increase in production was especially rapid in the decade before 1918, after which it began to decline. In 1915 it was 244,004,599,000 cubic feet, and in 1917, 308,617,101,000 cubic feet, with a value of $57,000,000. This was probably high tide in gas production. War conditions, less drilling and natural decline in productive capacity diminished the supply.

West Virginia contains 30 per cent of all the natural gas land acreage, and 21 per cent of all the productive gas wells in the United States. It furnishes forty per cent of all the natural gas produced in the United States. It consumes 13.5 per cent of all the natural gas consumed in the United States, 45 per cent of its population depending on gas for lighting, heating and cooking.

For many years gas was recklessly wasted. Long after it was utilized for illumination, in the oil fields and in towns, large flambeaux were allowed to burn continually—not only all night, but also all day. In many towns the waste was finally stopped only by the installation of gas meters and increase in the price charged by the utility companies.

One of the products of natural gas is lampblack. The capital invested in the plants in West Virginia for making this product is said to be about three-quarters of a million dollars. The industry is of comparatively recent origin, for it began after the custom of plugging gas wells, and saving the gas, became popular. The apparatus for converting the gas into lampblack is usually housed in sheds which, from

their outside appearance might be mistaken for brick kilns. They send up much smoke, and soot settles down upon the surrounding objects, to a greater degree than it accumulates about coke ovens. The process of manufacturing the lampblack is exceedingly wasteful. Ninety per cent of the gas is said to escape as waste, where ten per cent is utilized.

The following tables, taken from the annual reports on Mineral Statistics of the United States Geological Survey, give the annual value of natural gas production in West Virginia from 1889, the quantity produced since 1906, and also the value and production of Pennsylvania for comparison:

	West Virginia		Pennsylvania	
Year	1000 Cubic Feet	Value	1000 Cubic Feet	Value
1882	.....	$.....	.....	$ 75,000
1883	.....	.....	.....	200,000
1884	.....	.....	.....	1,100,000
1885	.....	40,000	.....	4,500,000
1886	.....	60,000	.....	9,000,000
1887	.....	120,000	.....	13,749,500
1888	.....	120,000	.....	19,282,375
1889	.....	12,000	.....	11,593,989
1890	.....	5,500	.....	9,551,025
1891	.....	35,000	.....	7,834,016
1892	.....	70,500	.....	7,376,281
1893	.....	123,000	.....	6,488,000
1894	.....	395,000	.....	6,279,000
1895	.....	100,000	.....	5,852,000
1896	.....	640,000	.....	5,528,610
1897	.....	912,528	.....	6,242,534
1898	.....	1,334,023	.....	6,806,742
1899	.....	2,335,864	.....	8,337,210
1900	.....	2,959,032	.....	10,215,412
1901	.....	3,954,472	.....	12,688,161
1902	.....	5,390,181	.....	14,352,183
1903	.....	6,882,359	.....	16,182,834
1904	.....	8,114,249	.....	18,139,914
1905	.....	10,075,804	.....	19,197,336
1906	119,400,392	13,735,343	138,161,385	18,558,245
1907	122,687,236	16,670,962	135,516,015	18,844,156
1908	112,181,278	14,837,130	130,476,237	19,104,944
1909	166,435,092	17,538,565	127,697,104	20,475,207
1910	190,705,869	23,816,553	126,866,729	21,057,211
1911	206,890,576	28,435,907	108,869,296	18,520,796
1912	239,006,682	33,324,475	112,149,855	18,539,672
1913	245,453,985	34,164,820	118,860,269	21,695,845
1914	238,740,162	35,515,329	108,494,387	20,401,295
1915	244,004,559	36,424,263	113,691,690	21,139,605
1916	299,318,907	47,603,396	129,925,150	24,344,324
1917	308,617,101	57,389,161	133,397,206	28,716,492
1918	265,160,917	41,324,365	.....	.....
1919 (estimated)	250,000,000	50,000,000	.....	.....
1920 (estimated)	250,000,000	50,000,000	.....	.....
1921 (estimated)	250,000,000	50,000,000	.....	.....
Grand Total	3,508,602,756	$593,445,237	1,484,105,323	$471,969,923

Coal Development

West Virginia has stored away beneath the surface of its hills a large amount of coal estimated to exceed 160,000,000,000 short tons, including among its various beds, a large area of the deep Pittsburgh coal bed—the most eminent of the rich deposits of the great Appalachian field—and one which by its economic importance was the most potent factor in the wonderful growth of the Pittsburgh district as a manufacturing center. Owing to the moderate development of manufactures and the large consumption of natural gas—only eight per cent of the coal produced is used within the state.

Miners' Homes and Gardens Near Gary, West Virginia

The coal mining industry in West Virginia is still in its infancy. Many pioneer miners, who have watched it grow and expand from very small beginnings, are still living. There was no mining on an extensive scale before the Civil war.

Long years of exploration and experimental development were required to prepare the way for the recent period of active remarkable development. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, West Virginia coal was used only by the cross-roads blacksmiths or by the settler whose cabin stood near an outcrop. In 1810, the people of Wheeling began in their dwellings the use of coal which was obtained from the first mine discovered near the city. In 1811, the *New Orleans,* the first steamboat on the Ohio, burned coal which her captain, Nicholas Roosevelt, had found "on the banks of the Ohio" two years before. In 1817, coal was first discovered in the Kanawha valley, and began to take the place of wood for use in the production of salt near Malden, above Charleston, at the Kanawha Salines, one of the most productive salt regions in America at that time. A small mine was opened near Mason City in 1819, and another in 1832.

In 1835, Dr. S. P. Hildreth of Marietta, Ohio, published an account of the Appalachian coal field which directed attention to West Virginia. From 1836 to 1840, Professor Rogers, Virginia's most expert geologist, visited the West Virginia mines which had been opened at that time, and made analyses of the coals (in Harrison, Monongalia, Taylor, Fayette, Mineral, Grant, Preston and Kanawha counties). The total product for 1840 was nearly 300,000 tons, of which 200,000 tons were used in the Kanawha salt furnaces, and nearly all the remainder was consumed by the factories and dwelling houses of Wheeling. In 1843, the Baltimore and Ohio began to carry small quantities from Piedmont to Baltimore. In 1847 small shipments were made by river from Mason county, where new mines were opened in 1858 and 1859, and worked throughout the war. From 1854 to 1860 more than a score of corporations were created under the laws of Virginia for the purpose of enlisting foreign capital, but the realization of their plans was postponed by the war.

At the close of the war there was an awakening interest in the latent mineral resources of the new state. It was the beginning of a new era of development for West Virginia. In 1865 the Averill Coal Company began operations at the mouth of Pocotaligo river in Putnam county. In 1866 the Peytona Cannel Coal Company prepared to begin work on Coal river in Boone county. The Wayne County Coal Company was also organized; and, by 1869, a new company began to mine on an extensive scale in Mason county. A year later two coal banks were opened in Monongalia county. In 1873 John Nuttall began operations in Sewall Mountain on New river. There was a steadily increasing business in many localities. By 1880 operations were extensive in Mineral, Monongalia, Marion, Fayette, Harrison, Ohio, Putnam and Mason counties. They steadily increased thereafter—and especially after the introduction of mining machinery, beginning with 1890.

In June, 1883, the first coal was shipped from the Flat Top field. During the ten years prior to 1882, H. M. and C. D. Straley, J. A. Douglas, and J. D. and D. E. Johnston, had gotten control of 20,000 acres along the north side of the Bluestone river in the Flat Top region, which, about 1882, they conveyed to E. W. Clark of Philadelphia for $105,000. Clark and his associates apportioned these lands to six joint stock companies. At the same time they organized the Trans-Flat-Top Land Association, which acquired large tracts of land in McDowell, Wyoming, Raleigh, Boone and Logan counties. The holdings of the six joint companies, together with that of the Trans-Flat-Top Coal Land Association, aggregated 232,483 acres. The land of the Association was later sold and conveyed to the Pocahontas Coal and Coke Association.

Embryo operations in the coke industry began quite early, but larger operations began only recently. The first coke produced in West

Virginia was made in 1843, on Cheat river above Ice's Ferry, at the old Green Spring iron furnace. The first brick coke oven in the state was built in Monongalia county about 1853, and the first fire-stone coke oven in 1878. After 1880 there was a speedy growth in the development of the industry.

The production of coal in West Virginia expressed in short tons rose from 444,648 in 1863 to 1,000,000 in 1873, to 1,120,000 in 1878, to 2,335,833 in 1883, to 5,498,800 in 1888, to 10,708,578 in 1893 to 16,700,999 in 1898, to 29,337,241 in 1903, to 65,000,000 in 1910, and to 90,766,637 in 1918.

In 1890 the importance of the industry led to the creation of the office of chief mine inspector, who by 1912 had five associates to aid him in his duties. In 1903 there were 530 mines inspected.

Many improvements for the betterment of the condition of the mines and the miners were made. In spite of the care taken to prevent accidents, some of the most destructive mine explosions occurred. In 1907, of the 729 men killed in coal mines, 484 were killed as a result of gas and dust explosions—most of them in the terrible December disaster of the Monongah mines of the Fairmont Coal Company.

Coke Ovens, Norfolk and Western Railway, West Virginia

The waste in smoke from the old beehive coke ovens was appalling when viewed from the standpoint of the modern movement of conservation.

The statistics of coal mining in West Virginia are available from 1863, but were not compiled systematically before 1873. The annual production of coal in the state for the first decade after 1863, according to the statistics available, was as follows:

Year	Short Tons	Year	Short Tons
1863	444,648	1868	609,227
1864	454,888	1869	603,148
1865	487,897	1870	608,878
1866	512,068	1871	618,830
1867	589,360	1872	700,000

The following table shows the yearly output of coal in the state in short tons (of 2,000 pounds) beginning with 1873.

1873	1,000,000	1885	3,369,062
1874	1,120,000	1886	4,005,796
1875	1,120,000	1887	4,881,620
1876	896,000	1888	5,498,800
1877	1,120,000	1889	6,231,880
1878	1,120,000	1890	7,394,654
1879	1,400,000	1891	9,220,665
1880	1,568,000	1892	9,738,755
1881	1,680,000	1893	10,708,578
1882	2,240,000	1894	11,627,757
1883	2,335,833	1895	11,387,961
1884	3,360,000	1896	12,876,296

1897	14,248,159	1909	51,446,010
1898	16,700,999	1910	65,000,000
1899	19,252,995	1911	59,831,580
1900	22,647,207	1912	66,786,687
1901	24,068,402	1913	71,308,982
1902	24,570,826	1914	73,677,058
1903	29,337,241	1915	74,184,169
1904	32,406,752	1916	79,612,298
1905	37,791,580	1917	89,383,450
1906	43,290,350	1918	90,766,637
1907	48,091,583	1919	84,980,552
1908	41,897,843	1920	89,590,274

The state ranked third in the production of coal in 1903; and, overtaking Illinois, it ranked second in 1911. In only one year (1908) of this period was there a decrease, but owing to more favorable conditions for the cheap production of coal in West Virginia, the percentage of decrease was less than in Ohio, Pennsylvania, Maryland and Alabama. The decrease was particularly noticeable in the cokemaking counties of Fayette and McDowell. At the same time the completion of the Virginian Railway from Deepwater on the Kanawha to Sewell's Point, near Norfolk, the first transportation line constructed from the coal fields to the seaboard, prepared the way for a larger development of the coal industry. The main purpose of this new line was to furnish an additional outlet for the coals of the Kanawha, the New River and the Pocahontas region. During the months of 1909, when it was in operation, it carried nearly 1,500,000 tons of coal and it was expected that within two years it would furnish transportation for nearly 5,000,000 tons a year. The production of 1909 suffered somewhat from a shortage of labor attributed to the exodus of miners to Europe during the business depression of 1908. The large increase of coal production in West Virginia in 1910 was largely due to abnormal condition, including the strike in the states of the Middle West, which closed most of the larger mines in Illinois. The output of the year 1911 was somewhat less than that of 1910, perhaps due in part to labor troubles. There was no serious interruption in the mining industry, however, and the few instances of disaffection which arose were settled satisfactorily within a short time after the strikes began.

Meantime, the United Mine Workers, determined to unionize the West Virginia non-union coal mines which had partially nullified the desired effects of the union strikes in Illinois and other parts of the Middle West. This led to a most bitter labor war—one of the most prolonged in American history. The struggle centered in the Cabin Creek and Paint Creek collieries of the Kanawha valley. The Cabin and Paint Creek coal fields were controlled almost entirely by two men—Charles M. Pratt, Brooklyn, and former United States Senator George M. Wetmore, Rhode Island. Brutal treatment for years had engendered bad feeling and open hostilities broke out in the spring of 1912. Company stores and other places were equipped with machine guns and the hated mine-guards were increased. The miners themselves smuggled in arms and ammunition. In August, 1912, Governor Glasscock called out the militia and "martial law was enforced almost continuously until the summer of 1915." Great numbers of guns and ammunition, both from guards and miners, were confiscated. Intense feeling led to excesses, and thirteen men were killed. The chief demands of the miners were: Recognition of the union; freedom to trade at other than company stores; payment of wages in cash instead of credit scrip, good at company stores; weighing system at mines and payment on basis of short ton; nine-hour day; and better housing conditions. The strikers were financially supported by the United Mine Workers and operators whose mines were unionized. "This support alone enabled them to keep up the fight." A temporary settlement was made in April through the intervention of Governor Hatfield, but the agreements were not signed until July. "Practically all the strikers' demands were granted": A 12 per cent increase of pay; change from long to short ton; nine-

hour day; semi-monthly pay; right to employ one of their own number as check-weighman; and the privilege of trading where they pleased; the introduction of check-off system "whereby the union dues are deducted from pay by the company and turned over to the union officials." Thus the union secured a foothold in southern West Virginia.

The influence of these troubles upon the coal production in 1912 is shown in the decrease of 557,469 short tons, or about 10 per cent, in the production of Kanawha county, and of 340,554 tons in output of Fayette county; whereas in most of the other counties of the state, the production of 1912 showed good gains over the preceding year. The total number of men reported idle because of labor troubles in 1912 was 12,165, and the total number of working days lost was 606,588, or an average of 50 days for each of the men employed. The total number of men employed in the coal mining in 1912 was 68,248.

There were 359 fatal accidents in the coal mines of the state in 1912,

THACKER COAL & COKE COMPANY, TIPPLE NO. 11 OPERATION

compared with 360 in 1911. Of the fatalities in 1912, 346 were underground, three in the shafts, and ten on the surface.

With a production in 1913 exceeding for the first time in its history a total of 70,000,000 tons, West Virginia became firmly established as the second in rank among the coal-producing states. The total production was 71,308,982 tons, or an increase of 4,522,295 short tons over the output of 1912. The increased production was accompanied by a considerably larger gain in value. The production increased in spite of labor troubles in the Paint Creek and Cabin Creek districts of the Kanawha field which were not settled until the spring of 1913, and also the spring floods in the Ohio valley which reduced shipment to the West for a considerable length of time. In 1914 the state exceeded all its previous records on production of coal, and continued to maintain its position of second place among the coal producing states. By strikes in the coal mines of Ohio, its coal producers were enabled to capture for the time the markets originally supplied by Ohio. The average number of employees in the coal mines in the state was 78,363. The average production of each man was 908 tons. The production in some of the older districts was materially reduced, but this was partly made up by the number of new mines. The production of coke in 1914 was estimated at not much more than 55 per cent of that of 1913, but a part of the decrease in coke production was attributed to the increased use of by-product coke, made elsewhere.

The year 1915 was a notable one in the coal production of the state. The greatest increases were in the New River and Pocahontas field. During the early part of the year the coal industry in the greater part

of the state was depressed, but later it revived. The shortage of labor is indicated by the decrease in the number of men employed from 78,963 in 1914 to 75,882 in 1915.

The continued increase for the five years beginning with 1914 and ending with 1918 was due to the stimulation of increased prices during the World war, resulting (especially in 1917-18) in the opening of hundreds of small mines, many of which required trucks to haul their products to the railway, and few of which could continue operation with profit under normal conditions. Naturally, production declined in 1919, but in 1920 it surprisingly recovered toward the high point reached in 1918.

For the year ending June 30, 1920, there were 118,896 persons employed in the mines of West Virginia. McDowell county had the largest number, Fayette came second, Logan third, Raleigh fourth and Kanawha fifth. Logan county had more machine mines than McDowell and Fayette took third place in this regard.

The number of men employed when considered by counties runs in the same proportion as the production of coal. The only exception is the fact that Logan county has more machine miners than McDowell; McDowell county produces more coal than Logan or than any other county in West Virginia.

The following table shows the number employed in each county:

County	Employed Inside	Employed Outside	Total
Barbour	2,137	410	2,547
Boone	2,247	439	2,686
Braxton	410	62	472
Brooke	2 240	324	2,584
Clay	790	180	970
Fayette	10,838	2,604	13,442
Gilmer	129	29	158
Grant	330	84	414
Greenbrier	77	22	99
Harrison	6,111	1,154	7,765
Kanawha	7 208	1,362	8,570
Lewis	163	30	193
Lincoln	368	67	435
Logan	10,798	2,281	13,079
Marion	5,754	1,024	8,788
Marshall	1 296	235	1,531
Mason	237	52	289
McDowell	14,654	4,635	19,289
Mercer	2,844	846	3,697
Mineral	709	152	861
Mingo	2,666	681	2,947
Monongalia	4,159	725	4,688
Nicholas	409	101	510
Ohio	1,351	240	1,591
Preston	2,305	535	2,840
Putnam	631	156	787
Raleigh	8,642	1,622	10 264
Randolph	762	136	898
Summers	50	10	60
Taylor	1,255	208	1,463
Tucker	1,514	185	1,699
Upshur	694	140	834
Wayne	147	56	205
Webster	14	2	16
Wyoming	1,431	439	1,870

Prior to 1910, West Virginia showed annually a steadily-increasing production of coke. High tide was reached that year with 4,217,380 tons valued at $7,525,922. There has been a steady diminution in coke production since 1910, the production in 1916 being 1,957,632 tons.

Coal lands of West Virginia, especially in southern counties, are largely owned by great corporations. One of the largest holders is the United States Steel Corporation (or its subsidiaries), which owns large tracts in Mingo and Logan counties, and leases mines in McDowell

county, which are operated by the United States Coal and Coke Company (the largest coal producing company in the state). Through its subsidiaries, it is the largest producer of coal in the state and employs more men than any other coal mining company in its region of operation. Another large holder is the Norfolk and Western Railway Company which owns most of the shares of the Pocahontas Coal and Coke Company, which does not engage in mining coal, but leases to operating companies on royalties.

The company ownership of large tracts of mining lands upon which mining camps or mining towns are built, resulting in the dependence of the miners upon the company store and company houses, has a historical explanation in the earlier conditions under which mines were

MEPHISTO OPERATION, WAR EAGLE COAL COMPANY, MINGO COUNTY

first opened in remote and sparsely settled regions. In many instances the mining companies have established satisfactory living conditions. Among the best are those of the mining town of Widen (Elk River Coal and Lumber Company) in Clay county, Lundale in Logan county, Holden (Island Creek Coal Company) in Logan county, Glen White (E. E. White Coal Company) in Raleigh county, and Borderland (Borderland Coal Corporation) in Mingo county. Usually, however, the life of mining towns—by their monotonous aspect, lack of comforts and lack of amusements—is essentially dreary, and often the health of the inhabitants is endangered by unsafe methods of sewage disposal. Possibly the conditions in most cases would be no better if the miners owned their own houses or rented from other landlords. On Deckers creek in Monongalia county a coal operator, who constructed for his employees neat houses with bath tubs, later discovered that the bath tubs were used for coal bins.

Although West Virginia operators have natural advantages, which enable them to mine coal more easily and more cheaply than the soft coal of neighboring states can be mined, by geographical location they

are placed at a disadvantage in reaching the large markets of New England, New York and the Great Lakes. They have especially felt the competition of operators in the central fields (western Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana and Illinois), whose operators as early as 1884 began to complain of the invasion of their markets by West Virginia coal mined by unorganized labor. They regarded every attempt to unionize their mines as a part of a conspiracy to drive them from the markets of the central competitive field, and many of them—especially in southern counties of the state—undertook to debar the union from their fields by means of anti-union contracts with the miners whom they employed, and by injunctions against union representatives.

On October 24, 1907, Judge Dayton issued at Philippi a temporary injunction to restrain John Mitchell and other officers of United Mine Workers from organizing or interfering with about 1,000 nonunion miners employed by the Hitchman Coal Company in the Wheeling district. This injunction was followed by others a decade later.

Although local unions appeared as early as 1894, the United Mine Workers attained no large strength in the state until 1916 or 1917. In 1912 they made a desperate effort to unionize the mines on the Kanawha at Paint creek and Cabin creek. Succeeding in this, they soon determined to extend their organization to the Guyandotte.

In September, in connection with the determined efforts of the United Mine Workers to organize the stronghold of nonunion mines in Logan county, and following the rumor that women and children were being killed there, occurred the famous march of armed miners of Cabin creek (in Kanawha county) to invade Logan. At Lens creek, after their district president, C. F. Keeney, had failed in an effort to dissuade them, the courageous governor of the state, John J. Cornwell, met them at 10 o'clock at night, and, using an ice-cream wagon for a platform, addressed them, requested them to return, and promised to investigate the conditions in Logan. Other miners who had continued the march to Danville, ten miles from Logan county, were also induced to return to their homes. Thus a battle between invading miners and the forces of the authorities and operators in Logan was narrowly averted.

Governor Cornwell kept his promise. A commission, appointed by him to investigate conditions in Logan, found that there was no basis for the rumors in regard to the killing of women and children, but reported that the treasurer of the Logan County Coal Operators' Association paid to the sheriff of that county $32,700 a year for the salaries of deputy sheriffs.

In 1920, during strikes, United States troops were twice sent to Mingo county to protect property and preserve order. Miners and operators each charged the other with violent methods. In December, 1920, encouraged by the presence of Federal troops, Sheriff Blankenship began a campaign of "voluntary disarmament," resulting in a large collection of firearms obtained from miners and citizens and from coal companies. The amount of violence in Mingo was greatly exaggerated, and all the lawlessness and violence in that region of earlier private feuds was probably not due directly to the industrial struggle.

The culmination of the struggle in Logan, resulting from the attempt to force the unionization of the mines of that region, was reached in August, 1921, resulting in repeated requests of Governor Morgan for Federal troops, which were finally sent and were successful in securing disarmament of determined forces of miners which threatened to precipitate civil war.

CHAPTER XXX

DEVELOPMENT OF AGRICULTURE AND COUNTRY LIFE

(By Professor A. J. Dadisman)

West Virginia is often considered an industrial state, on account of its vast natural resources and extensive factories; but agriculture also plays an important part in the lives of the people. One or more veins of coal underlie 17,800 square miles of the State, and oil, gas, limestone and other minerals have been found in large areas; but regardless of these facts, agriculture is of far greater importance to the State than all its natural resources. (See table 1, at end of chapter.)

Within the State are 87,289 farms with nearly 10,000,000 acres of land of which more than 5½ million acres are improved farm land. The value of all farms and farm property reaches almost half a billion dollars. The census of 1920 shows that West Virginia produced in the year 1919 farm crops valued at more than $96,000,000, domestic animals valued at more than $62,000,000, and livestock products valued at more than $25,000,000. Farmers received from the sale of dairy products alone more than $6,000,000 and from poultry products more than $7,000,000. About 89 per cent of the farms are producing corn, 40 per cent wheat and oats, 79 per cent hay and 82 per cent orchard fruits. About 77 per cent are keeping dairy cattle, 42 per cent beef cattle, 79 per cent horses, 26 per cent sheep and 78 per cent hogs.

The development of agriculture in the last ten years has been phenomenal. New farm machinery has been introduced, new markets developed, better livestock kept, new crop rotations adopted, and scientific farming practiced.

While the waste land in the State, as far as agriculture is concerned, is considerable, there are also thousands of acres of farm land practically undeveloped.

The last Indian war affecting the territory now comprised within the State of West Virginia terminated in 1795. With the menace of the savage redskin removed, white settlers came into the State from various localities. Most of the settlers came across the Allegheny Mountains from Virginia and the Carolinas, some came from Pennsylvania and New York and a few from New England. Many of these settlers were hunters and fishermen but they brought with them limited ideas of agriculture. Soon after the settlers arrived they erected cabins and cleared a few acres of land on which grain for bread was grown, while wild game supplied most of their meat. Wool was obtained from sheep that ranged on the hillsides and flax was grown on leveler land. By means of crude home-made implements, wool and flax were converted into clothing and each family was practicing an almost self-sufficing type of livelihood.

For more than a century after West Virginia was settled, farming was carried on in a very primitive way. A small patch of corn, and often one of tobacco, along with a small garden was the extent of a family's farming. In many cases the only implement used in the growing of these crops was a hoe. Horses for cultivating fields could not be kept because of the raiding Indians. In the course of time, oxen and horses could be kept and plows and harrows were needed.

A few of the better agricultural sections of the State—the Shenandoah, South Branch, and Ohio and Kanawha valleys—were acquired largely by military grants. There a highly developed agriculture was practiced very early.

The surface of West Virginia is most variable. Narrow, level valleys are found along the streams, and the tops of many hills are broad and flat, but the surface of the greater part of the State is rolling or hilly and steep. The soil is as variable as the surface. Much of the steeper land, which has been cultivated until erosion has rendered it unfit for

Clump of Native Spruces in Field of Blue Grass, Canaan Valley
(Courtesy of West Virginia Geological Survey)

growing crops, is being turned back to forests. In the last decade the acreage of improved farm land decreased by 1,449 acres.

Owing to the varying origin and ideas of settlers and because of the great variety of topography, soil and climate, farming in West Virginia has been slow in developing, and in becoming standardized in any large section. The development of agriculture as a skilled business was greatly retarded by the habits of the people resulting from frontier conditions and long continued lack of transportation facilities. There had been little concentrated effort or co-operative action for the improvement of agriculture before the Civil war. Except in a few counties the people, remote from stores and destitute of means, were satisfied with production for bare subsistence and gave little attention to production for the markets.

Before the Civil war, markets for farm products grown in West Virginia were reached with difficulty and at a great expense. Before 1830 Washington and Alexandria were the principal markets for a considerable amount of flour produced in the South Branch valley. Small wooden boats were built, loaded with flour, and, in time of high water, floated to market. The boats were sold for the lumber they contained. Before the Civil war great quantities of wheat were grown along the Ohio river. Flour mills, large for that day, were numerous. In 1830 one mill near Wellsburg made as much as 10,000 barrels of flour annually, besides what was called country work. The greater part of the flour was shipped down the Ohio river in flat boats to Cincinnati, Louisville, New Orleans and other cities along the rivers. Corn and rye, as well as wheat, were common and sure crops, but there was neither home nor foreign market for either of them. Prices for farm crops were very low. To find a market and make the corn and rye profitable, a large number of small still-houses (for making whiskey and brandy) sprang up. There was a great demand for the product of the still-house, as well as of the flour mill, in the "Louisiana Country" where sugar and semi-tropical fruits were grown. One section supplemented the other and a mutually advantageous trade sprang up. The still-house in most sections of the State was fast disappearing or gone by 1836. Its place was taken by livestock which furnished a new medium of market for the grain and the forage crops. The chief markets for the livestock were found at Baltimore, Pittsburgh, Richmond and Cincinnati. Many men who are still living have driven cattle to Baltimore. Pittsburgh and Wheeling are still the markets for a large part of the cattle, sheep and hogs produced in the northern and western parts of the State. Since the recent industrial development throughout the State, and the growth of cities and towns and improved transportation facilities, nearer markets are found for almost all agricultural products. In fact, the State falls far short of producing all the common farm products consumed within its borders.

The farming in West Virginia may be characterized as general farming with livestock, and specialized production in a few sections. The growing of apples and peaches in the Eastern Panhandle, and apples in the Northern Panhandle, have made the two sections famous. The fruit industry in the eastern part of the State dates from the time of pioneer settlements.

In 1774 George Washington leased to William Bartlett an orchard of 125 acres in what is now Berkeley county. In this lease it was stipulated that within seven years the lessee should plant one hundred winter apple trees and one hundred peach trees and should keep them well pruned and fenced in from animals. There were probably small orchards in this section before this time.

It was not until 1851, however, that the first commercial orchard in the State was planted. In that year W. S. Miller, a young farmer near Gerrardstown, Berkeley county, planted sixteen acres of apples, peaches and plums. His neighbors predicted a failure and great loss as the result of such large planting. When the Civil war broke out Mr. Miller had on hand a large number of young trees which he had

grown for nursery stock, and, as no market could be found for them, he planted them on his own farm. He had faith in fruit production. At the close of the war he had about 4,000 bearing peach trees on his farm. His plantings did so well that it was not long until his neighbors became interested and began to plant extensive orchards. After the success of his early plantings he made others until he had over 6,500 matured trees—more than 2,500 peach trees and 4,000 apple trees. In addition to these he planted a large number of cherry, pear and plum trees. This immediate neighborhood is now known as the famous "Apple Pie Ridge."

In 1876 E. W. Border purchased forty acres of land near Kearneysville in Jefferson county and planted the entire tract to winter apples with peaches as fillers.

From these beginnings, planting steadily increased until Berkeley, Hampshire, Jefferson and Morgan counties now lead in apple production and Hampshire, Mineral and Berkeley counties lead in peach production.

The early planters began with many varieties. Among them were York Imperial, Ben Davis, Yellow Newton, Grimes, Rambo, Ralls, Rome, Gravestein, Smokehouse, Peak's Pleasant, Winesap, Winter Sweet Paradise, and Vandiver, and a large number of summer apples. It was found that only a few of these were suitable for commercial plantings, and today one finds the older orchards largely made up of York Imperial, Ben Davis, Grimes and Yellow Transparent, while the newer plantings include such varieties as Starks Delicious, Golden Delicious, Stayman and Winesap. Most of the fruit produced is sold directly by the growers themselves, but there is a growing tendency toward cooperative marketing. With the Martinsburg Fruit Exchange as a starting point it should not be many years until satisfactory marketing methods can be established. The section as a whole looks to the South for its principal market, but the crop of 1920 was sold in twenty-one different states. Since the extension of the plantings a complete failure is practically impossible. Although the crop of 1921 was regarded as almost a failure, most growers had sufficient apples to pay operating expenses.

Twelve years after Washington's venture in the Eastern Panhandle, Jacob Nessby moved from Pennsylvania to what is now Hancock county, purchased a tract of land, cleared it, and planted fifty acres of apples and peaches. He grew chiefly seedlings which produced inferior fruit. A market was found for this low-grade fruit by making it into fruit brandies. As a result of Mr. Nessly's success hundreds of acres of orchards were planted and Hancock and Brooke counties became famous for their winter apples. These were stored in caves and marketed in the early spring, as far south as New Orleans, after the ice in the Ohio river broke up. Following the Civil war and the conditions produced by it in the South, this market entirely disappeared and many of the old orchards were cut down and the land utilized for growing other crops. The Northern Panhandle was long the foremost apple region of the State, but now has been surpassed by the Eastern Panhandle.

The development of orchards in the northern part of the State spread down the Ohio river. The first orchards were chiefly inferior fruit which was used for cider and vinegar, but they have been replaced by standard market varieties. The famous Grimes Golden apple originated in Brooke county on the farm of Thomas Grimes.

Although but few commercial orchards are found in the State, except in the Eastern Panhandle and Ohio Valley, many small orchards producing fruit for home use, and some for local markets, are found throughout the State.

For two or three decades preceding the Civil war the farmers along the river valleys, as well as on productive uplands, had a highly developed agriculture. Labor was cheap and plentiful. Slave labor was common among the more progressive farmers. During the Civil war but little progress in agriculture was made; but, as soon as the war

closed, development was active. New improved farm machinery and well bred livestock rapidly replaced that of previous years. New railroad construction furnished new markets, which, together with high prices, stimulated development. But this prosperity did not continue long. The "fertile fields of the boundless west" were developing also. When train loads of cheap corn and other crops from the West began to supply West Virginia markets, agriculture in West Virginia declined. The crisis came in 1873. Thereafter, agriculture in West Virginia made almost no progress until 1880, when it began to revive again.

Previous to 1880 very little commercial fertilizers had been used in the State. The census of 1880 shows that $176,300 were expended for fertilizer in 1879. The amount of fertilizer used increased very slowly until 1909, when the amount expended was $528,938. In the last decade the amount expended for commercial fertilizers has increased very rapidly, reaching $1,709,546 for the year 1919. The expenditure for commercial fertilizers averages approximately $1.15 per crop acre throughout the State.

The crops commonly grown throughout the State are corn, wheat, oats, hay and potatoes. Rye is a common crop in many sections, but is grown usually in small acreage. Buckwheat is grown in the higher altitudes; tobacco is grown in the southwestern part of the State; and truck crops to some extent throughout the State, but particularly in the Ohio and Kanawha valleys.

Corn is the most important crop grown in West Virginia. It is produced in every county and does well on fertile soil. Corn for silage is almost indispensable where large numbers of livestock are fed. The silo has been increasing in popularity for the last ten years, both among the dairymen and feeders of beef cattle. The acreage of wheat and rye has remained about constant after 1880, while the acreage of other crops gradually increased, except barley, which was grown to a considerable extent before 1890, but since that time has almost ceased to be grown. Potatoes are grown throughout the State, but they are produced in larger quantities in the Ohio Valley and mountain glades. Meadow and pasture grasses and clovers grow luxuriantly throughout the State. But a few years ago, alfalfa and soy beans were almost unknown to the farmers of West Virginia, but now several thousand acres of these crops are grown. (See table 3, at end of chapter.) The large limestone areas are especially adapted to the growth of bluegrass which is unexcelled as a pasture for cattle and sheep. Cattle are commonly fattened for the market on bluegrass without additional feed. Much of the hill land of West Virginia is too steep for cultivation, but will produce permanent pasture with proper care.

Crop yields in West Virginia are increasing. Fifty years ago crops were grown on virgin soil which needed no commercial fertilizers to yield well, but the yields soon began to decline gradually until they were lowest about 1885 to 1895. Since 1895 they have been increasing gradually until now crop yields are higher than they have ever been before. The greatly increased amount of commercial fertilizers used in the decade after 1910 will account only in part for the increased yields. Perhaps better crop rotations, including the use of legumes and better culture methods with modern machinery, have done most to increase crop yields.

West Virginia is preeminently a grazing State. Her hillsides of rich bluegrass sod and streams of pure water make ideal pastures. Beef, mutton, wool and milk can be produced economically on these grazing lands which can be used for no other purpose except growing timber. Several sections of the State were famous for particular breeds of livestock before the Civil war. Owing to the difficulty of marketing dairy products, the beef-cattle industry developed more rapidly than the dairy industry. During the last fifty years all kinds of livestock have gradually increased. The census of 1920 showed a decrease in the numbers of sheep and horses, but this was due to a change in the time of taking the census. There was probably an increase in the number

of farm animals for the State as a whole. However, cattle raising in the districts of coal and oil, which are under development, has declined in recent years.

The three leading breeds of beef cattle are well established in West Virginia. About 33 per cent of the cattle of the State are Herefords, 18 per cent Shorthorns, and 10 per cent Aberdeen Angus. Perhaps not more than one per cent are Galloways. As early as 1790, improved cattle were imported from England to Virginia, and probably to what is now West Virginia. However, no notable developments in livestock were noted until just before the Civil war.

In 1855 and 1857 the names of Renick, Luddington and Rogers of Greenbrier county were listed among the first to bring registered Shorthorn cattle into the State. The breeding of Mr. Renick shows in many of the pedigrees of cattle found near his old home at the present time. Mr. Rogers developed a large herd of pure-bred Shorthorns, numbering about thirty head in 1870.

About 1870 J. M. Rouson and Henry B. Davenport began breeding Shorthorn cattle in Jefferson county. In 1874 P. S. Lewis brought to his farm near Point Pleasant, from Kentucky, some high priced Shorthorns. This farm is now operated by C. C. Lewis, a son of P. S. Lewis, and is said to contain the oldest continuous herd of Shorthorns in the State. Not long after this time several names were added to the list of breeders. The number of registered Shorthorn sires that were sold throughout the State between 1775 and 1890 indicates that they were very popular among the farmers.

The first pure-bred Herefords were brought into West Virginia between 1875 and 1879 by C. F. Goss of Summers county. Herefords have gradually proved their suitability to natural conditions, until now they are the predominant breed of the State, and there are almost twice as many of these as any other breed of cattle. Mr. Goss developed a fine herd of Herefords and sold breeding stock throughout West Virginia and adjoining states. In 1882 James K. Vandervort of Lewis county bought a pure-bred Hereford sire, but never developed a pure-bred herd. L. D. Bond of Buckhannon was the second real pioneer breeder of Herefords in West Virginia. Perhaps the largest and most widely known breeder of Herefords in the State was S. W. Anderson of Greenbrier county. He began in a small way in 1889 and developed his herd until he had about 200 head of pure-breds. Before he disposed of his herd, in 1909, he sold breeding stock in twenty different states, and in foreign countries, besides the large numbers he sold in West Virginia. The high standard of Herefords in West Virginia is due largely to the efforts of Mr. Anderson. The West Virginia Hereford Cattle Breeding Association, which holds two sales at Clarksburg annually, has helped very materially to promote the Hereford industry.

The development of Aberdeen Angus has been much slower than the development of the other breeds. Perhaps the first breeders were J. S. Arnold of Mineral county and Leland Kittle of Randolph county, about the year 1886. By 1890 several breeders had developed small herds of pure-bred Angus, or were using pure-bred sires. In 1892 many new herds were started, some of which are still in existence.

The dairy and beef industries in West Virginia have not been clearly separated. Beef and dairy cattle have been put in the same class without distinction, and, in fact, many herds have been used, both for the production of beef and milk. Of the distinctly dairy breeds in the State, the Jersey ranks first. It includes 16 per cent of all the cattle of the State. The Holstein ranks next, with 6 per cent. There are a few herds of Guernseys, Brown Swiss, Devon, Red Polled and Ayrshires. Just when the various breeds were first brought into the State is not known. However, in 1870, the census shows that there were 104,434 milch cows in West Virginia. The number increased gradually until there are about 245,000 dairy cows in the State by 1921. Dairying has been developed in the Northern Panhandle, in Jefferson and Berkley counties, and around the larger cities—and, to some extent, in the

other sections of the State. Dairying is more remunerative than general farming. Cow testing associations were first organized in 1920. Now there are six active associations in the State, testing 1,500 cows. Since the Civil war, milk, butter, and cheese have been important as articles of commerce. Dairy products are produced on more than 75 per cent of the farms of the State. Each decade has shown a large increase in the production of these commodities until now there are produced annually 67,000,000 gallons of milk, 17,700,000 pounds of butter, and 88,000 pounds of cheese. The annual receipts for dairy products are $6,400,000. Poultry is kept on nearly 95 per cent of the farms of the State. There are but few commercial poultry farms. Turkeys are grown in the less thickly settled and grazing sections of the State. Each year the farmers produce 21,000,000 dozens of eggs and receive for eggs and chickens $7,300,000. (See table 2 at close of this article.)

The early pioneers who crossed the mountains into western Virginia brought with them a few sheep in order to provide their own cloth and yarn. The small flocks required constant care to prevent wolves and foxes from destroying them. In the Northern Panhandle of the State wheat "sold at 12½ cents a bushel; and as late as 1821, flour at $1.25 a barrel and other products in proportion." The production growing crops at their low prices became a much less remunerative business than "wool at 75 cents to $1.25 a pound, two or three pounds to the sheep, and two or three sheep to the acre." At an early date Merino sheep were imported from Europe and since that time flocks of Merinos have been found in the Northern Panhandle. During the Civil war the demand for woolen clothing for the soldiers caused an increase in the price of wool and many farmers found it more profitable to grow sheep than cattle. Before 1837 woolen factories for making coarse woolen cloth had sprung up; later, many smaller factories developed, some of which are still in operation. With the decline in the price of wool, about 1890, and with the constant dog menace, many farmers disposed of their sheep or turned their attention to lamb production instead of wool production. Wool production has never recovered. There are, however, probably about as many sheep on West Virginia farms today as at any earlier time. When the dog menace is removed and when sheep-proof fence is introduced, West Virginia offers greater opportunities for the expansion of the sheep industry than for any other livestock enterprise.

As long ago as 1750, hogs were grown in the South Branch Valley and driven to Winchester, to Richmond, or to Cumberland to market. This section of the State still grows hogs for the general market. A few grown in the Ohio Valley are marketed at Wheeling. But few other sections grow more than enough for home use. The early settlers turned their hogs in the woods after branding them and gave them little attention until fall when they were ready for meat. The disappearance of the forest and the high price of corn have tended to prevent the increase in the numbers of hogs.

In pioneer days oxen were in general use for most farm work. Gradually but slowly they have been replaced by horses. In some sections of the State they were used for general farm work until the last decade. Now a team of them is rarely seen. In but a few sections of the State have well-bred horses been raised until recent years. About 1880 several pure-bred stallions were brought into the State. More recently well-bred horses have been imported from France, Belgium, England and Germany and crossed with native stock. Harrison and Greenbrier counties have been leading counties in introducing well-bred horses. Riding and driving horses which were the pride of many farmers from an early date in West Virginia history, have been rapidly replaced by the automobile in the last ten years until now but few remain. The production of well-bred horses has never received the attention that has been given to the development of other livestock.

In recent years West Virginia farmers have considered livestock farming almost essential to soil maintenance. In the days of the early pioneer settlers the matter of soil was of little importance. The pioneer cleared the land and farmed it until the soil was so much depleted that crop yields were considerably reduced. All around him was virgin forest whose soil had never been molested and which for the work of clearing became his farm. As the country became more thickly settled, however, there was a limit to the acreage of each family, and the preservation of the soil (and the reclaiming of that already worn out) became a matter of interest. Soil depletion has continued until today the proper care of soils is one of the farmer's chief considerations. When soil is once destroyed it can be replaced only by years of careful agricultural work and at an enormous cost.

But little improvement was made in farm machinery before the Civil war. There were few dealers in farm implements even at the close of the war. The first plows were made entirely of wood. Those with wooden mouldboards were common before 1850, and some of the most progressive farmers of the earlier period used the crudest kind of iron plows. The heavy push harrow was gradually replaced by one made of a wooden frame with wooden teeth. Before 1850 no drills for planting corn or wheat were used in the State, and, except the turning plow, all farm implements were of domestic manufacture. Before 1850 hay was cut with a scythe made by the local blacksmith and winnowed with a wooden rake without wheels. Before 1840 wheat was threshed with a flail or trodden out by cattle. After 1810 a crude windmill was used for separating the grain from the chaff. With such farm implements only small areas could be farmed. Slowly the forest was cleared, improvements were made, and agriculture assumed larger proportions. Improved harvesting machinery was introduced before labor-saving machinery for planting or tilling. Reaping machines were in use several years before the Civil war. These machines were often drawn by oxen. The wheat fell on a wooden platform when cut and was raked off into bundles by a hand rake. The binder was well introduced by 1870. The first crude thresher made its appearance in 1840. The first type used in the State was the "chaff piler" which did not separate the grain from the chaff. It was operated by horse power. A thresher which separated the chaff from the grain appeared soon after 1850, and a steam thresher was first used about 1880. Threshing machines and other farm implements were rapidly improved after 1880. Soon after the Civil war the mowing machine and hay-rake were introduced.

Gradually the introduction of other machinery followed. Many of the present-day farmers have witnessed the advent of the hay-loader, potato digger, corn planter, tractor and other machines which are almost indispensable on a modern farm. Improved machinery has removed drudgery from the farm, and has stimulated agriculture more perhaps than anything else. It has made possible larger agricultural production, which in turn has naturally developed roads for transportation, improved waterways, new and varied markets, and factories and mills for processing and manufacturing products, and has insured the farmer a good living from the land.

Agricultural education throughout the State and scientific farming have developed within the last fifty years. Most of the progress has been made within the last decade. These developments are closely related to the College of Agriculture at the West Virginia University, founded in 1867.

Very few courses in agriculture were taught at the university in the earlier years of its existence. The university catalog of 1872 listed William E. Fontaine as the first instructor in agriculture. He taught chemistry and natural history in addition to all the agriculture. Woodville Latham, who succeeded Mr. Fontaine, taught agriculture, physics and chemistry. In 1885 A. R. Whitehill was appointed instructor in agriculture, chemistry and physics. In 1890 T. C. Atkeson was ap-

pointed professor of agriculture, and later became Dean of the college. The first student who received a bachelor's degree in agriculture was John W. Johnson, in 1894. The school gradually developed until it now has 307 students and more than thirty instructors, some of whom are dividing their time between teaching and research work. For 1921 the number of graduates with the bachelor's degree in agriculture was thirty-four.

The State Agricultural Experiment Station was organized in 1888 with John A. Meyers as first director. The Experiment Station was established for the purpose of conducting investigational work in various branches of agriculture. Most of the investigational work is conducted in laboratories and on the State farms near the College of Agriculture. These farms contain about a thousand acres of land and are devoted to livestock, dairy, agronomy, poultry and horticulture. Experiments for the purpose of determining the best methods of farming are performed on each of these farms.

The State Board of Agriculture was organized in 1891 and continued until 1912, when it was abolished. In 1891 the State legislature adopted the policy of making annual appropriations to aid in conducting farmers' institutes and other work for promoting agricultural interests and industries. Perhaps the most important work of the Board of Agriculture was the support and direction of farmers' institutes, the first of which was held at Buffalo, Putnam county, in 1895. In 1920 126 farmers' institutes were held with an attendance of nearly 11,000 people. When the Board of Agriculture was abolished its work was continued by the newly created State Department of Agriculture, whose duties are largely regulatory through police power in the field of agriculture.

Agriculture extension work was started in West Virginia in 1907 under the supervision of D. W. Working; and in 1912 the Extension Division of the College of Agriculture was formed.

Owing to a lack of knowledge of methods of grading, packing and marketing fruit by West Virginia fruit growers, the State legislature in 1919 established the West Virginia Demonstration Packing School, and appropriated $25,000 with which to purchase a site and erect suitable buildings. A committee located the plant at Inwood, Berkeley county, eight miles south of Martinsburg on the Cumberland valley branch of the Pennsylvania Railroad. Buildings were erected and during the first season, 1920, more than 80,000 bushels of apples were packed. As the crop of apples for 1921 was very light in this section, the plant was in operation but a short time. Sufficient floor space is provided for four grading units, each with a capacity of four to five hundred barrels per day. The plant is operated under the direction of the Extension Division of the College of Agriculture. The Inwood Fruit Growers' Club provided the fruit for demonstration packing purposes and pays the cost of packing it. The State provides a superintendent and necessary instruction to those interested in methods of handling fruit. In addition to its use in demonstrating proper methods of grading and packing apples, the plant is serving the larger purpose of teaching the fruit growers methods of co-operative marketing under a single trademark.

The C. H. Musselman Canning Factory at Inwood, Berkeley county, uses the poorer quality of fruit of the growers in that vicinity. A free site of eight acres was donated by the fruit growers as a location for this plant. The buildings were completed and machinery installed ready to begin canning fruit in August, 1921. The plant handles apples only, making cider of those not fit for canning. Owing to the shortage of apples in the fall of 1921, about eighty-five carloads were imported from Maine. The plant represents an investment of a quarter of a million dollars and employs from August until the latter part of November 260 people, two-thirds of whom are women and girls.

The Reymann Memorial Farms, located at Wardensville, Hardy

county, consist of two tracts of land, one of 675 acres, the other 262 acres, making a total of 937 acres. The Cacapon river borders one side of the farm of which 350 acres are river bottom. The farms were given to the West Virginia Agricultural Experiment Station on March 1, 1917, by the relatives of the late Lawrence A. Reymann of Wheeling. When presented, they were valued at a little more than $70,000, including the livestock and equipment. On June 30, 1921, the inventory value was $105,483. Their principal industry is dairying. The dairy herd in 1921 consisted of about 175 head (including young stock) of pure-bred Ayrshire cattle. The farms until recently were twenty miles from a railroad, but are now touched by a railroad. The difficulty of reaching a shipping point necessitated the making of cheese as a means of marketing the dairy product. The cheese produced on this farm has become famous throughout the State and in adjoining states. A ten-acre experimental orchard has been planted, and a new large dairy barn has just been completed. The farm is well stocked and equipped for carrying on its work.

Since 1891 considerable advance in agriculture has been made through the influence of farmers' institutes, better communication, and various farmers' organizations. In the decade after 1850 agricultural societies were formed in Marshall, Monongalia, Jefferson, Cabell and Ohio counties. Within the last few decades farmers' organizations have sprung up throughout the State. The Farmers' Alliance was perhaps the first farmers' organization of any considerable strength in West Virginia. But little of the work of this organization has survived to the present time. The Grange came next, and is still active in several sections of the State. The organizations which have affected the farmers of West Virginia most—Extension Service and Farm Bureau —can be traced directly to a meeting of the State Horticultural Society at Keyser in 1909. At this meeting steps were taken to establish horticultural socities in the counties throughout the State, resulting in their organization in many counties. In 1912, with the financial help of various business men's organizations—such as the Board of Trade in Wood, Ohio, and Kanawha counties—county agricultural agents were brought into these counties to work with these county agricultural societies. The Extension Service of the College of Agriculture developed from this small beginning. In 1922, the Extension Service had twenty-four members of the administrative staff and "specialists," thirty-five county agricultural agents, eleven home demonstration agents, five men conducting cow-testing associations, forty-four agents of boys' and girls' clubs, and a few additional assistants.

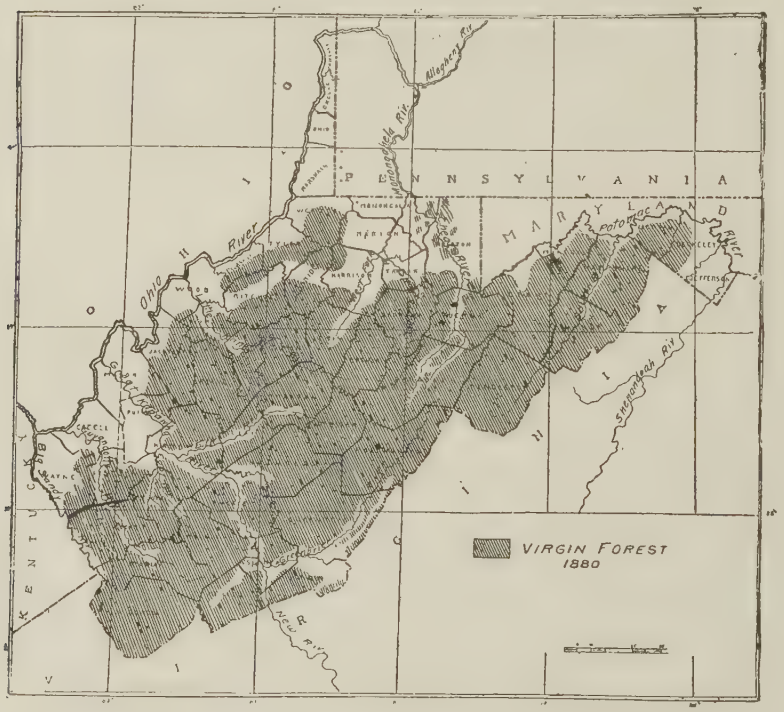
The county Farm Bureau also evolved from the county agricultural societies. The West Virginia Farm Bureau Federation is composed of the county farm bureaus which (in 1922) have a membership of about 20,000. Each county farm bureau is composed of a number of local clubs—farmers' clubs, farm women's clubs, and boys' and girls' clubs. The work of these various organizations may be summarized as "a country life movement in West Virginia."

The work of the Extension Service has not been limited to teaching the rural people how to earn more money. It also encourages the things that tend to make a more satisfying rural life. Community study by means of a score-card has developed in the last five years and has proved a valuable aid in community development.

Boys' and girls' club work was begun in Monroe county in 1907, and since that time has grown rapidly, and has spread throughout the State. In 1921 there were enrolled in the work 7,538 members, who produced through their project work products worth $212,051.72. Some of the clubs which were organized in 1912 are still alive and active. The work has grown until it includes demonstrations in the following agricultural and home-making subjects: corn, potatoes, pigs, poultry, dairy calf, beef calf, sheep, garden, canning and clothing. During the years 1916-21 the County Camp, or Short Course, was developed. In

1921 thirty-two county Short Course schools were held and were attended by 6,610 boys and girls. The theme of the instruction in these Short Courses is "Four-Fold Life" development expressed through project work. In 1921, forty older club boys and girls gave voluntarily a month of their time, without pay, in helping younger boys and girls to improve their club work. The clubs of ten counties own all or part of their camp equipment. To train leaders more thoroughly so that they may have a clearer vision of their work, the State has established a training school, or camp, at Jackson Mills, in Lewis county, which bears half of the expense. This camp will not only serve as a State Training School, but also as a memorial to one of West Virginia's noted heroes.

Farmers' clubs have many kinds of work. Each one takes up the work needed in the particular community. Some, which have developed

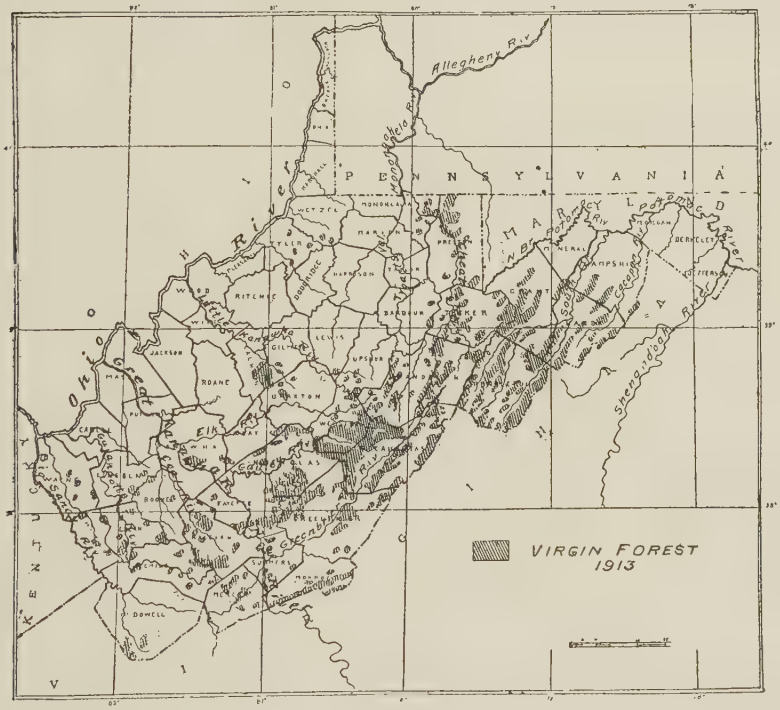


commercially, buy fertilizers, feed and spray materials cooperatively and sell wool, potatoes and other farm products. Others are confining their efforts to a study of local farm problems, largely by means of demonstration methods. Still others find a need for a great variety of work. The farm women's clubs study various problems related to home-building and civic improvements generally, and present plans to create a social life in the community.

Several active associations representing different branches of agriculture have been organized. One of the earliest State associations for encouraging any branch of farming industry was the West Virginia Sheep Breeders' and Wool Growers' Association, which was organized at Parkersburg in 1879. The West Virginia Horticultural Society was organized in 1894, the West Virginia Livestock Association in 1901, the West Virginia State Poultry Association in 1901, and the West Virginia Dairy Association in 1904.

The timber industry of West Virginia has benefited the farmers of the State more perhaps than any single industry besides general farming. The 5,800,000 acres of land not included in farms within the State

are mostly in forests, or cut-over land which is growing into forests. The 3,469,000 acres of woodland in farms are made up of timber land and cut-over land, a considerable part of which is pastured. The lumber output in West Virginia was comparatively small before 1885, although large quantities of timber had been burned in the clearing of the land. In 1910 the virgin forest area was a little more than one and one-half million acres, and the cut-over area was somewhat less than three million acres. Practically all the saw timber has been removed from a large part of the State. Portable steam saws were introduced about 1860 and became more numerous after the construction of railroads. In 1909 there were 1,524 sawmills in West Virginia; by 1912 the number had been reduced to 961 active mills. The forests of West Virginia have been converted into many products. In addition to sawed timber, which has been produced since 1775, cooperage stock,



hooppoles, telephone and telegraph poles, crossties, fire wood, and pulp wood have been produced in large quantities. As late as 1880, nearly 40,000,000 hooppoles were cut in West Virginia. Until recently one could see large rafts of logs floating down the rivers during the spring freshets. Many of these logs reached sawmills within the State, and many were floated to the Ohio and Monongahela rivers to points beyond the borders of West Virginia. Reforestation work has been carried on but little in any part of the State. "The present gross acreage contained within the boundaries of Federal National Forests in West Virginia is 845,365 acres, of which 98,527 acres have actually been purchased to date." The growth of new timber is estimated to be about one-half as fast as the removal of the old timber. The principal forest products of 1921 were lumber (697,600,000 feet), wood pulp (35,821 tons), mine timbers.

Recent preparations of conditions requisite for the full development of agriculture point to a continued advance in practically all lines of endeavor.

The following tables indicate the present status and general trend of

some of the leading agricultural developments so far as they can be shown from recent census figures:

TABLE 1—FARMS AND FARM PROPERTY

(From the United States Census)

	1920 (January 1)	1910 (April 15)	1900 (June 1)
Land area of the State.....acres	15,374,080	15,374,080	15,374,080
Land in farms.....acres	9,569,790	10,026,442	10,654,513
Improved land in farms.....acres	5,520,308	5,521,757	5,498,981
Woodland in farms.....acres	3,469,444	3,968,836	6,180,350
Number of farms	87,289	96,685	92,874
Acres per farm	109.6	103.7	114.7
Improved acreage per farm	63.2	57.1	59.2
Value of all farm property	$496,439,617	$314,738,540	$203,907,349
Land	307,309,704	207,075,759	134,269,110
Buildings	103,473,702	57,315,195	34,026,560
Implements and machinery	18,395,058	7,011,513	5,040,420
Livestock	67,261,153	43,336,073	30,571,259
Value of all property per farm	5,687	3,255	2,196
Value of land per acre	32.11	20.65	12.60

TABLE 2—LIVESTOCK ON FARMS AND LIVESTOCK PRODUCTS

(From the United States Census)

	1920 (January 1)		1910 (April 15)	
	Number	Value	Number	Value
Cattle, total except spring calves	587,462	$33,727,219	560,770	$15,438,628
Cows and heifers one year old and over	327,031	21,126,872	303,279	9,107,613
Steers and bulls one year old and over	127,177	9,047,863	112,386	3,961,468
Calves under one year old	133,254	3,562,584	145,105	2,369,547
Beef cattle, total	332,441	18,419,657	*	*
Dairy cattle, total	255,021	15,307,562	*	*
Horses, total except spring colts	169,148	17,82 ,634	176,530	18,467,123
Horses one year old and over	162,817	17,493,347	159,557	17,419,881
Colts under one year old	6,331	336,287	16,973	1,047,242
Mules, total except spring colts	14,981	1,839, 87	11,577	1,334,089
Sheep, total except spring lambs	509,831	5,049,727	566,952	2,724,651
Spring lambs	*	*	343,408	676,250
Goats, total except spring kids	7,003	61,000	5,748	20,682
Swine, total except spring pigs	305,211	4,046,132	211,463	1,779,050
Spring pigs	*	*	116,725	308,342
Poultry, total	4,179,658	4,230,975	*	*
Chickens	4,027,510	3,881,016	*	*
Turkeys	61,800	250,080	*	*
Ducks	28,610	29,537	*	*
Livestock products				
Milk produced, gallons	67,161,992	*	71,230,033	*
Butter made, pounds	17,715,107	8,227,663	18,969,699	4,054,498
Cheese made, pounds	88,562	36,638	70,473	9,063
Wool produced, pounds	2,253,006	1,469,983	2,472,803	762,247
Eggs produced, dozens	20,987,164	8,585,884	18,074,410	3,464,309

* No data. Note the month in which the census was taken.

TABLE 3—ACREAGE, PRODUCTION AND VALUE OF THE PRINCIPAL FARM PRODUCTS

(From the United States Census)

	Acres Harvested		Quantity Produced			Value	
	1919	1909	Unit	1919	1909	1919	1909
Cereals, total	1,088,557	1,038,931	Bu.	24,564,851	22,116,677	$42,447,028	$15,997,700
Corn	568,219	676,311	Bu.	17,010,357	17,119,097	29,768,131	11,907,261
Wheat	298,036	209,315	Bu.	3,747,812	2,575,996	8,395,097	2,697,141
Oats	169,915	103,758	Bu.	3,054,668	1,728,806	3,054,668	912,388
Rye	19,760	15,679	Bu.	186,709	148,676	326,749	122,258
Buckwheat	31,095	33,323	Bu.	537,883	533,670	860,616	351,171
Hay and forage, total	910,550	708,900	Ton	1,099,679	639,152	23,746,574	7,493,106
Timothy alone	229,249	308,814	Ton	217,636	278,074	6,529,080	3,404,456
Timothy and clover	314,226	281,794	Ton	326,147	249,986	9,132,116	3,001,535
Clover alone	16,441	6,661	Ton	18,359	6,514	495,693	75,863
Alfalfa	4,548	696	Ton	9,122	1,406	273,660	17,932
Vegetables, total						16,715,867	6,968,618
Potatoes	34,526	42,621	Bu.	2,809,398	4,077,066	6,461,619	2,278,638
Sweet potatoes	2,678	2,079	Bu.	221,378	215,582	498,107	170,086
Other crops							
Soy beans	1,152	*	Bu.	7,871	*	45,266	*
Tobacco	11,233	17,928	Lb.	7,587,052	14,356,400	2,731,338	1,923,180
Small fruits	3,162	2,931	Qt.	2,092,376	2,336,562	400,638	191,002
	Tree or vines						
Orchard fruits, total	8,186,958	6,770,384	Bu.	5,008,996	4,709,956	9,365,300	3,040,192
Apples	5,554,731	4,570,948	Bu.	4,189,162	4,225,163	7,540,491	2,461,074
Peaches	2,049,862	1,244,582	Bu.	706,411	328,901	1,518,784	368,584
Pears	116,685	154,908	Bu.	33,364	29,916	70,068	32,101
Cherries	284,739	332,429	Bu.	42,861	79,723	139,305	111,043
Trees not bearing:							
Apple	2,571,655	4,589,587					
Peach	651,742	1,441,188					
Grapes	284,435	284,074	Lb.	2,186,740	3,224,751	196,809	92,834

*No data.

CHAPTER XXXI

TELEPHONE AND HIGHWAY COMMUNICATION

Industrial progress has been greatly influenced by corresponding development of means of communication and transportation. When the State began its separate existence there were no telephones, and few facilities for rapid travel by highways in the larger part of the State. Of the few turnpikes the most important were the James river and Kanawha, the Winchester and Parkersburg ("Northwestern") and the Staunton and Parkersburg which had been begun by Virginia to silence the rising murmurs of popular discontent west of the Alleghenies. South of the Great Kanawha roads of any kind were few and in bad condition. The new State, relinquishing all rights in the chartered turnpikes in which Virginia had held an interest, turned them over to the counties for supervision and repair. While such turnpikes added to the facilities for travel in the most densely settled parts of the State, much expense and work was required to maintain them in good condition. The turnpike from Point Pleasant to Charleston was in a very bad condition at the close of the war. The Guyandotte and Covington turnpike via Charleston and White Sulphur Springs was kept in fairly good condition for the daily stage line. Steamboat navigation, excluding that on the Ohio, was confined to a few miles on a very few streams and was not yet satisfactory. There was but one railroad, the Baltimore and Ohio, whose immediate influence affected only a narrow strip of territory across the northern border of the State.

Development of Telephone Service

Telephone service developed more rapidly than modern highways. The first step toward a telephone system in West Virginia was the establishment of a telephone central office in Pittsburgh on January 1, 1879, by the Central District and Printing Telegraph Company. The first telephone exchange in the State was established at Wheeling by the Central District Company on May 15, 1880. An office was established at Parkersburg in 1882. Later, offices were established at Moundsville, Wellsburg and New Cumberland—and, gradually, at all the most important points in the State.

For several years each exchange was isolated. No connection was afforded from one office to another. The telephone horizon was but little broader than the horizon of vision. In a short time, however, just as demands had been made for a switchboard, the necessity for communication between various cities and towns arose. As a result, toll lines were built connecting various cities and gradually forming a net work of wires by means of which it is now possible to communicate with anyone in a radius of two thousand miles.

The first toll line in West Virginia was constructed in 1883 and connected Wheeling with Pittsburgh. It practically followed the course of the Ohio river and, consequently, when the next year the record flood came, much of it was washed away and had to be rebuilt. This line was only the beginning in West Virginia. Wheeling was soon connected with Steubenville, Ohio, and Parkersburg; Morgantown was given a northern outlet through Uniontown, Pennsylvania; Clarksburg and Parkersburg, and Fairmont and Clarksburg, and Fairmont and Morgantown were all connected, and by the year 1900 the State was a system of "highways for talk."

In the territory of the Central District Telephone Co., toll lines connecting the exchanges mentioned below were built at the dates given:

Wheeling, W. Va.—Steubenville, O.	1895
Morgantown, W. Va.—Uniontown, Pa.	1895
Wheeling, W. Va.—Parkersburg, W. Va.	1896
Moundsville, W. Va.—Cameron, W. Va.	1896
Cameron, W. Va.—Fairmont, W. Va.	1899
Clarksburg, W. Va.—Parkersburg, W. Va.	1899
Clarksburg, W. Va.—Grafton, W. Va.	1899
Morgantown, W. Va.—Waynesburg, Pa.	1900
Clarksburg, W. Va.—Fairmont, W. Va.	1900
Fairmont, W. Va.—Morgantown, W. Va.	1902

The early development of telephone service in southern West Virginia was begun by the Southern Bell Telephone and Telegraph Company by the establishment of exchanges at Charleston and Huntington about 1888 or 1889. No other development was undertaken until 1896, when a toll line was constructed between Charleston and Montgomery, West Virginia, a distance of twenty-seven miles. About 1898 the company purchased an existing line owned by an independent company from Charleston to Saint Albans, and Winfield, a total distance of twenty-five miles.

The American Telephone and Telegraph Company constructed the Cuyahoga Falls-Charleston line through to Charleston about 1897. From this time until the latter part of 1901 there was no development by any of the Bell or associated companies, but from 1895 or 1896 until 1901 the independent companies were very active through southern West Virginia and many exchanges were constructed, including Charleston, Huntington, Point Pleasant, Spencer, Weston, Buckhannon, Sutton, Hinton, Alderson, Ronceverte and Lewisburg; also Elkins and surrounding territory. Many toll lines were also constructed in different sections of the State by independent companies. In the summer of 1901 the American Telephone and Telegraph Company constructed what is known as the Petersburg-Georgetown line which was completed early in 1902.

In 1901 the Southern Bell Company constructed exchanges in Point Pleasant and Montgomery, West Virginia, covering the New River coal fields and the greater part of Fayette county.

During the year 1903 the Point Pleasant-Ravenswood-Belleville toll line and the Ravenswood-Spencer toll line were constructed, connection being made at Belleville with the Central District and Printing Telegraph Company, making a through line from Point Pleasant to Parkersburg. In 1904 exchanges were constructed at Ravenswood and Ripley, and the exchange at Spencer, which was constructed several years previous by a local company and sold to the Central District and Printing Telegraph Company, was purchased by the Southern Bell Telephone and Telegraph Company. In 1903 construction work was started on the Charleston-Sutton-Weston line which was not completed until in 1904. Another connection was established with the Central District and Printing Telegraph Company at Jane Lew, West Virginia, giving a through route from Charleston to Clarksburg. Exchanges were constructed at Weston and Buckhannon in 1904.

In 1903 the Southern Bell Company purchased the property of the West Virginia Telegraph and Telephone Company, which included Hinton, Alderson, and Beckley exchanges and a number of Farmers' lines. During the same year the exchanges at Alderson and Hinton were entirely reconstructed, new plants being installed; and early in 1904 the Beckley exchange was completely reconstructed, a new plant being installed.

In 1905 the Sutton-Richwood was constructed and also the Hinton-Bluefield line. Connection was established at Bluefield with the Bluefield Telephone Company which had been operating in Bluefield and between Bluefield and Welch for a number of years. The Richwood exchange was constructed during 1907.

Construction work on the Huntington-Logan Toll Line was started in 1904 and completed in the early part of 1905. The Logan exchange was completed during the latter part of 1905. The Spencer-Weston Toll Line was constructed in 1909. The Huntington, W. Va.,-Pikeville, Ky., Toll Line was completed in 1906. The Charleston-Madison Toll Line was constructed in 1909, the Madison exchange being opened in the early part of 1910.

The Southern Bell Company purchased the Huntington Mutual Telephone Company's property in January, 1910, and during that year the properties at Huntington were consolidated, which included toll lines from Huntington to Hurricane. In December, the same year, the Southern Bell Company purchased the property of the Charleston Home Telephone Company, which included the Charleston, East Bank, Montgomery and Clendenin opposition exchanges, and also toll lines connecting same and extending to Hurricane and Buffalo, West Virginia. These properties were consolidated with the Bell Plants during the summer of 1911. In 1912 the Southern Bell Company transferred its West Virginia property to The Chesapeake & Potomac Telephone Company, and in October, 1912, The C. & P. Company purchased the property of the Point Pleasant Telephone Company, and this property was consolidated with the Bell property May 1, 1913.

In the period from 1901 to 1910, a number of small exchanges were opened at various points on the toll lines indicated above. In January, 1901, there were only two Bell exchanges in the southern part of the state (Huntington and Charleston); while there are now twenty-four. On January 1, 1901, the Huntington exchange had about 230 stations and the Charleston exchange about 715, with no connecting stations. There are now 10,537 stations in the twenty-four exchanges, with 14,310 service and connecting stations, making a total of 24,847 stations.

At Charleston and Huntington, the plants owned by the company have been rebuilt, and a large amount of underground work done. A new central office equipment was installed in 1906 and 1907.

As indicated, the southern section of West Virginia was rather extensively developed by independent companies before the Bell Company started to develop there; but the Bell, either by purchase or connecting agreements, has utilized their lines. There are now only seven exchanges in which there is duplicate service: Beckley, Ravenswood, Ripley, Spencer, Sutton, Weston and Buckhannon. This does not include the territory covered by the West Virginia Eastern Telephone Company —a sub-licensed company which operates in Randolph, Barbour and Tucker counties and which has opposition service over its entire territory and in its three exchanges.

One interesting fact in connection with the telephone situation in this territory is that each of the following towns have three telephone exchanges: Ripley, Spencer, Ravenswood and Weston. This section of West Virginia is also thoroughly covered with Farmers' line development, the lines being constructed and owned by the Farmers.

The eastern panhandle is operated by the Chesapeake and Potomac Telephone Company (Bell System). Keyser and Piedmont, which had exchanges previously operating independently, were connected with the Bell System through a traffic agreement in May, 1901, after which they had the benefits of communication with the outside world. An exchange was established at Harper's Ferry on October 1, 1905, and at Charleston and Shepherdstown in 1906.

The first "long distance" telephone line to traverse West Virginia was the New York-St. Louis line, built in 1894. In the State of West Virginia it followed the course of the National Pike. In 1906 a line was constructed from Cumberland, Maryland, to Parkersburg, following closely the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. In the same year a line was built from Pittsburgh to Grafton. In 1902 the Lynchburg, Virginia-Cincinnati, Ohio, line was constructed, passing through Charleston and Huntington, West Virginia.

It has been only recently that the telephone has been recognized as

a necessity. Until the last few years it was regarded as a luxury; and the subscribers' list of the telephone companies included only the wealthier people; but it has become an indispensable adjunct to daily life in both office and home.

In 1913 telephone development had by no means reached its zenith in West Virginia. The subscribers' list was constantly growing, and the telephone managers by the installation of reserve plants in the larger cities were preparing for enormous growth in the next decade.

In 1912 the Southern Bell Telephone and Telegraph Company disposed of its property in the State to The Chesapeake and Potomac Telephone Company of Baltimore, and on January 1, 1917, The Chesapeake and Potomac Telephone Company of West Virginia (having been organized by the Bell Company for the purpose) took over all of the Bell property in the State, and has continued its operation. During 1917 and

Repairing Damage on South Side Hill, Near Charleston, Winter of 1918

1918 the property of the Consolidated Telephone Company was merged with the Bell Company's plant in a number of exchanges. In most cases the Consolidated plant was removed, the service being transferred to the Bell Central Office where additions to the equipment necessary to handle the increased service had been made.

In 1913 a considerable amount of reconstruction work was done throughout the State, but no exchanges or extension pole lines were constructed.

In 1914 new lines were extended from Montgomery, Fayetteville, Oak Hill and Thurmond along the Giles, Fayette and Kanawha turnpike. This line was placed in order to provide additional toll trunks between Charleston, Fayetteville, Oak Hill, Beckley and Thurmond.

In 1915 a pole line was constructed from Clothier to Logan. Circuits were extended over an existing line from Charleston to Madison and over the new line into Logan. Also numerous lines and circuits

were placed to furnish service for the Virginian Power Company in the New River Coal field. This service was furnished from a private branch exchange at Cabin Creek Junction operating from East Bank exchange. Also pole lines were placed and circuits strung on Main Island creek in Logan county to furnish service to the large coal developments in that vicinity.

On July 21, which was West Virginia day at the Panama Pacific International Exposition at San Francisco, Governor Hatfield and others at Charleston conversed with officials and visitors in California in the previous January over the trans-continental telephone line which had been opened.

In 1916 there were few extensions made to telephone plant during the year, although a large rebuilding program was carried out.

In July lines were washed out and service seriously crippled by a flood along New river east of Thurmond, but service was soon restored to its normal condition. On August 9, about twenty miles of telephone line was washed out by a heavy cloudburst on Cabin creek and Coal river and service was not fully restored for about sixty days.

In January, 1917, The Chesapeake and Potomac Telephone Company of West Virginia was incorporated under the laws of the State, being formed by the Bell Company for the purpose of taking over all of the plant formerly owned by The Chesapeake and Potomac Telephone Company, The Central District Telephone Company and the Consolidated Telephone Company, thus putting all property of the Bell Company in the State into one company. During the year a number of the Consolidated exchanges were combined with The Chesapeake and Potomac Telephone Company of West Virginia and the plant of the old Independent Company dismantled. The Clarksburg-Fairmont-Morgantown group were merged on September 1st, and the Parkersburg-Spencer-Ravenswood group on December 1st.

Following the American declaration of war against Germany in April, 1917, The Chesapeake and Potomac Telephone Company forces became depleted because of the need of expert telephone men in government service.

Within the year, some additional long distance circuits were placed, but the efforts of the telephone company were largely directed toward the winning of the war. Only essential work was completed and every effort was made to defer work that could not be included in that purpose.

In the following year the principal activity in the Wheeling area was the preparation for the merger of the Bell and Consolidated plant which was scheduled for August of this year. In the meantime a considerable number of the employees of the telephone company had enlisted or had been inducted into the military service of the United States. While this was a great handicap the company realizing the importance of trained men for the government service employed other men to "carry on" its work. Government activity and high salaries attracted a number of the employees of the company at a time when they could hardly be spared. Under these conditions, whenever additional telephone service was requested, arrangements were made to furnish temporary magneto service until more adequate equipment could be secured. Later common battery service was furnished.

In the summer of 1918, a fire-proof central office was constructed at Nitro and a complete 1-D common battery switchboard was installed. On this board, at one time, there were in excess of 400 telephones at work.

After the signing of the armistice, the telephone company carried very heavy traffic.

In 1919 telephone men who had been mustered out of the Army and Navy began to return home. The Chesapeake and Potomac Telephone Company offered employment to each man who had resigned for military or naval service and each was credited with continuous service under the "Bell System Employees Benefit Plan." From the Bell Sys-

tem as a whole there were 17,500 employees in the military and naval service of the United States.

The year 1920 found The Chesapeake and Potomac Telephone Company of West Virginia without facilities for furnishing telephone service required by the public. During the war the telephone company worked along the lines of furnishing service that would be beneficial to the government and the interests thereto. Equipment for the furnishing of telephone service could not be secured except for the most essential usages. Therefore, telephone development was restricted. However, a number of long distance lines were added throughout the State. Among these were new circuits from Charleston and Beckley to Bluefield, providing a second route to the southern section of the State. These lines were strung partly on the poles of the Virginia Railway Company and the Bluefield Telephone Company. A new pole line was provided between Logan and Williamson, and additional circuits provided between Huntington, Logan and Williamson. Local telephone lines were extended to the new coal development along Tug river in the vicinity of Williamson. Telephone service was also extended to the coal operations along the Coal and Coke Division of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company from Burnsville to Braxton and Exchange.

During the year 1921 a large construction and rebuilding program was carried out, but few extensions were made into new territory. Toll circuits were extended from Mullens through Princeton to Bluefield. Additional facilities were provided in many cities and towns so that telephone service would be furnished to those applying for it. During the miners' insurrection, before the arrival of Federal troops to preserve order, many telephone lines were cut by unknown parties.

Late in 1921 plans were made for expansion of the telephone system in a number of the larger cities and towns of the state in 1922. The budget is quite a large one, and provides ample facilities for providing service in rapidly growing cities.

C. & P. Stations in Service in West Virginia Division

(January 1, 1922)

Exchanges	Company Stations	Service Stations
Avella	4	...
Beckley	724	39
Belington	42	37
Benwood	554	...
Blaine	27	8
Buckhannon	497	15
Burnsville	49	16
Cameron	12	...
Charleston	10,205	57
Chester	377	33
Clarksburg	6,142	7
Clendenin	120	...
Dunbar	64	...
East Bank	398	...
Elizabeth	32	...
Elkins	749	74
Elm Grove	1,032	...
Fairchance	5	...
Fairmont	4,374	34
Farmington	53	51
Fayetteville	168	14
Follansbee	307	...
Glenville	33	11
Grafton	1,564	85
Hinton	893	131
Huntington	8,289	36
Jane Lew	74	61
Kanawha	101	18
Kenova	252	...
Keyser	564	46
Kingwood	176	99
Logan	1,126	...
Louisa	9	...

Exchanges	Company Stations	Service Stations
Madison	230	...
Mannington	463	48
Mason City	79	...
Matewan	32	...
Montgomery	435	...
Morgantown	2,887	72
Moundsville	969	...
Mount Hope	173	...
Mullens	188	...
New Cumberland	155	51
Newburg	89	17
Newell	160	...
New Martinsville	359	46
Pt. Marion	3	...
Point Pleasant	347	...
Oak Hill	142	16
Parkersburg	5,448	175
Philippi	199	...
Pennsboro	99	7
Peidmont	307	10
Ravenswood	99	22
Ripley	36	...
Richwood	234	35
Salem	212	28
Shinnston	183	67
Sistersville	584	21
South Charleston	412	6
Spencer	158	10
St. Albans	643	80
Sutton	180	15
Terra Alta	100	192
Thurmond	279	...
Tunnelton	49	...
Warwood	659	12
Weirton	413	69
Wellsburg	441	...
Weston	905	178
West Union	52	8
Wheeling	8,934	...
Williamson	669	...
Williamstown	294	22
Woodsdale	1,661	...
Total Stations	68,977	2,079

Stations in service January 1, 1918	53,961
Stations in service December 31, 1921	71,056

The Chesapeake and Potomac Telephone Company has no lines into regions of least industrial development, such as Pendleton county and Wyoming county, Monroe county, Pocahontas county, and parts of Nicholas county. In some cases, however, it reaches chief points in these counties by connections established over lines of local companies. From the Sutton-Richwood line, it reaches Summersville (Nicholas county) over the lines of the "Gauley Bridge, Summersville and Camden Telephone Company." From Ronceverte it furnishes service to Union (Monroe county) over the lines of the "Limestone Telephone Company," and through Lewisburg it reaches Marlinton (Pocahontas county) also over the Limestone Company line. It also serves Petersburg and Moorefield over toll lines extending from Burlington, south of Keyser.

The evolution of telephones is illustrated by the following brief abstract from E. C. Smith's excellent History of Lewis County:

The first telephones in the county were not at the county seat. John Beeghley, in the early eighties, was the owner of a chain of stores in northern Lewis and southern Harrison counties. The delay in communication between stores was very annoying and even costly at times. Soon after the telephone was placed on the market he built a line connecting the stores, one of which was at Lightburn. His neighbors were quick to realize the advantages of the telephone and they requested permission to connect with the Beeghley line. The merchant determined to take up the telephone business on a commercial basis. He extended his lines in all directions until within a surprisingly short time connection was established with all parts of the county.

Meanwhile the people of Weston had been trying to work out some scheme by

which they might secure telephone service. In 1885 the Central Telephone Company was organized with Jacob Koblegard as president and James B. Finster as secretary. This company was later reorganized as the Western Central Telephone Company in 1888. Several telephones were installed in different places of business in Weston, and a line was run to Glenville by the company. By 1895 John Beeghley's system had grown to such an extent that he found it expedient to establish connection in Weston. He therefore leased for five years the plant of the Weston Central company and, before his lease had expired, arranged to consolidate the two companies into the United Telephone System. At the time of the merger there were eighty telephones on the Beeghley lines and about thirty in the Weston system. The formation of the new company caused a great improvement in the service and greatly extended the use of the telephone not only in business houses, but also to private residences. Practically all property holders in Weston soon leased telephones. The service was further improved by arrangements made for switchboard connections with systems in adjoining counties.

The Bell System entered the field at the beginning of the century, and established a long distance service far superior to that of the United System. Its local service was never comparable to that of the Beeghley lines on account of the larger number of subscribers of the latter company in Weston. In 1903 the People's United Telephone System, a co-operative company, was incorporated, and within three years it had extended its lines into practically every section of the county, with instruments even in log houses situated far from the ordinary course of travel. Weston now had three systems, the Beeghley still predominating, but the other having a considerable number of subscribers. Early in 1917 the Bell Company absorbed the Beeghley lines, to the great improvement of the service.

The following is a list of telephone and telegraph companies doing business in West Virginia and the valuation of the property of each as assessed by the Board of Public Works:

American Telephone & Telegraph Co., of W. Va.	$ 300,000.00
Amos Telephone Co.	8.000.00
Athens Telephone Co.	3.000.00
Aurora, Oakland & Terra Alta Telephone Co.	500.00
Asbury Telephone Co.	700.00
Arbovale Mutual Telephone Co.	3,500 00
Big Hurricane Telephone Co.	700.00
Berkeley Springs Telephone Co.	2 225.00
Bluefield Telephone Co.	200 000.00
Berea & Slab Telephone Co.	10,000.00
Bethany Telephone Co.	1,500.00
Big Four Telephone Co.	1,300.00
Barboursville Telephone Co.	3,000 00
Bridgeport Telephone Co.	7,000.00
Buffalo Telephone Co.	1,550.00
Burton & Uniontown Telephone Co.	300.00
Bruceton Telephone Co.	550.00
Brandonville & Terra Alta Telephone Co.	625.00
Bluestone Mutual Telephone Co.	800.00
Beverly & Marlinton Telephone Co.	2,685 00
Behler-Bagans Telephone Co.	1,300.00
Chesapeake & Potomac Telephone Co. of W. Va.	5,500,000.00
Cowen Telephone Co.	1 975.00
Citizens United Telephone Co.	1,450.00
Citizens Telephone Co.	1,921.00
Cameron Telephone Co.	3,000.00
Citizens Telephone Co. of Rockport, W. Va.	2,500.00
Clear Fork Telephone Co.	830.00
Clarksburg & Mannington Telephone Co.	1,700.00
Cabell-Mason Telephone Co.	350.00
Chenoweth Valley Telephone Co.	300.00
Duncan Telephone Co.	970.00
Deep Valley Telephone Co.	750.00
Echo Telephone Co.	325.00
East Side Telephone Co.	1,700.00
Exchange Telephone Co.	1,100.00
Eglon Mutual Telephone Co.	1.900.00
Fraziers Bottom, Upland & Glenwood Telephone Co.	1,075.00
Fairview Telephone Co.	800.00
Friendship Mutual Telephone Co.	6,000.00
Flemington Telephone Co.	2 870.00
Farmers Union Telephone Co.	1,600.00
Finch Telephone Co. (McKim Division)	1,475.00
Frankford Telephone Co.	2,375.00
Fairmont & Western Telephone Co.	600 00
Farmers Mutual Union Telephone Co.	995.00
Farmers Rural Telephone Co. of Vernon, W. Va.	425.00

Farmers Telephone Co. of Pt. Marion, Pa.	$1,500.00
Finch Telephone Co.	500.00
Flat Rock Telephone Co.	375.00
Gassaway Telephone Co.	2,400.00
Gauley Bridge, Summersville & Camden Telephone Co.	3,000.00
Green Sulphur Mutual Telephone Co.	300.00
Glade Valley Telephone Co.	2,075.00
Greenville Telephone Co.	1,200.00
Guyan Telephone Co.	1,800.00
Hills & Browns Creek Mutual Telephone Co.	200.00
Hardy Mutual Telephone Co.	925.00
Inland Telephone & Telegraph Co.	8,000.00
Independent Home Telephone Co.	2,050.00
Jefferson County Telephone Co.	70,000.00
Lincoln County Telephone Co.	1,625.00
Longdale Independent Telephone Co.	3,000.00
Lansing Telephone Co.	2,650.00
Limestone Telephone Co.	25,000.00
Marlinton & Academy Mutual Telephone Co	1,520.00
Marlinton & Elk Mutual Telephone Co.	500.00
Marlinton & Stoney Creek Mutual Telephone Co.	625.00
Marlinton & Clover Lick Mutual Telephone Co.	950.00
Marlinton, Knapps Creek & Dilleys Mill Mutual Telephone Co.	2,500.00
Monroe Mutual Telephone Co.	2,800.00
Milton Telephone Co.	1,000.00
Masontown Telephone Co.	3,400.00
Marie Telephone Co.	1,200.00
Marion Telephone Co.	1,700.00
Mt. Lookout Telephone Co.	4,500.00
M. K. Duty (Telephone)	175.00
North Bend & Southern Telephone Co.	2,500.00
North Fayette Telephone Co.	5,000.00
North River Telephone Co.	450.00
Newville Telephone Co.	1,350.00
Odd Telephone Co.	4,200.00
Oakland Telephone Co.	2,500.00
Oakvale Telephone Co.	950.00
Oak Hill Telephone Co.	5,000.00
Putnam Telephone Co.	1,500.00
Postal Telegraph-Cable Co. of W. Va.	25,000.00
Pritchard Telephone Co.	6,000.00
Pittsburgh & Wheeling Telephone Co.	4,000.00
Pocahontas Telephone Co.	4,500.00
Peoples United Telephone System	40,000.00
Pruntytown Telephone Co.	1,900.00
Proctor & Peabody Telephone Co.	3,400.00
Ronceverte & Elkins Telephone Co.	5,000.00
Romney Consolidated Telephone Co.	10,000.00
Rock Oak Telephone Co.	250.00
River Bend Telephone Co.	500.00
Rockville & Kingwood Telephone Co.	900.00
Rowlesburg Telephone Co.	650.00
Rio & Romney Telephone Co.	1,750.00
Sardis Telephone Co.	7,000.00
Short Line Telephone Co.	10,000.00
Shinnston Union Telephone Co.	2,660.00
Silver Hill Telephone Co.	1,650.00
Slanesville Telephone Co.	700.00
St. Cloud Telephone Co.	900.00
Summers & Mercer Mutual Telephone Co.	900.00
Tri-District Telephone Co.	900.00
Trap Hill Telephone Co.	5,000.00
Turkeyfoot Telephone Co.	2,275.00
United Telephone Co.	7,000.00
United American Telephone Co. of W. Va.	12,000.00
Union Ridge & Ohio River Telephone Co.	500.00
United Farmers Telephone Co.	2,200.00
Wallace Telephone Co.	915.00
Waterloo, Buffalo & Winfield Telephone Co.	1,225.00
Wadestown Telephone Co.	4,600.00
Webster Telephone Co.	700.00
West Virginia Mutual Telephone Association	13,280.00
Wellsburg Home Telephone Co.	6,000.00
Western Union Telegraph Co.	800,000.00
Total	$7,243,376.00

The Movement for Good Roads

Although the opening of new wagon roads was stimulated by every extension of railways, the beginning of a policy of permanent roads and intelligent direction in their construction was delayed in West Virginia until the first decade of the twentieth century.

The earlier road laws, first codified in 1872-73, and revised in 1881 and 1891 and thereafter, appeared so contradictory in the code of 1906 that their interpretation was difficult or impossible. In 1907 the legislature, by creation of the office of state highway inspector, took the first step to lift West Virginia "out of the mud" in which it had "wallowed" under a traditional system of roads inherited from the distant period of King Alfred. Under this law, H. E. Williams of Greenbrier county was appointed inspector and after a series of investigations, published (1908) a report recommending the creation of a state office of public roads. In 1909 the legislature took another forward step by an enactment of a state roads law which provided for creating of a state highway commission and the office of county engineer, and for state aid in road construction. This act was abolished in 1911.

In 1913 the legislature created the state road bureau with authority over all public roads of the state, but without funds to execute the provisions of the act. The chief work accomplished under the law was the creation of a highway department at the University which sought to improve highway construction by a series of short lecture courses which were attended by the county road engineers from 1914 to 1918.

By act of 1917 the state road bureau became the state road commission, located at Charleston.

The work of the state road commission after 1917 was aided by Federal appropriations from which the state received allotments as follows:

1916-17	$ 53,270.46
1917-18	106,540.92
1918-19	159,713.89
1919-20	1,542,846.40
1920-21	1,064,018.20
	$2,926,369.87

The amount of money available from the motor vehicle tax for 1917-20 for distribution to counties was as follows:

1917-18	$ 270,063.62
1918-19	385,806.11
1919-20	389,223.61
	$1,045,093.34

The importance of permanent improved roads increasingly attracted public attention in the period of the World war by the inability of the railroads to handle the large commerce of the country, and the necessity of resorting to highway transportation for relief.

Under the constitutional amendment, ratified in 1920, authorizing bond issues to finance the construction of a system of permanent highways, the legislature promptly took steps for the inauguration of active work of construction under the direction of the state road bureau.

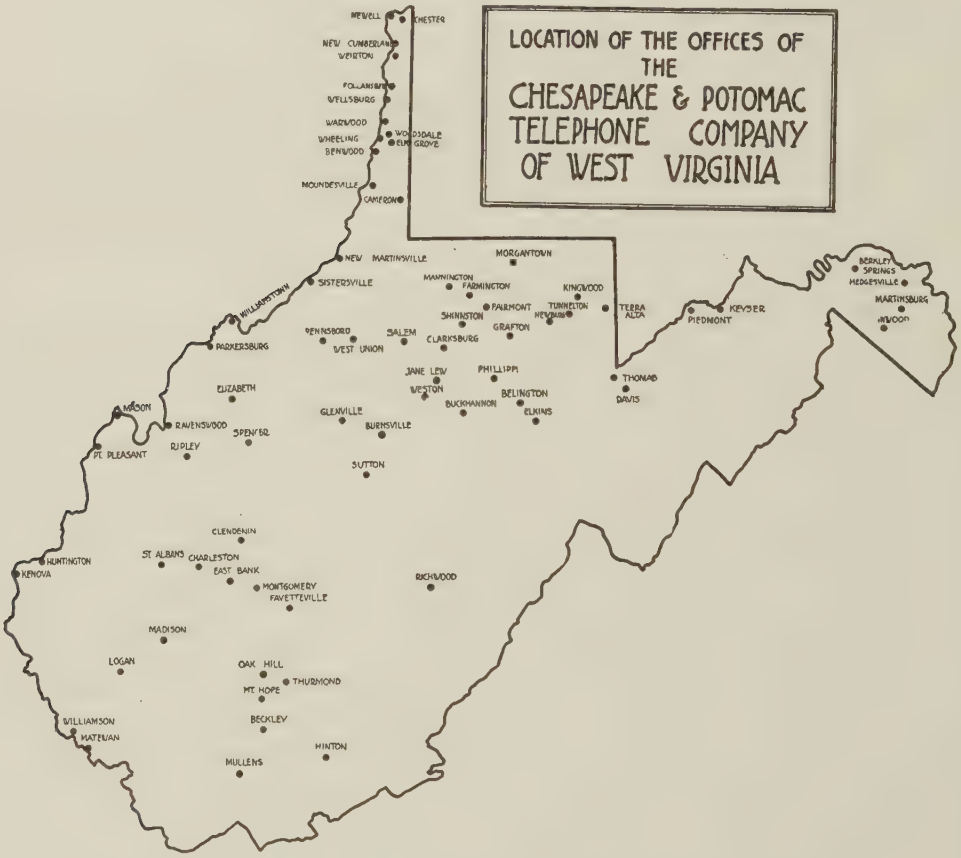
Perhaps the largest single factor in securing the ratification of the good roads amendment to the state constitution was the large increase in the use of passenger automobiles and motor transportation trucks in the state. The number of regular automobile licenses increased from 25,089 in 1918 to 45,019 in 1919 and 61,330 in 1920. The number of special privilege licenses increased from 4,470 in 1919 to 8,758 in 1920, the number of dealers' licenses from 671 to 803, the number of chauffeurs' licenses from 5,352 to 8,542, and the number of motor-cycle licenses from 1,129 to 1,459. The approximate increase in the total number of licenses of 1920 over those of the previous year was 43 per cent.

In 1921 the legislature carefully revised the good roads law of 1917 and especially extended the provisions relating to licensing of auto-

mobiles and regulation of traffic. The revised law specifically defined and classified the different types of automobiles, and required those with solid tires to pay a higher license fee than those with pneumatic tires.

The following narrative, prepared by W. S. Downs, presents some of the chief features of modern highway development from 1910 to 1920:

The decade after 1910 witnessed the dawn of a new era in transportation facilities. Due to the development of the motor truck and automobile, we are rapidly changing from railroads to highways as a means for transportation. Large corporations have been organized to develop coal and timber lands or to transport commodities, whose very life is dependent upon the use of the public highways to transport their products and thus the highways are gradually assuming the burden and uses which formerly belonged only to the railroads. As a result of the unprecedented development in motor transportation, highways that were considered



model roads a few years ago are today no longer adequate for the present traffic, and indeed, many of them have been utterly destroyed by vehicles and loads which a few years ago were undreamed of. The increase in the size of the load, in rendering almost useless many roads which were constructed for lighter traffic, and in requiring the public to construct the future roads stronger and more expensive in design, presents one of the greatest problems facing the state today and the tendency is rather towards restricting the size of the load and regulating the kind of traffic which may use the public highways. It seems to have been clearly demonstrated that no state or community can afford to provide highways for unrestricted and unregulated loads.

The last ten years have seen the construction of practically all the paved roads in West Virginia. Prior to the year 1910 paved highways were generally confined to the limits of the larger cities and towns. True, some very good roads had been constructed in some sections of the State, notably in the eastern panhandle and in Ohio county, known as "stoned" roads and since limestone had been used to "stone" these roads they may be classed as a type of water-bound macadam and as such afforded excellent roads for horse-drawn traffic. However, for a half century prior to 1910 there was very little activity in highway building and it was not until the automobile had become a rather common vehicle of travel that much interest was shown in "improved" roads, or much effort made to provide better

roads outside the limits of the cities and towns. At the same time the automobile soon demonstrated that the water-bound macadam type of highway is unsuitable for such traffic and it was not long before the few miles of such type of highways which had been constructed were worn out and were in worse condition than some of the dirt or unimproved roads. Therefore, we may properly say that road building in West Virginia really began with the last decade. Prior to 1911 all road construction in West Virginia was financed by direct levies on the taxable property in the county or districts in which the roads were located. However, to meet the demand for some speedy construction of roads in certain sections of the State, the legislature in 1911 provided that districts or counties might vote bonds for road construction. That same year bonds for highways improvements were voted in three counties of the state, namely: Wood, Cabell and Hancock, and by the end of 1920 over $28,500,000 in bonds had been voted either as a county or district proposition in 41 counties of the State.

The following table shows the amount of bonds voted for road construction each year, which amounts are in addition to the funds derived from direct tax levies:

1911	$ 605,000.00	1916	$7,228,500.00
1912	275,000.00	1917	4,010,000.00
1913	1,410,000.00	1918	1,092,000.00
1914	150,000.00	1919	6,041,200.00
1915	3,263,000.00	1920	4,447,500.00

These bonds were voted in the counties as follows:

Barbour	$ 130,000.00	Monongalia	$1,075,000.00
Boone	550,000.00	Morgan	250,000.00
Brooke	800,000.00	McDowell	1,843,000.00
Cabell	1,900,000.00	Pleasants	60,000.00
Doddridge	375,000.00	Pocahontas	260,000.00
Fayette	1,748,000.00	Preston	444,000.00
Greenbrier	608,000.00	Putnam	360,000.00
Hancock	630,000.00	Raleigh	1,128,000.00
Harrison	300,000.00	Randolph	406,000.00
Jackson	241,000.00	Ritchie	240,000.00
Kanawha	2,179,000.00	Roane	515,000.00
Lewis	350,000.00	Summers	439,200.00
Lincoln	675,000.00	Taylor	1,000,000.00
Logan	1,200,000.00	Tucker	210,000.00
Marion	2,093,000.00	Upshur	180,000.00
Mason	344,000.00	Wayne	1,000,000.00
Monroe	167,000.00	Webster	250,000.00
Marshall	735,000.00	Wetzel	510,000.00
Mercer	850,000.00	Wood	500,000.00
Mineral	422,000.00	Wyoming	550,000.00
Mingo	1,000,000.00		

In 1913 there was created the State Road Bureau which, considering the fact that it was vested with no power or authority to enforce its rules or to supervise construction, and was provided with little funds with which to function, did very good work. The State Road Bureau in 1917 was changed to the State Road Commission and the road laws were re-codified and amended, insofar as it was necessary to take advantage of the recent act of the United States Congress which appropriated Federal funds to the several states for road construction. The act of 1917 divided the public roads into two classes: Class A or Intercounty Roads, and Class B or county-district roads and provided that State and Federal funds should be expended only on the Class A roads. The Class A roads as later established comprised about 10% of the total road mileage in the State or a total of 4,619 miles.

This perhaps was the most progressive step taken by the legislature up to that time for better roads and while the State constitution which vested the authority of roads in the county courts limited the authority of the State Road Commission to a more or less advisory capacity, yet the requirements of the Federal Government in the expenditure of its aid through the Commission and the county courts for road construction set a higher standard and tended to point the way for a State road system which finally culminated in the resolution of the legislature in 1919 submitting to the vote of the people an amendment to the constitution to provide for state control of highways.

As a result of the last 10 years' efforts at road building there are today approximately 1,200 miles of paved roads in West Virginia of which approximately 800 miles are parts of the Class A or inter-county system of roads. And in addition several hundred miles of graded earth roads have been constructed. Yet with approximately 800 miles of Class A system of roads paved, not more than two county seats in the State are actually connected by paved highways. With each county acting as an independent unit and often with the several districts in the counties voting bonds to improve certain roads, without regard to any system or connections with adjoining districts, it is little wonder that the roads which have been constructed have failed to connect into a system of State or inter-county roads.

It was this situation that confronted the legislature in 1919 and prompted it to propose the amendment to the State constitution to provide a state system of high-

ways and it was the realization on the part of the people that the county system of building state roads had been a failure, that caused a majority of over 100,000 votes for the said amendment at the last general election. This amendment makes it possible for the State legislature to create a system of State roads to be constructed and maintained by a central state organization.

Following the practice then general throughout the country, the first improved roads in West Virginia were a type of water-bound macadam, commonly called "stoned" roads. This type reached its highest development in the counties where limestone was abundant although sandstone, shales and gravel were often used to build "stone" roads. This type of surface, while very satisfactory for slow moving horse-drawn traffic, could not withstand the destructive action of the fast moving automobile or trucks with rubber tires whose suction action displaced the smaller particles, thus destroying the bond and causing the surface to disintegrate. In recent years it has been found necessary in order to preserve these roads, to provide a surface treatment of asphalt or oils and many of them have been reconstructed with an asphalt or bituminous surface.

West Virginia, being a pioneer state in the use of brick for the paving of city streets, it naturally followed that this type of paving would be used on many of the rural highways, especially in the sections of the State where brick are manufactured, and where limestone or other stone suitable for macadam are not abundant. The brick were at first laid on the natural soil after it had been smoothed or shaped up with a layer of sand. But as traffic increased in weight, it was found necessary to provide a sub-base of crushed stone and later of concrete which greatly increased the cost of paving and as the cost has continually increased there has been less a percentage of new highways constructed of brick in more recent years.

Cement concrete has largely superseded brick and has been used not only for a base coarse but for a wearing surface, largely because of the fact that it is cheaper than brick and at the same time combines a durable wearing surface with a great degree of strength to withstand heavy loads. Moreover, it permits the use of local materials such as river gravel, crushed limestone and even sandstone in the construction thereof. However, the cost of this type of road has so increased along with other types that there has been a tendency within the last year or two to find a still cheaper type; and more roads are being constructed today with local material having a bituminous binder, and, in many cases, even less durable types such as gravel or improved earth roads are bindbuilt.

Another argument in favor of the cheaper type of road is the fact that our road locations being comparatively new, are not firmly settled and the soil conditions of most of our hillsides is such as to render them unstable. Slips and landslides are of common occurrence so that expensive type of roads are often destroyed by nature's agencies long before traffic has made appreciable inroads on the ordinary life of the surface. Therefore, economy would seem to dictate that the present pavement should be of a cheaper type.

CHAPTER XXXII

POLITICAL AND LEGISLATIVE HISTORY

Party control, which was first held by the Republicans, passed to the Democrats in 1870-71, was regained by the Republicans by 1896 and held thereafter, although through party division they failed to elect the governor in 1916.

1. Under Early Republican Control. In the election of 1864 there was no division of parties. There were only a few scattering votes in opposition to the officers of the state administration and to Republican candidates for Congress. Boreman was reelected without opposition, by a vote of 19,192. In 1866 [1] he was again reelected by a vote of 23,802 against 17,158 for Benjamin H. Smith (of Kanawha), his opponent. Near the close of his term he was elected to the United States Senate, and for a few days the duties of the governorship devolved upon D. D. T. Farnsworth, who had been elected president of the senate.

In the election of 1868 Governor William E. Stevenson defeated J. N. Camden, the candidate for governor, by a majority of 5,000. He was a man of liberal and vigorous progressive views, and continued the constructive policy of his predecessor, endeavoring to remove the deeply rooted prejudices against immigration and earnestly favoring liberal legislation to encourage projects of internal improvement and industrial enterprise, which would engage the people of the State in the development of its resources and terminate the quarrels over past issues.

At the session of the legislature of 1869, Governor Stevenson recommended the repeal of the attorneys' and teachers' test oaths, and stated that he thought the wisdom of the further continuance of the suitors' test oaths was questionable. He also suggested the amendment of the Constitution so as to restore the privilege of citizenship to those disfranchised. He uses this language:

"These restrictive measures were adopted during the time of great public peril. They were prompted by that instinct of self-preservation which impels every community to shield itself from present or impending danger. Under such circumstances prompt and decisive measures were imperatively demanded and those entrusted with authority did not hesitate to resort to them. These disabilities were not, however, intended to be perpetual, but only to remain in force until all danger to the public peace was past—until those upon whom they were imposed gave evidence that they accepted in good faith the result of the war, and until the permanency of the State was fixed beyond all question. These restrictions did not originate in a vindictive spirit, nor have they been adhered to by any considerable number of persons for unworthy purposes, etc."

At the session of 1870 the Legislature enacted bills repealing the attorneys', teachers', and suitors' test oaths. Mr. Flick, who was a Northern man and had come into the State after the war, offered an amendment to the Constitution providing that all male citizens of the State should be entitled to vote, except the usual disqualified classes such as minors, persons of unsound mind, paupers, etc. This amendment was adopted by the Legislature and submitted to a vote of the people, and was afterwards adopted. By this legislation, the returned Confederate soldiers and those who had aided and sympathized with the Confederate cause were admitted to vote and were relieved of other political disabilities. The effect of this was to turn the State over to the Democrats.

2. Under Democratic Control. In 1870, although somewhat disconcerted by the adoption of the Flick amendment, the Democrats elected John J. Jacob to the gubernatorial office by a majority of over 2,000 votes over Stevenson and secured in both houses a working majority which they retained for a quarter century. Although his usefulness was somewhat restricted by certain limited views, Governor Jacob was conservative and moderate in his policies and two years later was sup-

[1] The subjects of legislation in 1866 were varied, covering taxes, obstruction of justice, land-deed laws, laws affecting ex-soldiers, incorporations for rivers and road improvements, immigration and the development of agriculture.

ported by independent Republicans and reelected by a majority of 2,363 votes over J. N. Camden, the regular Democratic candidate, in a campaign of caustic personal abuse. He devoted much attention to measures relating to the material development of the State.

The legislature which assembled in January, 1871 had a Democratic majority in both houses, and elected Henry G. Davis to the United States Senate by a vote of 53 against 22 for James H. Brown, the Republican candidate. At this session resolutions were introduced to compel the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company to modify its tariff charges and cease discriminations against the State of West Virginia and its citizens and from that time there was quite an agitation looking to the correction of the evils under which the citizens of the state suffered by reason of such discrimination.

At the session of 1871 the legislature approved a bill submitting to the people the question of calling a Constitutional Convention. At the election held the next year this was ratified by the people, and the Constitutional Convention at Charleston assembled in 1872. Among its members were a large number of the most prominent men of the state.

At the session of the legislature of 1872, among the members elected appeared A. Brooks Fleming of Marion and George C. Sturgiss of Monongalia. The Democrats were in complete control and selected the speaker of the house by a vote of 50 to 5. They were also in complete control of the convention which adopted the new constitution of 1872.

This Constitution provided that all persons residing in the State born or naturalized in the United States and subject to the jurisdiction thereof shall be citizens of the State.

Many of the members of this Convention had been soldiers in the Confederate army and others had sympathized with and aided the South in the War between the States, and they succeeded in having inserted in the new Constitution certain provisions which were intended to prevent a recurrence of the conditions which existed during the years immediately following the war. This accounts for sections 11 and 12 of the bill of rights, which are as follows:

"11. Political tests, requiring persons, as a prerequisite to the enjoyment of their civil and political rights, to purge themselves by their own oaths, of past alleged offenses, are repugnant to the principles of free Government, and are cruel and oppressive. No religious or political test oath shall be required as a prerequisite or qualification to vote, serve as a juror, sue, plead, appeal, or pursue any profession or employment. Nor shall any person be deprived by law, of any right, or privilege, because of any act done prior to the passage of such law.

"12. Standing armies in time of peace, should be avoided, as dangerous to liberty. The military shall be subordinate to the civil power; and no citizen, unless engaged in the military service of the State, shall be tried or punished by any military court for any offence that is cognizable by the civil courts of the State. No soldier shall, in time of peace, be quartered in any house without the consent of the owner; nor in time of war except in the manner to be prescribed by law."

These provisions of section 12 above quoted were invoked forty years later on behalf of some of the striking miners in the Cabin Creek and Paint Creek coal fields, who were arrested under martial law proclaimed by the Governor and held and tried by a Military Court. But the right of the Governor to proclaim martial law and the power of the Military Court to detain and imprison persons charged with offenses within the martial law zone was upheld by a majority of the Court of Appeals notwithstanding these Constitutional provisions, on the ground of necessity.

This constitution also contained the following provision:

"No citizen of this State who aided or participated in the late war between the government of the United States and a part of the people thereof, on either side, shall be liable in any proceeding civil or criminal; nor shall his property be seized or sold under final process issued upon judgments or decrees heretofore rendered, or otherwise, because of any act done in accordance with the usages of civilized warfare in the prosecution of said war. The Legislature shall provide, by general laws, for giving full force and effect to this section." Article 8, Section 20.

The validity of this provision was sustained by the Supreme Court of the United States in the case of Freeland v. Williams, 131 U. S. 405.

Many of the members of this Convention had been deprived of the right to vote by the registrars under the registration law, which was in force after the war, because in many instances they were not able to take the test oaths, and in other instances the power of the registrars was exercised more or less arbitrarily, as it was claimed by them. They sought to prevent such a thing occurring again by a Constitutional provision, and they inserted in the Constitution the following:

"No citizen shall ever be denied nor refused the right and privilege of voting at an election because his name is not or has not been registered or listed as a qualified voter."[2]

[2] The unwisdom of such a constitutional provision became manifest especially to the members of the Democratic party in after years, when the population of the State had become largely increased by great numbers of negroes from Virginia and the other Southern States coming into the mining regions of the State especially in the southern part, and by a large floating population of miners, lumbermen and others engaged in developing the great resources of the State. This class of popula-

At the first election held under the new Constitution, there was a split in the Democratic party. The regular Democratic Convention nominated Johnson N. Camden for Governor. There was dissatisfaction and charges of improper practice in the control of the convention, and Governor John J. Jacob ran as an independent candidate and was supported by the Republican party. Governor Jacob was elected, receiving 42,888 votes, Mr. Camden receiving 40,305. The other candidates on the regular Democratic ticket for State offices were elected, namely: B. W. Byrne, Superintendent of Free Schools; Edward A. Bennett, Auditor; John S. Burdett, Treasurer, and Henry M. Mathews, Attorney-General.

The first legislature under the new Constitution assembled at Charleston November 16, 1872. William M. Miller, of Ohio county, was elected Speaker, receiving 44 votes over William Price, of Monongalia, who received 17 votes. D. D. Johnson, of Tyler county, was elected president of the Senate. The chief work of the session was the modification of the laws to conform to the new constitution which became effective January 1, 1873. A prominent task was the reorganization of the county government. The establishing of the county court system required a revision of nearly all the laws relating to the matters of probate, appointment of guardians, committees, settlements of accounts, recording of deeds and also the laws relating to holding elections.

In 1873, the governor came into serious conflict with the legislature in regard to the appointing power of the executive department and the power of the legislative department to pass the act of January 14, 1873, creating the board of public works with appointive powers. At one time the conflict threatened serious public disturbance. It specifically arose from the action of the board in appointing (under act of April 1, 1873), Mr. William L. Bridges as superintendent of the penitentiary to succeed Thomas P. Shallcross who held the place by appointment of the governor.

Having been duly qualified, the new superintendent in company with the board of directors presented himself at the penitentiary on May 1, the day fixed by law, and formally demanded possession of the place. He and the directors were met at the gate by Mr. Shallcross who refused to admit them; and on being asked the reason of his refusal, he produced a written document signed by the governor "directing him to act as superintendent until further orders." He added that "he had received verbal orders to exclude all persons." Upon the board of directors offering to make their entrance notwithstanding his refusal, Mr. Shallcross warned them by declaring that if they attempted to enter forcibly, he was prepared and resolved to use force on his part to prevent it and to keep them out. At this they retired. A suit was soon instituted before the supreme court of the state on complaint of Mr. Bridges vs. Mr. Shallcross to compel the latter to surrender the penitentiary to the complainant, etc. The design of this action was not so much to decide the contest between the parties in the litigation as to determine whether the acts of the legislature out of which this contest arose were constitutional and valid or unconstitutional and void. The matter came before the court in the July term of 1873. By the judgment rendered, Mr. Shallcross was ousted and by instruction of the governor obeyed the judgment in order to avoid conflict of authority.

During Jacob's administration, prosperity was restricted by lack of a permanent location of the seat of government. To secure greater convenience of access, the capital, which on April 1, 1870, had been removed from Wheeling to Charleston, returned to Wheeling by act of February 20, 1875, which became a law without the signature of the governor.

At the session of the legislature of 1875, Allen T. Caperton was elected United States Senator, after a contest lasting from January 26 to February 17. On the final vote he received 68 votes, R. L. Berk

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tion being more or less migratory, and there being no registration law, it was found that there was no way to prevent them from voting before they had attained citizenship and of repeating at the elections, especially if the election officers were careless or corrupt or intensely partisan in their actions. All good citizens of the State recognized the importance of repealing this Constitutional provision in order to have fair elections, and it was repealed by an amendment submitted by the legislature of 1901, in the following language:

"The legislature shall enact proper laws for the registration of all qualified voters in this State."

shire 14 votes, George M. Thompson 1 vote and C. P. T. Moore 1 vote. During the contest the voting was general and very much scattered, the leading candidates besides Mr. Caperton being Henry S. Walker, Samuel Price and Johnson N. Camden.

In the exciting election of 1876, the Democratic state ticket of eight persons, seven of whom had been in the Confederate army, was elected by a majority of from 1,200 to 16,000. H. M. Mathews, who defeated General Nathan Goff, the popular Republican candidate for governor, was a patriotic, broad and liberal minded ex-Confederate who had fully accepted the results of the Civil war and was well-fitted to lead in meeting living issues. His administration had been characterized as an era of good feeling in which the state began to show new signs of awakening life—especially in industrial development. He adopted a liberal and sensible policy of appointing on administrative boards members from both political parties—a wise policy which unfortunately was abandoned by some of his immediate successors.

THIRD STATE CAPITOL BUILDING, ERECTED BY CITY OF WHEELING, 1875-76

Senator Allen T. Caperton having died, and the term of office of Hon. Henry G. Davis as United States Senator having expired, two Senators were elected at the session of the legislature of 1877. Henry G. Davis was re-elected, receiving 60 votes, Charles J. Faulkner 19 votes, G. D. Camden 3, and John Brannon, B. W. Byrne, John J. Davis and Daniel Lamb 1 vote each. Frank Hereford, of Monroe county, was elected to fill the unexpired term of Mr. Camden. He receiving 70 votes. The chief contest in this Senatorial election was between Hon. Henry G. Davis and Charles J. Faulkner for the long term, and Samuel Price, Frank Hereford and Henry S. Walker for the short term.

The question of West Virginia's portion of the Virginia debt had received more or less attention from time to time since the formation of the state.[3] Virginia, declining to enter into negotiations for settlement of the debt question, issued for one third of her debt certain "West Virginia certificates" which she traded on public exchanges. At the legislative session of 1879, Governor Mathews complained of this arbitrary action of Virginia and urged that any debt due should be recognized and promptly paid.

[3] During the legislative session of 1869, the Virginia Debt, which had been previously debated, again arose, but a consideration of the question was postponed, because of the pending suit of the State of Virginia to recover from West Virginia the counties of Jefferson and Berkeley. It was then claimed that no intelligent conclusion could be reached until the question of sovereignty over these two counties had been determined by the supreme court of the United States.

During Mathews' administration a committee of inquiry investigated the question of discriminating freight rates of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad and reported (January 15, 1879), that the Camden Consolidated Oil Company had received especial advantages by a system of rebates.

At the session of 1879, the question of excessive railroad freights and tariff and discrimination against the State of West Virginia and its citizens by the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad was the subject of an elaborate report both to the Senate and the House of Delegates, and a resolution was adopted providing for a joint committee of the two houses to confer with the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad on this question and the Attorney-General was directed to institute legal proceedings by quo warranto or otherwise against the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad Company for forfeiture of its charter because of these alleged excessive charges and discriminations. This matter became a burning issue in the politics of the State during the years that followed; one of the most active men in the matter of correcting the alleged abuses by the Railroad Companies being the Hon. E. Willis Wilson, then of Jefferson County.

In 1880 there was an election for State officers. The contest for the Democratic nomination for Governor was mainly between Hon. Jacob B. Jackson of Parkersburg and Hon. Charles J. Faulkner of Martinsburg, Mr. Jackson receiving the nomination after a very spirited contest. Mr. Faulkner had been quite prominent in public affairs, being then a member of the House of Representatives, and having been the minister of the United States to France under President Buchanan. Mr. Jackson was a prominent lawyer, a brother of Hon. John J. Jackson, who had been appointed Judge of the United States District Court for West Virginia by President Lincoln, and also of Judge James Monroe Jackson. The Republican nominee for Governor was George C. Sturgiss, of Morgantown. The Greenback party also had a ticket in the field, Napoleon B. French being its candidate for Governor. The Democratic ticket was elected. The vote was as follows: for Governor, Jacob B. Jackson, 60,991 votes; George C. Sturgiss, 44,855 votes, and N. B. French, 13,027 votes. The other state officers elected were Joseph S. Miller, Auditor; Thomas O'Brien, Treasurer; B. L. Butcher, Superintendent of Free Schools, and C. C. Watts, Attorney-General.

Governor Jackson, who succeeded Governor Mathews in 1881, was an honest but partisan Democrat of the old school. He favored the enactment of laws that would encourage immigration, manufactures, and the development of the material resources of the state. He also attempted to secure reforms in taxation and state finance by directing that all property not exempted by the constitution should be listed for taxation, and by the appointment of a tax commission (1883). During his administration, a period of general prosperity and happiness (excepting the calamitous results of the great floods of February, 1884), steps were also taken to revise the laws, some of which were indefinite and inconsistent.

The legislature of 1881 was an important one. The Constitutional amendment changing the judicial system, increasing the Supreme Court of Appeals to four judges, and abolishing County Courts as trial Courts had been submitted by the legislature of 1879 and adopted by the people, and the legislature of 1881 went into an extensive revision of the statutes of the State, and the Acts of 1881 and 1882, Extra Session, constitute almost a complete revision of the statute law of the State, adapting it to the changes in the Constitution and making other important changes.

This legislature extended its session by joint resolution, and met in January, 1882, to consider the report of its revision committee, which sat during the recess. A new phase of the "old sentiment" of our law-makers became apparent in the opposition to the position of president of the University and also to the creation of a law school and a medical school at the University. The session of 1881 created a State board of health to regulate the practice of medicine and surgery, and to require practicing physicians to register, but it provided no funds for the regulation of public health. It also passed a law regulating the practice of pharmacy, but failed to provide funds for this purpose. A conference was held with a "West Virginia Committee" of London, England, which represented holders of West Virginia certificates in Europe. The sentiment of the senate committee of December, '73, was re-affirmed that "West Virginia owes no debt, has no bonds for sale, and asks no credit."

The legislature of 1883 was confronted with important problems. Capital had been pouring in to develop the resources of the state; railroads were being built

through the interior mineral producing counties; new farms were being opened up; mining outputs were greatly increased; the lumber industry had made hitherto valueless lands valuable, and the population had increased, during the past census period, 40%, yet the assessed valuation of personal property in 1871 was greater than that of 1881 by $3,000,000. The total net gain in real and personal property only showed an increase of 5% for this period of ten years. This aroused a tremendous protest against the method of assessing taxable property and showed the necessity for new laws on taxation. The legislature did nothing, however, and the old spirit of class favoritism prevailed and dereliction of revenue officials continued. The callousness of long tenure had become too deeply rooted to be thrown off. Gross land frauds were being perpetuated. Many large bodies of land were offered for sale in eastern cities for ten cents an acre. The deeds, plats, abstracts, seals, etc., for West Virginia lands were being manufactured in New York City. It was urged that laws should be passed prohibiting clerks of courts from certifying titles to forfeited and delinquent lands or giving abstracts of such titles to lands, and that the legislature should investigate, by commissioners, the large tracts of land held under grant from Virginia, determine if they exist and settle the titles, etc., in order to protect legitimate investors. This, however, was not done.

At the sessions of the legislature of 1883 and 1885, there was no very important legislation, but about this time the Supreme Court of Appeals had held in the case of Miller, Auditor, against the Chesapeake & Ohio Railroad Company that the legislature had no power to exempt the property of the Railroad Company, or any other kind of property, from taxation, interpreting strictly the provision of the Constitution of 1872, which provided that taxation should be equal and uniform throughout the State, and Governor Jackson called attention to this decision and the provision of the Constitution and recommended that the laws be amended for the equalization of taxes in accordance with this decision of the Supreme Court, and a commission was appointed to take this whole matter into consideration, the result of which was that the assessment laws were changed and property that had been exempted from assessment was brought upon the tax lists.

An amendment to the Constitution was submitted and adopted about this time, changing the time of the State election from October to November at the date of the national election.

The State election of 1884 was rather a notable one. Hon. E. Willis Wilson made a campaign for the Democratic nomination for Governor, chiefly as an advocate of the correction of the abuses of the railroads of the State in the matters of excessive charges and discriminations against the State of West Virginia and its citizens. His chief opponent for the nomination was Hon. E. Boyd Faulkner, of Martinsburg. Mr. Wilson was nominated; Edwin Maxwell, of Harrison county, being the Republican nominee. The Republican party was gradually gaining in strength throughout the State. The lumber, mining and manufacturing interests of the State were largely in favor of a protective tariff advocated by the Republican party, and there was a large increase of population from adjacent States of Pennsylvania, Ohio and other Northern States, who were engaged in these industries as well as a large number of negroes from the South, who almost uniformly voted the Republican ticket. Mr. Wilson was elected Governor, receiving 71,438 votes to Mr. Maxwell's 66,149.

At the session of 1885, John E. Kenna was elected to the United States Senate to succeed Henry G. Davis, whose term had expired and who declined to stand for re-election. Mr. Kenna had been a member of the House of Representatives and had attained a high position in that body. His principal opponents in the Democratic caucus for the office of United States Senator were William A. Quarrier, of Kanawha, and Henry M. Mathews, of Greenbrier.

Soon after the inauguration of Governor Wilson the capital was removed from Wheeling to Charleston, which became the permanent capital from May 1, 1885 (as determined by popular election of August, 1877). Under Wilson's administration, there was a continuation of the agitation for the revision of the tax laws in order to secure equality of taxation, and the governor also proposed legislation to reform the election laws, to prohibit oppressive trusts and combinations, and to prevent the distribution of railway passes to officers of the state and delegates to political conventions. The administration waged a fierce and relentless war against the trunk line railroads which, the governor said, had discriminated against the people of West Virginia in freight and passenger rates. To secure regulation of railway rates the governor called a special session of the legislature which, after heated debates and a close vote of 19 to 19 in the house (27 absent and not voting), dropped

the further consideration of the subject had decided to await the result of the operation of the new national interstate-commerce law which had just passed Congress and was approved by a joint resolution of both houses of the legislature, and which soon proved beneficial to West Virginia shippers.

Governor Atkinson, writing of that period, over a quarter century later, said:

"A resolution offered in the State senate of 1885 proposed a constitutional amendment to permit the same exemptions from taxation that had been provided by the statutes of former years, but which were now admitted to be clearly unconstitutional. The amendment relating to farm products, salt wells, etc., as herein before stated, had for a bait the further exemption of household and kitchen furniture to the amount of $50. In the case of the Auditor vs. Chesapeake & Ohio Railroad the exemptions heretofore made by the legislature were declared to be unconstitutional by the supreme court of the State; but the legislature of 1883 defeated a proposed law to make this decision effective. This left these unconstitutional laws on the statute books. The governor directed that assessors disregard the illegal exemptions. Many of the assessors refused to obey the order, and a mandamus proceeding was instituted in the supreme court of appeals against the assessor of Brooke county for his refusal to comply therewith, and a peremptory writ of mandamus was issued requiring compliance with the requirements of the constitution. Discussion among the people and the general condemnation of the alleged legalized favoritism shown to classes, served to bring out a large amount of concealed property for taxation, which theretofore had never paid its proper share of taxes. The assessed valuation of real and personal property thereafter increased over twenty million dollars from 1882 to 1883. Such favoritism was appalling, yet in the face of these disclosures, there were members of the legislature of 1885 who proposed to continue such conditions by an amendment to the constitution.

"The results of the aroused sentiment against class legislation, made manifest during the session of 1885, found echo in a similar awakening that greeted the legislature of 1887. The railroads of the state, grown lusty under lax legislative restrictions, were using their franchise privileges to favor or to destroy the shipping classes. For years these public carriers from alleged ulterior motives, had withheld the material development of the state. Freight rates to natural markets were from 25% to 50% higher to the West Virginia shippers than those from far western states. 'Our geographical position should make us a wealthy community but progress had been stifled by exorbitant freight rates and discrimination.' The policy of trunk lines to restrict the building of lateral branches into the wealthy mineral and lumber sections was made possible by applying the 'modern rule of cunning cupidity,' the fixing of rates at 'what the traffic will bear.'

"The new national interstate commerce act was plead in defense of the legislature's failure to act. It was cited that the supreme court of the United States had decided that the states had power to regulate charges within their boundaries, but they could not regulate such charges from within to without."

The session of the legislature of 1887, met in the City of Charleston. John M. Rowan was elected Speaker of the House of Delegates, and George E. Price, President of the Senate.

The most notable matter of this session was a deadlock in the election of a United States Senator. The Democratic members had a safe majority on joint ballot, but twelve of their number refused to go into the Democratic caucus, and in the open session refused to vote for J. N. Camden, whom the Democratic caucus had nominated in their absence, basing their refusal upon allegations of improper and corrupt political methods and manipulation on the part of Mr. Camden. The session was marked by great bitterness on account of this contest, and ended without electing a United States Senator and without passing the general appropriation bill.

The term of Johnson N. Camden as United States Senator expired on March 4, 1887, and as there had been no election of his successor, Governor Wilson, considering that there was a vacancy, which he as governor had the right to fill by appointment, appointed Daniel B. Lucas, who had been one of the twelve members who refused to vote for Mr. Camden, to fill the supposed vacancy.

Governor Wilson, whose administration was crippled and embarrassed by lack of funds resulting from the failure of the general appropriation bill, convened the legislature in extra session on April 20, 1887, specifying the matters to be considered at such extra session, but not naming the election of a United States Senator among the matter so specified. When the extra session convened, the proposition was made to proceed with the election of a United States Senator, but it was opposed on the ground that the legislature at an extra session had no power to enter into any

business except such as was specified in the proclamation of the Governor calling the session. The majority decided by a vote of May 3, that election of a United States Senator is governed and regulated by the Constitution and statutes of the United States and not by the state constitution. After seven ballots without a choice, beginning with Camden and Flick in the lead, Charles J. Faulkner was finally elected on May 5. He received 48 votes, William H. H. Flick, Republican, received 23 votes and there were 10 scattering votes. The senate of the United States afterwards refused to seat Mr. Lucas, but seated Mr. Faulkner, holding that his election was legal and regular although Governor Wilson refused to sign his certificate of election. The extra session passed acts prohibiting the use of free railway passes by public officers and providing for the punishment of corruption and bribery at elections.

At the election in the fall of 1888, A. B. Fleming, of Marion county, was the Democratic nominee for Governor, and Nathan Goff, Jr., of Harrison county, the Republican candidate. The result of the contest was long in doubt.

Among the duties of the legislature which met on January 9, 1889, was the counting of the election returns for governor, transmitted through the secretary of state from every county except Kanawha in which they were held back by an injunction issued by the circuit court on application of the Democratic candidate who thereby would have received a small majority. The injunction having been declared invalid by the supreme court on January 12, the secretary of state on January 14, submitted the Kanawha returns, resulting in a majority of 110 for Goff (Goff, 78,904; Fleming, 78,798). Judge Fleming filed his petition and notice contesting the election of General Goff, and specifying a large number of votes which had been counted for Goff as being illegal. General Goff presented his counter-notice denying the charges of illegal votes contained in Fleming's notice and specifying a large number of votes that were cast for Fleming claimed to be illegal. The Democrats had a small majority on joint ballot, and against the vigorous protest of the Republicans but in accord with the code were able to secure a reference of the complete returns of the gubernatorial election to a joint legislative committee (of two members from the Senate and three from the House), which was authorized to take testimony and report at a special session. The legislature on joint ballot resolved to postpone the publication and declaration of the result of the vote for the office of Governor until the contest could be decided. It adjourned, subject to the call of the Governor after the completion of the Committee's investigation and the preparation of its report upon the evidence.

On February 21, the day preceding the date set for adjournment, the legislature which had a Democrat majority of only one on joint ballot, re-elected John E. Kenna to the United States Senate. This re-election was postponed by C. P. Dorr of Webster county, who, until February 21, refused to enter the Democrat caucus or to agree to vote for Kenna in open session.

Meantime there was a deadlock in the senate which was unable to choose a presiding officer until January 21. After 126 ballots, Robert S. Carr,[4] the Union-Labor senator, aided by the support of one Republican, Senator Minear, held the balance of power in the deadlock,[5] and on the final ballot was elected president.

The legislature having adjourned on February 21, without any declaration of the results, Governor Wilson at the expiration of his term on March 4, claimed the right to retain the office until his successor could be determined and refused to retire at the demand of General Goff who had promptly qualified by taking the oath, or at the

[4] R. S. Carr, of Kanawha county, had been elected as a kind of independent Republican. There were 13 Democratic members and 15 Republican members, including Senator Carr, and Senator Minear (from Tucker County). Both Carr and Minear refused to go into the Republican caucus. The Senate balloted from January 9, until January 21, and on the last day elected R. S. Carr President of the Senate.

[5] Such deadlocks resulted from the failure of the Constitution to provide for a lieutenant-governor.

demand of Robert S. Carr, the president of the senate, who also claimed the office and demanded to enter upon its duties.

Mandamus proceedings in the state supreme court were at once begun against Governor Wilson by the other two claimants. The case of General Goff was decided on March 12, the court holding that the joint legislative convention of the legislature alone had power to determine the result of an election, and that General Goff was not the legal governor. The case of President Carr was decided on March 14, the court declaring that there existed in the office no such vacancy as under the constitution would authorize the president of the senate to succeed to the duties of the governor.

The legislature was re-convened in extra session January 15, 1890, for the purpose of determining the contested election and other purposes mentioned in the proclamation of the governor. The committee presented both a majority and a minority report—the majority report being signed by the members of the committee elected by the House of Delegates (who were Democrats), and the minority by the members elected by the Senate (who were Republicans). The majority reported in favor of declaring Fleming elected and the minority in favor of Goff.[6] Ten hours was allowed to the contestants or their counsel on each side to argue their case before the joint assembly. Then, six hours each was allowed to the majority and minority members of the contest to discuss the matters involved in the report. After these arguments had been presented, the members of the legislature discussed the matter at some length. Although many votes from different counties were attacked as illegal the main allegations of fraudulent voting related to McDowell and Mercer counties. It was claimed on behalf of Fleming, the contestant, that several hundred votes were cast by negroes in the counties of McDowell and Mercer, who had not resided in the State a sufficient length of time to give them the right to vote; that the evidence showed that the Norfolk & Western Railroad had been quite recently built into that section and coal mines opened there, and that these negroes, who were charged to have voted illegally, had come into those counties from Virginia and the Southern States, within the year before the election, and that many of them were mere migratory transitory miners with no fixed habitation. The pay-rolls of the coal companies and other kinds of evidence were used to show when these men were first employed in that section. On behalf of the contestee it was claimed that the evidence of these facts was insufficient; that there was no direct and positive evidence as to the illegality of these votes and as to the time of their residence in the State sufficient to justify throwing them out. Upon the final vote in the joint assembly upon the resolution declaring A. B. Fleming duly elected to the office of Governor, there were 43 ayes, and 40 noes, and so A. B. Fleming was declared elected Governor for the term beginning March 4, 1889.

There was much of feeling and bitterness in this contest. The Republicans claimed that General Goff had been improperly deprived of the office to which he was elected. The Democrats tried to justify their action, charging gross frauds on the part of the Republicans in the election, maintaining that the evidence was abundant as to these frauds, and that by the most liberal count Fleming had a substantial majority of the legal votes cast.

Nearly a whole year of the term of Governor Fleming had expired before this contest was decided. Meantime Governor Wilson continued to occupy and exercise the duties of the office of Governor.

The governor in his biennial message of 1889 emphasized the need of a registration law to remedy the fraudulent and corrupt voting

[6] The joint committee completed its work in December. The majority report declared, by counting out 300 votes, a plurality of 237 for Fleming. This was signed by the three Democratic members. The minority report found no such frauds as charged by the majority, and gave a plurality of 140 to Goff. On December 18, Governor Wilson issued his proclamation calling an extra session for January 15. At this session the majority report, by a strictly party vote, was accepted and Fleming was declared elected.

which had been common in almost every county in the state.[7] In 1890, following the charges of bribery and fraud made by each party in the contested gubernatorial election, the special session of the legislature (called to consider thirty-seven specified subjects) enacted a law designed to prevent the purchase of votes, or other forms of bribery at elections, and to prevent ballot box frauds. The Senate voted for an Australian ballot bill, which failed in the house (Democratic).

Governor Atkinson, over two decades later, in writing of the conditions of this period, said:

The theory of our government was being undermined by election frauds and the corrupting influences of money. Influenced by conditions, pertinent to the time, the constitutional convention of 1872 provided that no citizen should ever be denied the right to vote because he had not been registered. It prohibited the legislature from ever authorizing any registration board of any character. Under the new system gross wrongs were perpetrated and election crimes consummated. It practically meant no restriction as to who should vote in districts which were under control of the political corruptionists. Public sentiment, being quickened by the palpableness of the wrongs about them, demanded a constitutional amendment authorizing registration of those justly entitled to the elective franchise—an amendment not secured until 1901. The demand for various reforms became increasingly insistent. The legislature at a special session in 1890 was asked to pass laws fixing maximum rates on railroads in the state; to correct abuses; to enact "no pass" laws; to fix liability for wrongful acts; to limit railroad labor; to restrict real estate to be owned by corporations in the state; to pass a corrupt practice act and to regulate nominations and elections; to punish frauds at elections; to secure the registration of legal voters; to enact anti-trust laws; to prevent fraudulent entry of lands on land books; to purify the jury system; to revise text-book laws, and regulate many other undesirable conditions then existing. For a considerable period most of these demands fell upon apparently deaf ears.

Governor Fleming continued the policy of his predecessor, who as a result of the contest had continued to act as executive for nearly a year beyond the term for which he was elected. He urged the taxation of the property of the Pullman company and other foreign car companies, and the business of foreign telegraph companies originating in the state. He also recommended a general policy of legislation to preserve the resources of the state from monopoly, to foster agricultural interests and to diversify the various industries of the state. The Democrats still retained a considerable majority in the House of Delegates, although the Senate was Republican, and Democratic majorities at the state elections were decreasing.

At the election held in November, 1892, for State officers, William A. MacCorkle, of Kanawha county, received for the office of Governor 84,585 votes; Thomas E. Davis, the Republican candidate, receiving 80,663. The Democratic candidates for the other State offices were elected as follows: Auditor, Isaac B. Johnson; Treasurer, J. M. Rowan; Superintendent of Free Schools, Virgil A. Lewis, and Attorney-General, Thomas S. Riley.

The legislature of 1893 at its regular session elected to the United States Senate two Democrats—Charles J. Faulkner to succeed himself, and Johnson N. Camden to fill out the unexpired term of Senator John E. Kenna who had died in office. It adjourned without passing the general appropriation bill, thus necessitating the immediate call of a special session.

Governor MacCorkle who defeated the Republican candidate by a plurality of about 4,000 was a liberal progressive young man who urged legislation for the adjustment of state taxation, liberal appropriations to support the growing institutions of the state, and proper regulative machinery to meet the changing conditions. He cordially cooperated with the spirit of the Republican legislature in favoring reorganizing the old partisan boards of state institutions and securing needed reforms "to give to the institutions the greatest degree of efficiency free from the influence of politics."

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[7] "The capitations of 1884 were 133,522; and the entire vote after the most active political campaign ever made in the state was 137,527. The capitations of 1888 were 147,408, and the vote 159,440. The difference in the capitations and the vote in 1884 was 4,065. In 1888 it was 12,032. This shows an increase (in four years) of 21,853 votes—which, if legitimate, would indicate a population of 900,000, and an increase in four years of much more than 100,000. It is certain that no such increase had taken place."

To the legislature of 1895, Governor MacCorkle submitted a special message accompanied by communication from the Governor of Virginia announcing the appointment of a Commission of six under a joint resolution of the General Assembly of Virginia to take into consideration the settlement of West Virginia's portion of the Virginia debt, and in connection with this communication the House of Delegates ordered to be printed the report of the Virginia Debt Commission of 1871. The resolution providing for the appointment of a Commission to take into consideration all matters pertaining to the Virginia debt was not acted upon, but a resolution was adopted to the effect that the legislature declined to enter into any negotiation with the Debt Commissioners or Commission appointed under a joint resolution of the General Assembly of Virginia looking to a settlement of the Virginia debt question on the basis set forth in said joint resolution. This resolution was unanimously adopted by the House and was also adopted by the Senate.

3. Later Republican Ascendency. The Democratic majority which had reached its highest point in 1880, had steadily declined after that date until it became the minority at the close of MacCorkle's administration. By 1895, the Republicans had a majority in both branches of the legislature, and thereby elected Stephen B. Elkins to the United States Senate. In the election of 1896, the entire Republican state ticket was elected. George W. Atkinson defeated Cornelius C. Watts for governor by a plurality of 12,070 votes (Atkinson, 105,629; Watts, 93,559).

At the legislative session of 1899, although the Democrats had a majority in the House of Delegates, the Republicans had a majority in the Senate, and by unseating temporarily one of the Democratic Senators secured a majority on joint ballot in the Joint Assembly which resulted in the election of Nathan B. Scott, of Ohio county to the United States Senate. Scott received 48 votes; John T. McGraw, the Democratic caucus nominee, received 46 votes; and Nathan Goff one vote.

Governor Atkinson advocated policies for the improvement of the public schools, the improvement of roads by some system of permanent road building, the improvement of conditions of labor by state regulations, a radical amendment of the election laws, the encouragement of immigration, and other measures to meet the new and phenomenal industrial expansion in the state which continued to influence political problems and policies in subsequent administration.

In the election of 1900 Albert B. White, Republican, defeated John Homer Holt for governor by a plurality of 19,516 (White 118,798; Holt, 100,228).

The Republicans had a majority in the legislature in both houses and elected to the United States Senate Stephen B. Elkins, by a vote of 61 against 23 votes cast for John T. McGraw, the Democratic candidate.

In 1904 William M. O. Dawson, Republican, defeated J. J. Cornwell by a plurality of 9,083 (Dawson, 121,540; Cornwell, 112,457). At the same time the plurality for President was nearly 32,000 and for other state officers was nearly 25,000. The legislature, which had a considerable Republican majority in each house, re-elected Senator N. B. Scott to the United States Senate by a vote of 58 against 23 votes cast for John T. McGraw.

Under both White and Dawson the extension of state regulation and the reform of tax laws furnished the largest questions in politics.

In 1901 the legislature submitted to the people for ratification five proposed amendments to the constitution all of which were approved. The first was to make the office of the secretary of state elective; the second to fix the salaries of governor, secretary of state, state superintendent of free schools, treasurer, auditor and attorney-general, and provided that all fees of these offices should go into the state treasury; 3rd, to increase the number of judges of the supreme court of appeals from four to five; 4th, to limit the accumulation of the permanent and invested school fund to one million dollars, all excesses to go to the general school fund, and 5th, to authorize the registration of voters.

At the session of the legislature of 1901, Governor White was authorized to appoint a Commission to draft bills for the revision of the tax assessment and revenue laws. Under this bill the Governor appointed J. K. Thompson, L. J. Williams, W. P. Hubbard, H. G. Davis and John H. Holt. This Commission made an elaborate report and recommendations to the legislature of 1903, but no action was taken at the regular session on the report. Governor White convened the legislature in extra session on July 26, 1904, for the purpose, among other things, of considering the bills prepared by this Commission, and at this extra session bills were passed revising the manner of assessment for taxes.

For a quarter of a century, although the constitution provided that taxation should be equal and uniform throughout the state, there was much complaint of the inequalities and injustice of the tax laws. A tax commission created by the legislature of 1883 had scathingly criticized and condemned the laws, but without practical results. Although in 1885 the legislature, which had never before exercised its powers under the constitution of 1872 to tax privileges and franchises, finally enacted a law taxing corporations, little was realized from it. In 1887 it provided for an inheritance tax (2½%), but a defect in the law rendered it of little value. The first substantial reform in the old laws was made by the legislature of 1901 which largely increased the revenue from license taxes in charters of corporations (regulating the rate according to the amount of authorized capital) and created a tax commission to submit plans for further reforms. In 1904 the legislature at a special session created the office of state tax commissioner and enacted a system of twenty-one tax laws which greatly lessened inequalities and practically provided for the extinguishment of direct taxes for the support of the state government after 1906.

In the message of Governor Dawson to the legislature of 1907, he urged a revision of the tax laws so that all property would be taxed at its true and actual value, and that all kinds of property would be brought upon the tax books. These views which entered largely into the political campaigns about this time, were finally enacted into laws and the valuation of property was largely increased, but it was found necessary to pass stringent restrictions upon the levying bodies such as the county courts, boards of education and city governments, to prevent excessive burdens. Although these reforms were strongly opposed, it is generally recognized that with some modifications the reform policy will eventually be sustained and continued.

An extra session of the legislature was called by Governor Dawson, January, 1908, mainly to revise the assessments and license laws, and also to limit the levying bodies in the amount and rate of levies for taxation, and to amend the election laws.

The legislature of 1908 submitted two amendments of the constitution to the people, and both failed of ratification. One was intended to increase the compensation of members of the county courts, and the other to grant the right to women to hold appointive offices. This legislature also cured certain defects in the new tax laws. Under these modern laws the assessed valuation of property continued to increase.

Among other laws proposed in the legislature of 1909 was one authorizing the Governor to remove subordinate officials for neglect of duty. Some direct control over such officials, who under the law could be removed only by impeachment for gross misconduct, seemed absolutely necessary in order to secure efficiency and proper enforcement of the law. In some counties the neglect of county officials in regard to the enforcement of the law was regarded as serious. The constitution required the Governor to see that all laws of the state are properly enforced, and yet no statute had ever been enacted by the legislature to make this constitutional provision effective.

The Republicans steadily increased in number and influence with the great industrial development of the State, which was accompanied by a rather large and continuous immigration from North and Northwest, the fading of old traditions and the rise of new issues. In the face of their increasing strength, however, they endangered their prospect of success at the polls in 1908 by party dissensions which resulted in two opposing state organizations of the party and two gubernatorial tickets.[8] On the other hand it is stated that the Democratic state convention on July 30, 1908, weakened the chances of the Democratic state ticket by committing the party (by a vote of 712 against 411) to negro disfranchisement and "Jim Crow" cars. Within a month of the election, the Republicans, by agreeing to the withdrawal of rival gubernatorial candidates and the selection of W. E. Glasscock as the new head for their ticket, succeeded in electing their entire state ticket. Glasscock's

[8] There had been serious charges of gross frauds in the primary conventions and primary elections in connection with the nominations of the Republican party for State officers, and when the Republican State Convention met in 1908 to nominate a State ticket there was a split in the convention. The regular convention nominated Charles W. Swisher for Governor, and a large number of delegates, who withdrew from that convention into another hall, nominated Arnold C. Scherr for Governor.

plurality over Louis Bennett, the Democratic candidate, was nearly 12,000 (Glasscock, 130,807; Bennett, 118,674). The Prohibition candidate received 4,967 votes and the Socialist candidate, 3,308. For Presidential electors the Republican plurality over the Democratic electors was over 26,000.

Republican strength was for some time considerably affected by the dissension. In 1911 the Democrats had a majority in the house of delegates, and were able to elect two United States Senators. In the joint assembly the Republican members absented themselves and refused to vote. On the vote in joint assembly for the long term, William E. Chilton received 71 votes, 4 votes scattering. For the short term Clarence W. Watson received 70 votes, 7 votes scattering.

In 1913 the Republicans had control of the legislature, but could not agree upon either of the three candidates—Davis Elkins, Isaac T. Mann and Seymour Edwards. To break the deadlock they finally agreed upon Judge Nathan Goff, who was not a candidate, and who was elected without any attempt to secure the place.

The beginning of Glasscock's administration was marked by a more centralized management of the finances of state institutions through the agency of a newly created board of control which, by liberal principles of economy, reduced much waste of expenditure. In the latter part of his term the most prominent public question was the prohibition amendment which was submitted by the legislature and ratified by popular vote in the elections of 1912. Near its close, his administration was called to face difficult problems connected with the strike precipitated by general mining conditions on Paint creek and Cabin creek in Kanawha county—resulting in the first declaration of martial law in the State and the appointment of a commission of investigation which recommended various legislative remedial reforms for the conservation of life, health and happiness, and for the general welfare. The difficulties of the serious situation indicated that the executive should be vested with definite authority to compel local peace officers in disturbed districts to perform their duties under the law and with power to remove or suspend officers who refuse to fail to execute the law. In his last message, characterized by many progressive recommendations and suggestions to secure popular government and the proper conservation of resources and control of public utilities, to prevent lobbying and corruption in politics, to give labor its just compensation and to abolish the iniquitous fee system by a suitable county salary law, he emphasized the need of a constitutional convention to meet new conditions of rapid industrial development and especially mentioned the need of a provision for the initiative and referendum and propriety of a provision for woman's suffrage.

Although time for deliberation on important public business was much abbreviated by a critical deadlock in the senate delaying the choice of a presiding officer, and by the attention given to the all absorbing contest between candidates for United States senatorship, the legislature of 1913 enacted several very important laws—including a law for the creation of a public service commission, a workman's compensation law, a law for regulation and supervision of investment companies, and provision for State regulation and control of the water power of the State. A bill to regulate weights and measures passed the House but died in the Senate. It was revived at the next session and became a law.

Among the factors contributing to the improvement of legislative conditions, and preparing the way for progressive legislation, was the prompt conviction of five members of the legislature for soliciting and receiving bribes of money in connection with the lavish expenditures of senatorial condidates seeking to capture votes in the election of a United States senator. In consigning to the penitentiary a group of political exploiters and mercenaries who, against the repute of the state, plotted a revival or a continuance of corrupt practices no longer condoned by an awakened public conscience (and generally condemned by a better code of political morals), the court at Webster Springs performed a wholesome service to the state. Fortunately for the welfare of West Virginia, which recently has achieved more than its share of distasteful notoriety, the machinery for exposing this disgraceful plot, the officials with courage to prosecute the offenders, and discerning juries and

a fearless and determined judge, were not lacking. The result was a necessary duty well done, and a notice served in the most salutary manner that bribe takers at the state capitol cannot safely expect to escape justice. The incident probably had a decided influence for the improvement of political methods.

In the election of 1912, although the Democrats carried the State for presidential electors, the Progressive-Republican combination elected the entire state ticket led by Dr. H. D. Hatfield. In his inaugural address Governor Hatfield indicated that his administration would promote a program of progressive principles, and this purpose was reflected in various laws proposed and enacted.

The legislature of 1915 enacted a new blue sky law, a primary election law, and amended the law relating to the registration of voters. It also provided for the enforcement of prohibition, the enlargement of the powers of the public service commission, the administration of workmen's compensation. It created a state department of health, a state bureau of labor, and also a new Virginia debt commission.

Among the most important measures enacted by the legislature of 1917 were a law providing for better protection of judges against personal violence, an amended election law, a plan for double election boards (one to receive the votes, another to count them), a law authorizing the department of mines to make regulations necessary to secure safe and sanitary working conditions in the mines, a mechanics' lien law, a law prohibiting "bucket shops" and a law creating a bureau of markets. The legislation in February failed to make provisions for the payment of the portion of the Virginia debt for which it became responsible by the decision of the United States Supreme Court. It resolved not to pay the money until the court had heard the testimony of the late legislators on Virginia's motion of a writ of mandamus to compel payment of the amount ($12,393,029).

Meantime, the election of November, 1916, had resulted in a victory for John J. Cornwell, the Democratic candidate for Governor. The failure of the Republican party to elect its gubernatorial candidate was due to factional differences within the party, the outgrowth of the primary, at which Attorney-General A. A. Lilly was defeated for the nomination by Judge Ira E. Robinson, who had retired from the state supreme court to become the nominee. The other Republican candidates for state offices were elected, and Howard Sutherland (who had been Republican congressman-at-large) was elected to the United States Senate as the successor of William E. Chilton. The legislature was divided against itself, the Senate being Republican by a majority of 10, and the House Democratic by a majority of 10.

Apparently Governor Hatfield assumed that his successor as soon as inducted into office "would embark upon a reign of ruthless decapitations." Immediately after the election he called a special session of the legislature. In his call he explained that the special session was necessary to block efforts of the Democratic party to have their successful candidate for Governor unseat all Republicans elected to state office. Although Governor-elect Cornwell denied the existence of such a plot, the legislature passed measures restricting any executive power which might jeopardize the position of the officers appointed by his predecessor, or chosen by the people. These measures prescribed the manner in which members of state boards, chiefs of state departments, or other officers with terms fixed by law, might be removed from office by the Governor; but made removal almost impossible by requiring the Governor to file written charges and prosecute the case before himself and by allowing the defendant to appeal to the supreme court of appeal to set aside any decision for removal.[9] It was rumored that this session would take away the next Governor's appointive powers, but the proposed bill was never presented.

Governor Cornwell, feeling that even if the court should sustain the executive "through statutory interference with a purely executive matter" the appointee

[9] Before adjournment the special session amended the state election law so that in the future no man could vote unless he had registered at least two days before the election.

might still appeal to the state senate, concluded that the Governor would "probably be out of office if not dead" before he could complete the removal of a faithless or inefficient official. At the close of his administration, in his last official message to the legislature, he said:

"I recommend the repeal of the statute. It has served its purpose. It was conceived in political hate, and passed by a Legislature whose members failed to understand my aims. It is of doubtful constitutionality, and does violence to the decent amenities that should exist between the several departments of the State Government, as it attempts to drag the judiciary and legislative branches into a purely executive function. It seeks to rob the Governor of the right to correct his own mistakes. It is a disgrace to the State, standing upon the statute books, a relic of a political period in West Virginia which is gone, let us hope, never to return, and which it is well to forget—a period when partisanship was above patriotism. I have sought to aid in ushering in a new era, one in which service will be paramount. In furtherance of that I strongly advise the repeal of the act, firm in the belief that my successor will not need the restraint of such an odious law."

Immediately following this recommendation the legislature on April 8, 1921, enacted a law authorizing the governor to remove from office at his pleasure without the necessity of a statement of the case, and whether tenure was fixed by law or not, all officers or employes serving under executive appointment.

Governor Cornwell's administration was largely devoted to the problems of the period of the World war and the period of reconstruction. In State affairs its most prominent achievements were the elimination of partisanship from the conduct of State affairs and the adoption of a budget amendment to the State constitution. The making of the budget was imposed upon the Board of Public Works instead of upon the Governor as originally and logically proposed. The most important legislation of his administration included a general school law (1919), an annual privilege tax on the transportation of crude oil and natural gas by pipe lines (extra session, 1919), provision for payment of West Virginia's part of the Virginia debt before 1861 (1919), creation of the department of public safety (1919), creation of a child welfare commission and a sinking fund commission (extra session of 1920), establishment of a new state board of education with enlarged powers (1921), creation of a state road commission, provision for an issue of road bonds, and a gross sales tax.

In September, 1919, Governor Cornwell was successful in preventing an attempted march of armed miners (from the Kanawha to Logan county) and thus probably prevented a conflict of arms in Logan.

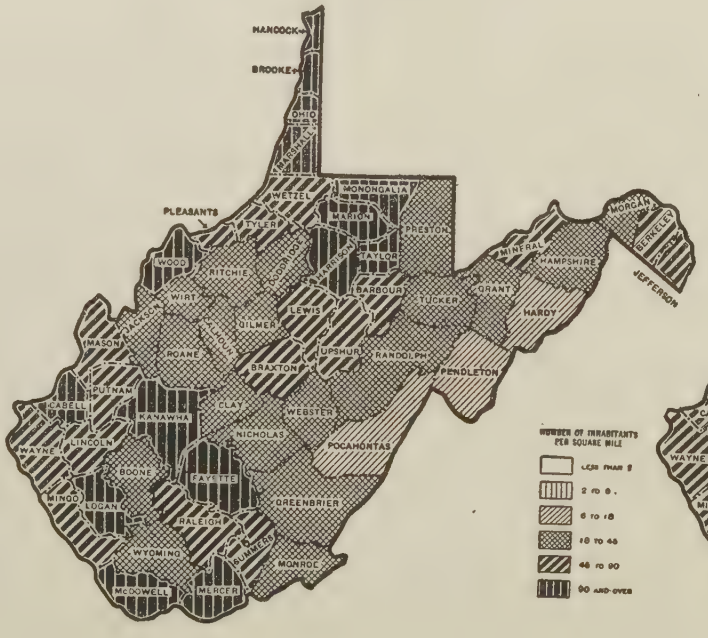
In the election of 1920 the Republican strength was again weakened by division. Judge Ephraim Franklin Morgan was recognized as the regular nominee of the party. Although, according to the official count of the vote in the primary election, he defeated Samuel B. Montgomery for the nomination, Montgomery, claiming irregularities in several counties, became an independent candidate and was especially favored by a large labor element. Arthur B. Koontz was candidate of the Democrat party. Morgan was elected by a safe majority.

In the first year of his administration Governor Morgan was confronted by three difficult problems which required the larger part of his attention. One, arising from attempts of the United Mine Workers to unionize the Logan county mines, and the subsequent danger of a conflict of arms between rival forces, was finally adjusted by the efforts of a body of Federal troops sent by order of President Harding after repeated requests of the Governor. Another, the selection of a site for the new capitol building to replace the old one which was destroyed by fire in January, 1921, was settled by January, 1922, by a decision of a special committee to locate the new building at a higher point on the Kanawha about two miles above the site of the old one. The third was the problem of securing sufficient revenues from the new tax law enacted largely through the personal efforts of the Governor and containing a gross sales feature which, in the period of reduced coal production in 1921, disappointed the expectations of its advocates. The Governor early in 1922 expressed confidence in the ultimate success of the measure, after the return of normal business conditions, and evidently expected to borrow money for immediate needs in order to avoid the necessity of a special session of the legislature.

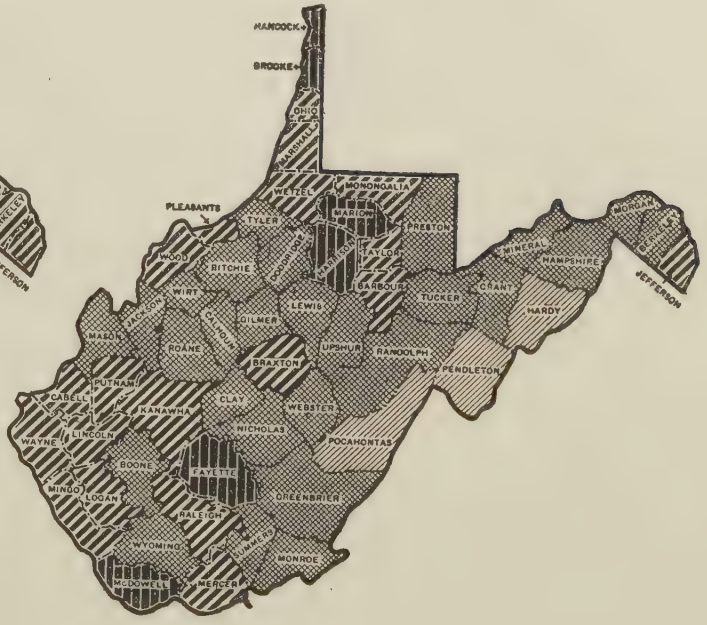
DENSITY OF POPULATION OF WEST VIRGINIA, BY COUNTIES: 1920.

Rural population is defined as that residing outside of incorporated places having 2,500 inhabitants or more.

TOTAL POPULATION.



RURAL POPULATION.



CHAPTER XXXIII

SOCIAL AND INSTITUTIONAL HISTORY

The rapidly expanding industrial development greatly changed the social life and institutions of the State, and necessitated the expansion of the functions of government to solve the new problems resulting from immigration, methods of exploitation of resources, growth of towns and improvements in communication.

Growth of population, larger organization of business, new conditions of labor, and closer community life awakened new responses—expressed in expanding schools and churches, and in new regulatory and protective legislation to promote the general social welfare.

Population

The character of the population has greatly changed since the Civil war. The original settlers, whose ancestors were generally English or Scotch Irish or perhaps Pennsylvania German, were contented with a life of rural simplicity and hospitality whose economy was in many cases mere subsistence. Their descendants usually lived amiably with their neighbors, maintained their urbanity and self possession in the presence of strangers and, beyond the efforts necessary to secure the necessaries of life, were often disposed to leave improvement of things to time and chance. Always possessing intellect and sagacity capable of high development under favorable conditions, they have gradually responded to the progressive spirit of enterprise and of the strenuous life which received its greatest impulse from immigration from other states and from the increased opportunities for communication and intermingling of the people. The development of the vast resources, especially in coal and oil, has caused a large influx of population, at first largely average American citizens from Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia and Ohio, and later an increasing number of foreigners from Europe.

According to the census of 1880, a considerable number of residents of the State were of foreign parents: 42,770 had both father and mother foreign; 11,776 had foreign fathers but native mothers; 3,740 had foreign mothers but native fathers. A tendency, especially of the Irish, to marry with the natives was indicated. While there were 9,474 persons who had both an Irish father and an Irish mother, there were 4,320 who had an Irish father and an American mother.

The steady increase of foreign born population of West Virginia by five-year periods for two decades after 1890 is indicated as follows:

1891-95	2,408
1896-1900	3,432
1901-05	10,882
1906-April, 1910	22,652

Of the total native population of the State in 1880 (600,192), 397,267 were born in West Virginia, 135,509 in Virginia, 27,535 in Ohio, 18,841 in Pennsylvania, 8,114 in Maryland, 4,360 in Kentucky, and 1,565 in New York. Of those living in the State in 1890 but born in other states, 100,650 were born in Virginia, 31,601 in Ohio, 17,143 in Pennsylvania, 7,425 in Maryland, and 15,100 in other states. Of those born in West Virginia but resident elsewhere, 18,719 resided in

Ohio, 9,969 in Pennsylvania, 6,627 in Kansas, 5,134 in Missouri, 4,375 in Maryland, 3,807 in Illinois, 3,034 in Virginia, nearly 3,000 in Iowa, nearly 3,000 in Nebraska, and a slightly smaller number in Indiana and Kentucky.

Of the population of the State in 1900, 61,508 were born in Virginia, 40,301 were in Ohio, 28,927 in Pennsylvania, 10,867 in Kentucky, 9,608 in Maryland, and 3,964, in North Carolina. Of those born in West Virginia and residing in other states in 1900, 30,524 were born in Ohio, 19,329 in Pennsylvania, 9,694 in Maryland, 7,162 in Virginia, 6,568 in Kansas, 6,153 in Missouri, 5,862 in Illinois, 4,658 in Indiana, 4,383 in Kentucky, 3,922 in Iowa and 2,419 in Nebraska.

Of those living in the State in 1910 but born in other states, 83,532 were born in Virginia, 46,814 in Ohio, 38,744 in Pennsylvania, 19,263 in Kentucky, 11,467 in Maryland, 9,174 in North Carolina, 3,501 in New York, 2,241 in Tennessee, and 2,550 in Indiana. Of those born in West Virginia living in other states, 50,547 resided in Ohio, 26,665 in Pennsylvania, 12,958 in Maryland, 12,957 in Virginia, 7,580 in Illinois, 7,136 in Kentucky, 6,607 in Kansas, 6,330 in Missouri, 5,940 in Oklahoma, and 5,194 in Indiana.

The population far more than trebled in the fifty years from 1860-1910. It increased from 376,688 in 1860 to 422,014 in 1870, to 618,457 in 1880, to 762,794 in 1890, to 958,800 (499,242 males and 459,558 females) in 1900, and to 1,221,119 (644,044 males and 577,075 females) in 1910. In 1869 and early in 1870 erroneous reports represented that the population and wealth of the State was decreasing. The census of 1870 showed that while there was a general increase of over 20 per cent in the population of the state, there was a slight decrease in a few counties. There was a decrease of 794 in Greenbrier, 752 in Hampshire and Hardy combined, 615 in Marion, 169 in Nicholas, and 30 in Brooke. All the other counties showed an increase and every county at each census after 1870 until 1910 continued to show an increase. In the decade from 1890 to 1900 the population increased over 24 per cent. The counties in which it increased most rapidly were McDowell (156.8 per cent), Tucker (108 per cent), Webster (85 per cent), Clay (77 per cent), Marion (56.5 per cent), Fayette (55.7 per cent), Tyler (52.6 per cent) and Randolph (51.9 per cent). The counties in which the population increased most slowly were Jefferson (2.5 per cent), Hampshire (3.4 per cent), Berkeley (4.1 per cent), Pendleton (5.2 per cent), Monroe (5.6 per cent), Mineral (6.6 per cent), Lewis (6.8 per cent) and Grant (7 per cent).

Of the population in 1900 the colored numbered 43,567 (including 56 Chinese and 12 Indians). The negroes were located principally in Berkeley, Cabell, Fayette, Greenbrier, Harrison, Jefferson, Kanawha, McDowell, Mineral, Ohio and Summers. Of the 247,970 males of voting age, only 14,786 were negroes. Of the illiterate voters 23,577 (11 per cent) were white and 5,583 (38 per cent) were black. The foreign born numbered 22,451 (principally Germans, Irish, Italians, English and Scotch), located principally in Marion, Marshall, Ohio, Tucker and Wood counties. Excluding foreigners, the larger number of immigrants came from Virginia (61,508), Ohio (40,301) and Pennsylvania (28,927).

After 1900 the immigration greatly increased, especially in the mining and manufacturing regions of the northern and southern parts of the state. The rapidity of the growth of towns may be illustrated by Morgantown, whose population increased from less than 2,000 in 1900 to 10,000 within the city limits in 1910. In the decade from 1900 to 1910, the population of the state increased over 27 per cent. It increased most rapidly in the following counties: McDowell (155.3 per cent), Logan (108.1 per cent), Raleigh (106.1 per cent), Harrison (74.7 per cent), Pocahontas (72 per cent), Mingo (71.1 per cent), Mercer (66.7 per cent), Fayette (62.3 per cent), Cabell (59.6 per cent), Hancock (56.4 per cent), Nicholas (55.2 per cent), Brooke (53.7 per cent), Kanawha (48.9 per cent), Randolph (47.3 per cent), Tucker (39 per cent), Lincoln (32.8 per cent). In the following counties there was a

decrease: Pleasants (13.6 per cent), Wirt (12 per cent), Tyler (11.2 per cent), Jackson (8.8 per cent), Doddridge (7.4 per cent), Ritchie (5.4 per cent), Mason (4.7 per cent), Gilmer (3.3 per cent,) Hampshire (.9 per cent), Monroe (.6 per cent), Jefferson (.3 per cent).

It will be observed that the area of decreasing population includes some of the best agricultural counties of the state—indicating the demand for better roads and other improvements of rural conditions which will stimulate increased local production of the food materials now too largely imported for consumption within the cities and towns of the state.

The composition and characteristics of the population, as shown by the statistics of the census of 1910, present some interesting features:

Color and nativity.—Of the total population of West Virginia, 1,156,817, or 94.7 per cent, were whites, and 64,173, or 5.3 per cent, negroes. The corresponding percentages in 1900 were 95.5 and 4.5. In 42 of the 55 counties less than 5 per cent of the population were negroes; in only 4 counties did the proportion of negroes exceed 12.5 per cent, the maximum percentage (30.6), being that for McDowell county.

Native whites of native parentage constituted 85.3 per cent of the total population of the state, and 90.1 per cent of the white population. Native whites of foreign or mixed parentage and foreign-born whites each constituted only 4.7 per cent of the total population.

Of the urban [1] population, 74.8 per cent were native whites of native parentage; of the rural, 87.8 per cent. The corresponding proportions for native whites of foreign or mixed parentage were 11.6 and 31 per cent respectively. The percentage of foreign-born whites was 6.9 in the urban population and 4.2 in the rural; the percentage of negroes was 6.7 in the urban and 4.9 in the rural.

Sex.—In the total population of the state there were 644,044 males and 577,075 females, or 111.6 males to every 100 females. In 1900 the ratio was 108.6 to 100. Among the whites there were 110.5 males to 100 females; among the negroes, 132.8. Among native whites the ratio was 106.1 to 100, as compared with 261.8 to 100 for the foreign-born whites. In the urban population there were 104.2 males to 100 females, and in the rural, 113.4.

State of birth.—Of the native population—population born in the United States—80 per cent were born in West Virginia and 20 per cent outside the state; of the native white population, 17.8 per cent were born outside the state, and of the native negro, 57.6 per cent. Persons born outside the state constitute a larger proportion of the native population in urban than in rural communities.

Foreign nationalities.—Of the foreign-born white population of West Virginia, persons born in Italy represent 30.3 per cent; Austria, 14.6; Germany, 11.1; Hungary, 10.4; Russia, 9; England, 6.1; Ireland, 4; Scotland, 1.9; all other countries, 12.5. Of the total white stock of foreign origin, which included persons born abroad and also natives having one or both parents born abroad, Germany contributed 21.7 per cent; Italy, 18.5; Ireland, 11.5; Austria, 9.5; England, 9; Hungary, 6.6; Russia, 6.4; Scotland, 2.9.

Voting and militia ages.—The total number of males 21 years of age and over was 338,349, representing 27.7 per cent of the population. Of such males 93.2 per cent were white and 6.7 per cent negroes. Native whites represented 83 per cent of the total number and foreign-born whites 10.3 per cent. Of the 34,687 foreign-born white males of voting age, 7,263, or 20.9 per cent, were naturalized. Males of militia age—18 to 44—numbered 275,048.

Age.—Of the total population, 13.8 per cent were under 5 years of age, 22.8 per cent from 5 to 14 years, inclusive, 20.2 per cent from 15 to 24, 27.4 per cent from 25 to 44, and 15.5 per cent 45 years of age and over. The foreign-born white population comprised comparatively few

[1] Urban population, as defined by the Bureau of the Census, includes that of all incorporated places of 2,500 inhabitants or more, the remainder being classified as rural.

children, only 6.9 per cent being under 15 years of age, while 69.9 per cent were 25 years of age and over. Of the native whites of native parentage 40.9 per cent were 25 and over, and of the negroes 46.5 per cent. The negro population comprised a somewhat smaller proportion of children under 5 than the native white of native parentage. The proportion under 5 was greatest among native whites of foreign or mixed parentage.

The urban population showed a smaller proportion of children than the rural and a larger proportion of persons in the prime of life. Migration to the city explains this at least in part. Of the urban population, 32.2 per cent were from 25 to 44 years of age, inclusive, and of the rural population, 26.1 per cent.

School attendance.—The total number of persons of school age—that is, from 6 to 20 years inclusive—was 393,818, of whom 259,971, or 65.5 per cent attended school. In addition to these, 3,544 children under 6 and 3,896 persons 21 and over attended school. For boys from 6 to 20, inclusive, the percentage attending school was 64.9; for girls, 66.2. For children from 6 to 14 years, inclusive, the percentage attending school was 82.5. The percentage for children of this age among native whites of native parentage was 83; among native whites of foreign or mixed parentage, 82.9; among foreign-born whites, 66.1; and among negroes, 76.2. The percentage attending school for children of that age was 85.1 in the urban population, and 82.1 in the rural.

Illiteracy.[2]—There were 74,866 illiterates in the state, representing 8.3 per cent of the total population 10 years of age and over, as compared with 11.4 per cent in 1900. The percentage of illiteracy was 6.4 among native whites, 23.9 among foreign-born whites, and 20.3 among negroes. Among native whites of native parentage it was 6.7 and among native whites of foreign or mixed parentage, 2.

Illiterates were relatively fewer in urban than in rural communities, the percentage being 4 in the urban population and 9.4 in the rural. For each class of the population separately, also, the rural percentage was higher than the urban—decidedly higher for the foreign-born whites and for the negroes.

For persons from 10 to 20 years of age, inclusive, whose literacy depends largely upon present school facilities and school attendance, the percentage of illiteracy was 4.1.

Marital.—In the population 15 years of age and over, 38.9 per cent of the males were single and 28 per cent of the females. The percentage married was 56.4 for males and 63.3 for females, and the percentage widowed 3.7 and 7.9 respectively. The percentages of those reported as divorced, 0.3 and 0.5, respectively, are believed to be too small, because of the probability that many divorced persons classed themselves as single or widowed.

That the percentage single was so much smaller for women than for men is due partly to the excess of males in the total population, but mainly to the fact that women marry younger. Thus 15.5 per cent of the females from 15 to 19 years of age were married, as compared with 1.3 per cent of the males; and 57.9 per cent of the females from 20 to 24 years were married, as compared with 25.8 per cent of the males. In the next age group, 25 to 34 years, the difference is less marked, the percentage being 80.4 and 66.7, respectively, and it is inconsiderable in the age group 35 to 44. Among those 45 and over the percentage married is higher among the males. That there is a larger proportion of widows than widowers may indicate that men more often remarry than women, but, since husbands are generally older than their wives, the marriage relationship is more often broken by death of the husband than by death of the wife.

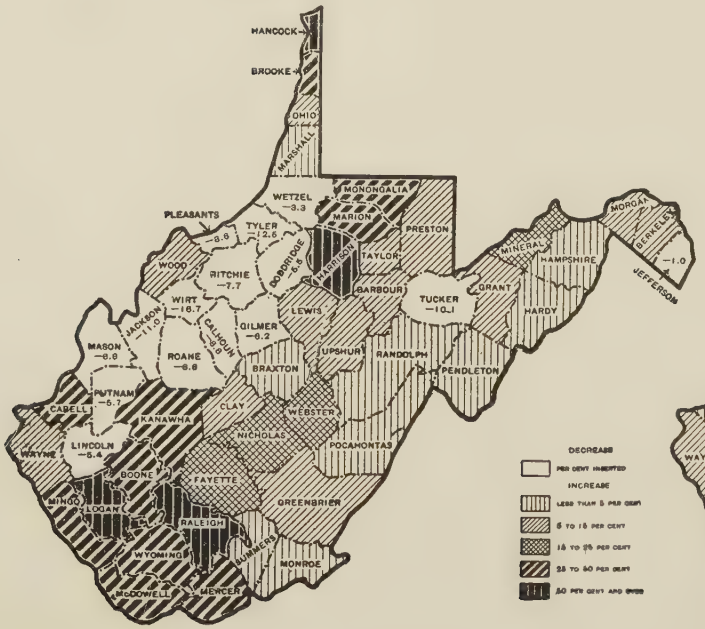
For the main elements of the population the percentages married among those 15 years of age and over are as follows: Native whites of native parentage, 58 for males, 63.1 for females; native whites of

[2] The Census Bureau classifies as illiterate any person 10 years of age or over who is unable to write, regardless of ability to read.

PER CENT OF INCREASE OR DECREASE OF POPULATION OF WEST VIRGINIA, BY COUNTIES: 1910–1920.

Rural population is defined as that residing outside of incorporated places having 2,500 inhabitants or more.

TOTAL POPULATION.



RURAL POPULATION.

foreign or mixed parentage, 56.6 both for males and for females; foreign-born whites, 53.6 and 76.6; negroes, 45.7 and 62.2.

These percentages by no means indicate the relative tendency of the several classes as regards marriage. To determine that, the comparison should be made by age periods, since the proportion married in any class is determined largely by the proportion who have reached the marrying age. Similarly, the proportion widowed depends largely on the proportion past middle life. The percentage married, both for males and females, is higher in rural than in urban communities.

Dwellings and families.—The total number of dwellings in 1910 in West Virginia was 239,128, and the total number of families 248,480, indicating that in comparatively few cases does more than one family occupy a dwelling. The average number of persons per dwelling was 5.1, and the average number per family was 4.9.

In the decade from 1910 to 1920 the largest increase was in Logan (over 183%), Hancock (nearly 91%), Raleigh (nearly 70%), Harrison (over 54%), Boone (over 48%), Brooke (nearly 48%), Wyoming (over 46%), McDowell (over 43%), Cabell (over 40%), Mingo (over 35%), Kanawha (over 34%), Mercer (nearly 30%), and Marion (over 27%). For the same decade there was a marked decrease along the Ohio south of the upper panhandle, especially in areas of declining oil development (Wetzel, Tyler, Pleasant, Doddridge, Ritchie, Wirt, Gilmer, Calhoun, Roane, Jackson, Mason, Putnam and Lincoln) and also in Tucker county. There was also a slight decrease in Jefferson county.

Of the ten largest cities, Wheeling still stood first, Huntington second and Charleston third, but for the decade Clarksburg had far the largest percentage of increase (nearly 203%), and Fairmont stood next (83.8%). Charleston increased 72%, Huntington 61%, Bluefield 36.6%, Wheeling 34.9%, Martinsburg 17% and Parkersburg 12.4%.

Of the total population in 1920 the percentage of native white was 89.9; of foreign born white, 4.2; of negro, 5.9. Of the native white, 673,959 were male and 641,370 were female. Of the foreign born white, 41,910 were male and 19,996 female. Of the negro, 41,120 were male and 39,216 female.

In 1920 there were 99,413 illiterates (6.4% of the entire population of the state). The proportion of illiterates was 4.6 among the native white, 24% among the foreign born white, and 15.3 among the negroes. The proportion of illiterate males was larger than that of illiterate females.

The proportion of negro population to the whole population is greatest in McDowell county (over 25%), and is from 12½% to 25% in Mercer, Raleigh, Fayette and Jefferson. The only county without negro population is Webster.

The total number of dwellings in 1920 was 293,002 and the total number of families was 310,098.

Of the total population 13.4% were under 5 years of age, 12.6% were from 5 to 9, 11.2% were from 10 to 14, 9.7% were from 15 to 19, 35.9% were from 20 to 44 and 17.1% were 45 and over. Over half (51.4%) of the population was 21 years or over.

The total urban population was 369,007, of which 155,001 (42%) were 20 to 44 years of age. 33.8% of the rural population was 20 to 44 years of age.

Of the total school population, the number in attendance was 89.1% of those from 7 to 14 years inclusive, 82.3% of those 14 to 15 years, 42.3% of those of 16 and 17 years, and 13.6% of those from 18 to 20 years inclusive.

The statistical tables (on population) appended to this chapter present the following subjects for study:

1. Growth of Population (by counties), 1860-1920.
2. Growth of Towns and Cities since 1860.
3. Population of western Virginia by color and condition (by counties), 1860.
4. Colored (Negro) Population (by counties), 1870-1920.
5. Negro Population, Male and Female (by counties), 1890-1920.
6. Native and foreign born and foreign parentage (by counties), 1870.

7. State or Country of Birth of Native and Foreign Population of West Virginia (by counties), 1870.
8. Foreign-born Population of West Virginia (by counties), 1860-1920.
9. Foreign-born Population of West Virginia by country of birth, 1870-1910.
10. Nationality of foreign born (by counties), 1870-1910.
11. Country of birth of foreign-born white (by counties and for larger cities), 1920.
12. Distribution of Church members by Principal Denominations, 1916.
13. Statistics of Religious Bodies in West Virginia by Denominations, 1916.

1. GROWTH OF POPULATION (BY COUNTIES) 1860-1920

The growth of population since 1860 is indicated by decades and by counties in the following table:

1860	1870	1880	1890	1900	1910	1920	County	Formed
13,913	7,613	10,336	11,419	11,806	11,694	11,713	Hampshire	1754
12,525	14,900	17,380	18,702	19,469	21,999	24,554	Berkeley	1772
13,048	13,547	14,985	15,705	19,049	24,334	33,618	Monongalia	1776
22,422	28,831	37,457	41,557	48,024	57,574	62,892	Ohio	1776
12,211	11,417	15,060	18,034	20,683	24,833	26,242	Greenbrier	1777
13,790	16,714	20,181	21,919	27,690	48,381	74,793	Harrison	1784
9,864	5,518	6,794	7,567	8,449	9,163	9,601	Hardy	1786
4,990	5,563	8,102	11,633	17,670	26,028	26,804	Randolph	1787
6,164	6,455	8,022	8,711	9,167	9,349	9,652	Pendleton	1788
16,151	22,349	32,466	42,756	54,696	81,457	119,650	Kanawha	1789
5,494	5,464	6,013	6,660	7,219	11,098	16,527	Brooke	1797
11,046	19,000	25,006	28,612	34,452	38,001	42,306	Wood	1799
10,757	11,124	11,501	12,429	13,130	13,055	13,141	Monroe	1799
14,535	13,219	15,005	15,553	15,935	15,889	15,729	Jefferson	1801
9,173	15,978	22,296	22,863	24,142	23,019	21,459	Mason	1804
8,020	6,429	13,744	23,595	29,252	46,685	65,746	Cabell	1809
6,517	7,832	11,073	11,962	18,252	16,211	14,186	Tyler	1814
7,999	10,175	13,269	15,895	16,980	18,281	20,455	Lewis	1816
4,627	4,458	7,223	9,307	11,403	17,699	20,717	Nicholas	1818
13,312	14,555	19,091	20,335	22,727	26,341	27,996	Preston	1818
3,732	4,315	5,777	6,744	7,292	7,848	8,357	Morgan	1820
3,958	4,069	5,591	6,814	8,572	14,740	15,002	Pocahontas	1821
4,938	5,124	7,329	11,101	6,995	14,476	41,006	Logan	1824
8,306	10,300	16,312	19,021	22,987	20,956	18,658	Jackson	1831
5,997	6,647	11,560	20,542	31,987	51,903	60,377	Fayette	1831
12,937	14,941	18,840	20,735	26,444	32,388	33,681	Marshall	1835
4,992	6,480	9,787	13,928	18,904	23,023	23,973	Braxton	1836
6,819	7,064	7,467	16,002	23,023	38,371	49,558	Mercer	1837
12,722	12,107	17,198	20,721	32,430	42,794	54,571	Marion	1842
6,747	7,852	14,739	18,652	23,619	24,081	26,012	Wayne	1842
8,958	10,312	11,870	12,702	14,198	15,858	18,028	Barbour	1843
6,847	9,055	13,474	16,621	18,901	17,875	16,506	Ritchie	1843
8,463	9,367	11,455	12,147	14,978	16,554	18,742	Taylor	1844
5,203	7,076	10,552	12,183	13,689	12,672	11,976	Doddridge	1845
3,759	4,338	7,108	9,746	11,762	11,379	10,668	Gilmer	1845
6,703	8,559	13,896	16,841	22,880	23,855	26,069	Wetzel	1846
4,840	4,553	5,824	6,885	8,194	10,331	15,319	Boone	1847
6,301	7,794	11,375	14,342	17,330	18,587	17,531	Putnam	1848
3,751	4,804	7,104	9,411	10,284	9,047	7,536	Wirt	1848
4,445	4,363	4,882	6,414	6,693	10,465	19,975	Hancock	1848
3,367	3,673	7,367	9,597	12,436	25,633	42,482	Raleigh	1850
2,861	3,171	4,322	6,247	8,380	10,392	15,180	Wyoming	1850
2,945	3,012	6,256	7,539	9,345	8,074	7,379	Pleasants	1851
7,292	8,023	10,249	12,714	14,696	16,629	17,851	Upshur	1851
2,502	2,930	6,072	8,155	10,266	11,258	10,268	Calhoun	1855
1,787	2,196	3,460	4,659	8,248	10,233	11,486	Clay	1856
5,381	7,232	12,184	15,303	19,852	21,543	20,129	Roane	1856
1,428	1,907	3,151	6,459	13,433	18,675	16,791	Tucker	1856
1,535	1,952	3,074	7,300	18,747	47,856	68,571	McDowell	1858
1,555	1,730	3,207	4,783	8,862	9,680	11,562	Webster	1860
.....	6,332	8,630	12,085	12,883	16,674	19,849	Mineral	1866
.....	4,467	5,542	6,802	7,275	7,838	8,993	Grant	1866
.....	5,053	8,739	11,246	15,434	20,491	19,378	Lincoln	1867
.....	.....	9,033	13,117	16,265	18,420	19,092	Summers	1871
.....	.....	.....	.....	11,359	19,431	26,364	Mingo	1895
376,888	442,014	618,457	762,794	958,800	1,221,119	1,463,701	Total	

2. GROWTH OF TOWNS AND CITIES SINCE 1860

The growth of population in chief towns (of 2,000 or more) since 1860 is indicated in the followin table:

	1920	1910	1900	1890	1880	1870	1860
*Wheeling	56,208	41,640	38,874	34,522	30,737	19,280	13,986
Huntington	50,177	31,161	11,923	10,108	3,174	.....	.....
Charleston	39,608	22,996	11,099	6,742	4,182	3,162	.....
Parkersburg	20,050	17,842	11,703	8,408	6,528	5,546	2,433
Bluefield	15,282	11,188	4,644	.....	.....	.....	.....
Martinsburg	12,515	10,698	7,564	7,226	6,335	4,863	3,014
Fairmont	17,851	9,711	5,655	.....	.....	.....	.....
Clarksburg	27,869	9,201	4,508	2,802	2,517	.....	.....
Morgantown	12,127	9,150	2,300	.....	.....	.....	.....
Moundsville	10,669	8,918	5,362	2,688	.....	.....	.....
Grafton	8,517	7,563	5,650	3,159	3,030	.....	.....
Elkins	6,788	5,260	2,016	.....	.....	.....	.....
Benwood	4,773	4,973	4,511	2,934	.....	.....	.....
Wellsburg	4,918	4,189	2,588	2,235	.....	.....	.....
Keyser	6,003	3,705	2,536	2,165	.....	.....	.....
Hinton	3,912	3,656	3,763	2,570	.....	.....	.....
Williamson	6,819	3,561	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Chester	3,283	3,184	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Richwood	4,331	3,061	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Princeton	6,224	3,027	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
McMechen	3,356	2,921	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Mannington	3,673	2,672	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Sistersville	3,238	2,684	2,979	.....	.....	.....	.....
Charlestown	2,527	2,662	2,392	2,287	2,016	.....	.....
Davis	2,491	2,615	2,391	.....	.....	.....	.....
Thomas	2,099	2,615	2,126	.....	.....	.....	.....
Buckhamon	3,785	2,225	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Weston	5,701	2,212	2,560	2,143	.....	.....	.....
New Martinsville	2,341	2,176	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Salem	2,920	2,169	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Beckley	.....	2,161	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Ronceverte	2,319	2,157	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Monongah	2,031	2,089	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Piedmont	2,835	2,054	2,115	.....	.....	.....	.....
Point Pleasant	3,059	2,045	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Keystone	1,839	2,047	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Follansbee	3,135	2,031	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
New Cumberland	1,816	1,807	2,198	2,305	.....	.....	.....

*The population of Wheeling for the earlier decades was as follows: 914 in 1810; 1,567 in 1820 5,221 in 1830; 7,885 in 1840; 11,179 in 1850.

3. POPULATION OF WESTERN VIRGINIA BY COLOR AND CONDITION, 1860

Formed	County	White			Free Colored						Total Free Colored	Total Free	Slave						Total Slave	Aggregate
					Black			Mulatto					Black			Mulatto				
		Male	Female	Total	M.	F.	Total	M.	F.	Total			M.	F.	Total	M.	F.	Total		
1754	Hampshire	6,344	6,134	12,478	40	31	71	69	82	151	222	12,700	440	431	871	155	187	342	1,213	13,913
1772	Berkeley	5,299	5,290	10,589	90	104	194	44	48	92	286	10,875	649	701	1,350	117	183	300	1,650	12,525
1776	Monongalia	6,385	6,516	12,901	5	4	9	21	16	37	46	12,947	30	50	80	12	9	21	101	13,048
1776	Ohio	10,990	11,206	22,196	20	32	52	39	35	74	126	22,322	27	42	69	15	16	31	100	22,422
1777	Greenbrier	5,509	4,991	10,500	59	29	88	58	40	98	186	10,686	598	544	1,142	185	198	383	1,525	12,211
1784	Harrison	6,671	6,505	13,176	5	9	14	6	12	18	32	13,208	162	217	379	97	106	203	582	13,790
1786	Hardy	4,304	4,217	8,521	15	23	38	122	110	232	270	8,791	463	413	876	84	113	197	1,073	9,864
1787	Randolph	2,498	2,295	4,793	5	4	9	2	3	5	14	4,807	67	72	139	21	23	44	183	4,990
1788	Pendleton	2,957	2,913	5,870	8	19	27	12	11	23	50	5,920	92	88	180	27	37	64	244	6,164
1789	Kanawha	7,084	6,701	13,785	49	44	93	42	46	88	181	13,966	905	650	1,555	329	300	629	2,184	16,150
1797	Brooke	2,707	2,718	5,425	8	6	14	16	21	37	51	5,476	4	7	11	2	5	7	18	5,494
1799	Wood	5,624	5,167	10,791	15	22	37	21	21	42	79	10,870	49	54	103	36	37	73	176	11,046
1799	Monroe	4,826	4,710	9,536	19	24	43	25	39	64	107	9,643	460	394	854	113	147	260	1,114	10,757
1801	Jefferson	5,061	5,003	10,064	138	167	305	98	108	206	511	10,575	1,826	1,629	3,455	223	282	505	3,960	14,535
1804	Mason	4,556	4,194	8,750	15	6	21	11	15	26	47	8,797	119	165	284	40	52	92	376	9,173
1809	Cabell	3,901	3,790	7,691	7	12	19	2	3	5	24	7,715	94	120	214	43	48	91	305	8,020
1814	Tyler	3,334	3,154	6,488	.....	1	1	4	6	10	11	6,499	6	9	15	1	2	3	18	6,517
1816	Lewis	3,977	3,759	7,736	5	6	11	14	8	22	33	7,769	62	83	145	32	53	85	230	7,999
1818	Nicholas	2,349	2,122	4,471	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	2	4,473	50	52	102	32	20	52	154	4,627
1818	Preston	6,787	6,413	13,200	4	.....	4	24	17	41	45	13,245	29	33	62	2	3	5	67	13,312
1820	Morgan	1,847	1,767	3,614	7	5	12	3	9	12	24	3,638	28	29	57	18	19	37	94	3,732
1821	Pocahontas	1,887	1,799	3,686	8	2	10	6	4	10	20	3,706	119	92	211	18	23	41	252	3,958
1824	Logan	2,501	2,288	4,789	.....	1	1	.....	.....	.....	1	4,790	48	38	86	37	25	62	148	4,938
1831	Jackson	4,237	4,003	8,240	6	.....	6	4	1	5	11	8,251	16	28	44	7	4	11	55	8,306
1831	Fayette	2,995	2,721	5,716	.....	.....	.....	4	6	10	10	5,726	98	97	195	35	41	76	271	5,997
1835	Marshall	6,641	6,270	12,911	6	10	16	13	26	41	57	12,968	15	14	29	.....	.....	.....	29	12,997
1836	Braxton	2,533	2,352	4,885	1	.....	1	2	.....	2	3	4,888	27	32	59	23	22	45	104	4,992
1837	Mercer	3,315	3,113	6,428	3	1	4	12	13	25	29	6,457	151	129	280	31	51	82	362	6,819
1842	Marion	6,350	6,306	12,656	1	2	3	.....	.....	.....	3	12,659	20	25	45	8	10	18	63	12,722
1842	Wayne	3,521	3,083	6,604	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	6,604	42	67	109	16	18	34	143	6,747
1843	Barbour	4,454	4,274	8,728	1	.....	1	73	61	134	135	8,863	37	50	87	4	4	8	95	8,958
1843	Ritchie	3,528	3,281	6,809	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	6,809	11	19	30	2	6	8	38	6,847
1844	Taylor	3,717	3,583	7,300	8	5	13	23	15	38	51	7,351	41	52	93	6	13	19	112	7,463
1845	Doddridge	2,641	2,527	5,168	1	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	1	5,169	5	18	23	5	6	11	34	5,203
1845	Gilmer	1,858	1,827	3,685	.....	.....	.....	10	12	22	22	3,707	20	21	41	5	6	11	52	3,759
1846	Wetzel	3,408	3,283	6,691	1	.....	1	.....	1	1	2	6,693	3	4	7	.....	3	3	10	6,703
1847	Boone	2,448	2,233	4,681	.....	1	1	.....	.....	.....	1	4,682	40	53	93	29	36	65	158	4,840
1848	Putnam	2,875	2,833	5,708	.....	4	4	5	4	9	13	5,721	181	193	374	100	106	206	580	6,301
1848	Wirt	1,921	1,807	3,728	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	3,728	8	14	22	1	.....	1	23	3,751
1848	Hancock	2,253	2,189	4,442	.....	1	1	.....	.....	.....	1	4,443	.....	2	2	.....	.....	.....	2	4,445
1850	Raleigh	1,672	1,619	3,291	.....	1	1	13	5	18	19	3,310	23	26	49	5	3	8	57	3,367
1850	Wyoming	1,446	1,349	2,795	.....	.....	.....	1	1	2	2	2,797	22	22	44	13	7	20	64	2,861
1851	Pleasants	1,503	1,422	2,925	1	1	2	2	1	3	5	2,930	7	6	13	1	1	2	15	2,945
1851	Upshur	3,637	3,427	7,064	6	4	10	3	3	6	16	7,080	80	76	156	23	33	56	212	7,292
1855	Calhoun	1,323	1,169	2,492	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	1	1	2,493	1	2	3	5	1	6	9	2,502
1856	Clay	924	837	1,761	.....	.....	.....	3	2	5	5	1,766	4	10	14	6	1	7	21	1,787
1856	Roane	2,722	2,585	5,307	.....	1	1	.....	1	1	2	5,309	21	29	50	13	9	22	72	5,381
1856	Tucker	718	674	1,392	.....	.....	.....	8	8	16	16	1,408	6	6	12	4	4	8	20	1,428
1858	McDowell	774	761	1,535	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1,535	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1,535
1860	Webster	833	719	1,552	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1,552	1	2	3	.....	.....	.....	3	1,555

4. COLORED (NEGRO) POPULATION (BY COUNTIES) 1870-1920

County	1870	1880	1890	1900	1910	1920
Barbour	386	457	498	808	920	820
Berkeley	1,672	1,928	1,694	1,765	1,801	1,816
Boone	153	189	170	135	164	759
Braxton	87	104	134	187	221	273
Brooke	97	85	114	139	151	494
Cabell	123	902	1,493	1,537	2,447	3,011
Calhoun	8	74	81	83	80	36
Clay	4	.....	.....	18	5	147
Doddridge	35	54	131	25	8	1
Fayette	118	1,122	3,054	5,857	9,311	9,636
Gilmer	24	47	50	36	17	38
Grant	331	503	379	252	253	232
Greenbrier	1,103	1,981	1,993	1,829	1,779	1,726
Hampshire	640	652	567	461	303	196
Hancock	27	24	21	46	37	573
Hardy	616	752	590	457	387	298
Harrison	655	889	760	1,252	1,359	2,549
Jackson	58	103	87	115	26	12
Jefferson	3,488	4,045	4,116	3,941	3,499	3,016
Kanawha	2,238	2,870	3,402	3,983	6,476	8,929
Lewis	196	323	261	178	239	291
Lincoln	36	52	211	63	30	61
Logan	162	109	685	61	532	4,737
McDowell	.....	3	1,591	5,969	14,667	18,157
Marion	78	155	104	482	851	2,454
Marshall	120	223	236	499	575	502
Mason	.....	859	759	537	349	227
Mercer	394	366	2,022	2,902	5,960	6,427
Mineral	378	489	481	665	601	641
Mingo	.....	.....	.....	309	1,236	2,191
Monongalia	231	317	227	299	294	638
Monroe	1,003	1,129	979	830	673	559
Morgan	116	197	275	220	177	159
Nicholas	31	58	21	19	48	68
Ohio	444	870	1,098	1,251	1,389	1,663
Pendleton	94	99	126	123	132	112
Pleasants	16	26	9	6	9	7
Pocahontas	259	334	353	625	445	638
Preston	118	206	134	162	151	147
Putnam	260	355	237	378	435	397
Raleigh	16	71	79	360	2,052	6,393
Randolph	103	112	262	519	376	431
Ritchie	63	64	36	26	26	13
Roane	23	39	29	32	18	12
Summers	.....	771	1,127	1,115	1,130	1,120
Taylor	343	399	362	423	527	641
Tucker	27	26	183	353	344	210
Tyler	10	6	2	94	115	52
Upshur	172	201	256	221	226	196
Wayne	153	220	160	321	169	142
Webster	.....	2	11	12	8	.....
Wetzel	11	22	36	439	57	89
Wirt	29	13	24	64	40	35
Wood	713	925	910	922	943	783
Wyoming	41	64	70	94	105	1,590
Total	17,980	25,486	32,690	43,499	64,173	86,345

5. NEGRO POPULATION, MALE AND FEMALE (BY COUNTIES) 1890–1920

County	1890		1900		1910		1920	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Barbour	261	237	463	345	508	412	436	384
Berkeley	808	889	840	925	932	869	902	914
Boone	79	91	68	67	91	73	420	339
Braxton	65	69	90	97	117	104	147	126
Brooke	53	62	64	75	81	70	284	210
Cabell	820	674	801	736	1,351	1,096	1,516	1,495
Calhoun	46	35	46	37	44	36	16	20
Clay	.....	.....	12	6	5	.....	84	63
Doddridge	68	63	15	10	6	2	1	.....
Fayette	1,887	1,167	3,691	2,166	5,540	3,771	5,397	4,239
Gilmer	23	27	20	16	10	7	21	17
Grant	211	168	137	115	135	118	123	109
Greenbrier	985	1,008	882	947	901	878	878	848
Hampshire	300	267	232	229	152	151	97	99
Hancock	13	9	28	18	24	13	404	169
Hardy	301	289	240	217	221	166	158	140
Harrison	372	389	800	452	720	639	1,331	1,218
Jackson	46	41	57	58	17	9	6	6
Jefferson	2,058	2,058	1,995	1,946	1,724	1,775	1,482	1,534
Kanawha	1,706	1,696	2,063	1,920	3,438	3,038	4,655	4,274
Lewis	139	129	93	85	127	112	161	130
Lincoln	115	96	41	22	17	13	34	27
Logan	623	62	39	22	363	169	2,794	1,943
McDowell	1,263	328	4,087	1,882	9,120	5,547	10,213	7,944
Marion	61	43	304	178	468	383	1,339	1,115
Marshall	162	74	419	80	494	81	406	96
Mason	387	372	284	253	186	163	113	114
Mercer	1,326	697	1,684	1,218	3,268	2,692	3,314	3,113
Mineral	248	233	336	329	304	297	350	291
Mingo	.....	.....	213	96	867	369	1,268	923
Monongalia	118	110	157	142	146	148	341	297
Monroe	469	510	398	432	328	345	259	300
Morgan	154	121	112	108	95	82	90	69
Nicholas	15	7	10	9	17	31	31	37
Ohio	568	537	619	632	712	677	857	806
Pendleton	58	68	62	61	72	60	56	56
Pleasants	5	4	4	2	4	5	3	4
Pocahontas	183	170	464	161	250	195	345	293
Preston	82	52	112	50	101	50	86	61
Putnam	125	112	217	161	226	209	186	211
Raleigh	43	36	278	82	1,280	772	3,650	2,743
Randolph	135	127	382	137	200	176	220	211
Ritchie	23	13	9	17	11	15	5	8
Roane	18	11	19	13	11	7	10	2
Summers	563	564	557	558	577	553	574	546
Taylor	177	185	228	195	300	227	359	282
Tucker	106	77	222	131	202	142	113	97
Tyler	.....	2	57	37	61	54	27	25
Upshur	140	116	104	117	99	127	94	102
Wayne	97	64	177	144	94	75	79	63
Webster	3	8	6	6	4	4	.....	.....
Wetzel	21	15	400	39	33	24	44	45
Wirt	15	9	38	26	27	13	20	15
Wood	431	481	441	481	466	477	373	409
Wyoming	40	30	50	44	60	45	955	635
Total	18,015	14,702	25,167	18,332	36,607	27,506	47,129	39,216

6. NATIVITY AND FOREIGN PARENTAGE

Counties	1860		1870					
	Native Born	Foreign Born	Native Born	Foreign Born	One or both Parents Foreign	Father Foreign	Mother Foreign	Father and Mother Foreign
Totals	360,143	16,545	424,923	17,091	46,204	43,917	39,077	36,790
Hampshire	13,462	451	7,568	75	256	229	173	146
Berkeley	11,895	630	14,261	639	1,764	1,712	1,466	1,414
Monongalia	12,888	160	13,455	92	432	381	221	170
Ohio	16,911	5,511	22,811	6,020	15,802	15,187	14,624	14,009
Greenbrier	11,720	491	11,178	239	628	609	452	433
Harrison	13,489	301	16,292	422	1,091	1,060	918	887
Hardy	9,728	136	5,477	41	129	110	80	61
Randolph	4,890	100	5,426	137	391	391	326	326
Pendleton	6,159	5	6,449	6	29	22	16	9
Kanawha	15,778	372	21,662	687	1,492	1,420	1,233	1,161
Brooke	5,044	450	5,066	398	1,044	990	855	801
Wood	10,338	708	17,713	1,287	3,314	3,151	2,868	2,705
Monroe	10,670	87	11,022	102	313	294	210	191
Jefferson	14,174	361	12,958	261	771	743	548	520
Mason	7,974	1,199	15,025	953	2,188	2,125	1,929	1,866
Cabell	7,863	157	6,260	169	466	442	333	309
Tyler	6,409	110	7,724	108	372	321	242	191
Lewis	7,450	549	9,653	522	1,652	1,587	1,397	1,332
Nicholas	4,551	76	4,415	43	106	94	66	54
Preston	12,542	770	13,838	717	1,727	1,643	1,522	1,438
Morgan	3,647	85	4,208	107	326	311	220	205
Pocahontas	3,889	69	4,035	34	108	95	74	61
Logan	4,925	13	5,117	7	16	9	13	6
Jackson	8,119	187	10,177	123	430	372	272	214
Fayette	5,968	29	6,615	32	115	105	84	74
Marshall	12,040	957	14,032	909	2,759	2,528	2,295	2,064
Braxton	4,925	67	6,430	50	126	123	88	85
Mercer	6,787	32	7,047	17	55	54	32	31
Marion	12,414	308	11,917	190	544	525	418	399
Wayne	6,720	27	7,824	28	68	63	52	47
Barbour	8,857	101	10,231	81	257	229	203	175
Ritchie	6,589	258	8,747	308	886	857	705	676
Taylor	7,072	391	8,883	484	1,178	1,128	983	933
Doddridge	4,930	273	6,831	245	738	721	619	602
Gilmer	3,714	45	4,313	25	80	78	48	46
Wetzel	6,449	254	8,281	314	930	844	758	672
Boone	4,697	143	4,502	51	159	156	92	89
Putnam	6,231	70	7,655	139	353	328	276	251
Wirt	3,730	21	4,733	71	220	196	146	122
Hancock	4,109	336	4,132	231	841	713	626	498
Raleigh	3,357	10	3,655	18	46	46	39	39
Wyoming	2,860	1	3,168	3	10	10	9	9
Pleasants	2,890	55	2,968	44	151	142	111	102
Upshur	7,182	108	7,938	85	229	221	184	176
Calhoun	2,486	16	2,926	13	45	38	26	19
Clay	1,787	.....	2,196	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Roane	5,355	26	7,220	12	52	52	17	17
Tucker	1,394	34	1,887	20	56	50	46	40
McDowell	1,531	4	1,949	3	3	3	3	3
Webster	1,554	1	1,726	4	25	24	10	9
Mineral	.....	.....	5,906	426	1,108	1,078	952	922
Grant	.....	.....	4,382	85	260	244	179	163
Lincoln	.....	.....	5,039	14	63	63	18	18

7. ORIGIN OF NATIVE AND FOREIGN-BORN POPULATION, 1870

Formed	County	Native Born							Foreign Born												Summary		
		Born in Va. & W. Va.	Pennsylvania	Ohio	Maryland	Kentucky	New York	Total	Total	British Amer.	Eng. & Wales	Ireland	Scotland	Germany	France	Norway & Sweden	Switzerland	Holland	Austria	Italy	Native	Foreign	Total
1754	Hampshire	7,143	140	19	223	4	2	7,568	75	.....	2	35	1	36	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	7,568	75	7,643
1772	Berkeley	11,901	807	54	1,160	4	87	14,261	639	6	34	323	4	252	5	.....	5	.....	4	.....	14,261	639	14,900
1776	Monongalia	11,731	1,390	61	178	8	16	13,455	92	.....	37	29	6	16	3	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	13,455	92	13,547
1776	Ohio	18,423	1,884	1,409	513	51	155	22,811	6,020	25	524	1,594	78	3,485	63	.....	55	151	9	.....	22,811	6,020	28,831
1777	Greenbrier	10,945	23	24	35	32	12	11,178	239	.....	19	179	2	8	23	1	1	.....	1	1	11,178	239	11,417
1784	Harrison	15,559	318	85	165	10	39	16,292	422	10	30	300	35	24	1	.....	19	.....	.....	.....	16,292	422	16,714
1786	Hardy	5,299	32	46	57	9	2	5,477	41	.....	2	2	3	29	.....	.....	5	.....	.....	.....	5,477	41	5,518
1787	Randolph	5,262	38	43	33	7	7	5,426	137	.....	1	113	1	3	.....	.....	19	.....	.....	.....	5,426	137	5,563
1788	Pendleton	6,429	4	3	9	.....	.....	6,449	6	.....	.....	4	.....	1	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	6,449	6	6,455
1789	Kanawha	20,393	211	396	52	166	91	21,662	687	14	144	228	67	183	8	1	15	.....	.....	20	21,662	687	22,349
1797	Brooke	3,744	612	505	85	16	16	5,066	398	4	61	199	20	106	3	.....	3	.....	.....	.....	5,066	398	5,464
1799	Wood	13,537	1,223	1,812	331	103	235	17,713	1,287	30	98	600	57	428	18	2	40	3	4	.....	17,713	1,287	19,000
1799	Monroe	10,890	8	30	14	4	3	11,022	102	.....	15	76	6	4	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	11,022	102	11,124
1801	Jefferson	11,402	429	32	903	27	23	12,958	260	.....	37	153	7	54	5	1	1	2	.....	.....	12,958	260	13,219
1804	Mason	12,687	470	1,485	37	75	77	15,025	953	7	466	194	63	207	7	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	15,025	953	15,978
1809	Cabell	5,504	67	344	19	143	41	6,260	169	4	24	59	1	54	10	.....	8	2	7	.....	6,260	169	6,429
1814	Tyler	6,215	612	730	78	8	23	7,724	108	1	7	50	4	29	5	.....	12	.....	.....	.....	7,724	108	7,832
1816	Lewis	9,342	87	40	98	4	25	9,653	522	6	43	369	11	75	4	.....	1	1	.....	1	9,653	522	10,175
1818	Nicholas	4,390	1	6	.....	3	1	4,415	43	6	1	29	3	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2	4,415	43	4,458
1818	Preston	12,234	726	67	675	9	21	13,838	717	7	115	226	152	166	5	.....	1	.....	3	.....	13,838	717	14,555
1820	Morgan	3,727	81	5	319	1	28	4,208	107	9	3	24	1	64	.....	.....	4	.....	.....	.....	4,208	107	4,315
1821	Pocahontas	4,011	2	1	3	6	1	4,035	34	1	.....	21	.....	3	.....	.....	.....	9	.....	.....	4,035	34	4,069
1824	Logan	4,789	2	12	.....	262	1	5,117	7	.....	.....	.....	2	2	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	5,117	7	5,124
1831	Jackson	8,737	326	848	51	47	75	10,177	123	1	29	31	12	27	20	.....	2	.....	.....	1	10,177	123	10,300
1831	Fayette	6,459	10	46	6	17	19	6,615	32	2	1	24	2	3	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	6,615	32	6,647
1835	Marshall	10,726	1,707	921	273	18	65	14,032	909	36	99	370	36	342	10	.....	4	2	2	2	14,032	909	14,941
1836	Braxton	6,380	12	7	17	3	1	6,430	50	.....	.....	23	2	24	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	6,430	50	6,480
1837	Mercer	6,921	8	9	6	5	4	7,047	17	.....	9	6	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	7,047	17	7,064
1842	Marion	11,104	476	53	154	6	12	11,917	190	4	24	124	21	16	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	11,917	190	12,107
1842	Wayne	6,881	47	125	4	668	5	7,824	28	5	6	9	2	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	7,824	28	7,852
1843	Barbour	9,958	97	35	98	4	7	10,231	81	3	1	61	1	11	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	3	10,231	81	10,312
1843	Ritchie	7,804	367	269	140	12	29	8,747	308	6	27	212	24	33	1	.....	4	.....	.....	.....	8,747	308	9,055
1844	Taylor	8,052	277	77	332	3	35	8,883	484	4	25	287	13	124	15	1	1	.....	7	.....	8,883	484	9,367
1845	Doddridge	6,363	164	103	133	3	7	6,831	245	4	3	133	.....	61	1	.....	19	1	22	.....	6,831	245	7,076
1845	Gilmer	4,272	7	6	16	3	3	4,313	25	.....	13	.....	.....	12	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	4,313	25	4,338
1846	Wetzel	6,482	893	705	100	10	16	8,281	314	1	33	104	.....	91	3	.....	82	.....	.....	.....	8,281	314	8,595
1847	Boone	4,372	9	17	5	25	13	4,502	51	1	7	35	6	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	4,502	51	4,553
1848	Putnam	7,021	222	279	10	35	16	7,655	139	1	49	59	5	10	5	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	7,655	139	7,794
1848	Wirt	3,887	295	283	49	21	40	4,733	71	3	18	21	1	24	3	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	4,733	71	4,804
1848	Hancock	2,651	868	504	43	3	15	4,132	231	3	63	131	18	15	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	4,132	231	4,363
1850	Raleigh	3,633	4	2	1	.....	.....	3,655	18	.....	.....	18	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	3,655	18	3,673
1850	Wyoming	2,964	3	9	.....	35	.....	3,168	3	.....	.....	3	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	3,168	3	3,171
1851	Pleasants	2,427	194	282	34	6	4	2,968	44	.....	12	8	3	18	.....	.....	3	.....	.....	.....	2,968	44	3,012
1851	Upshur	7,714	79	11	20	16	16	7,938	85	1	11	64	1	8	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	7,938	85	8,023
1855	Calhoun	2,804	37	31	23	13	1	2,926	13	.....	1	2	.....	10	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2,926	13	2,939
1856	Clay	2,148	1	7	.....	24	2	2,196	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2,196	.....	2,196
1856	Roane	7,016	29	56	7	60	1	7,220	12	1	.....	3	.....	18	.....	.....	3	.....	.....	.....	7,220	12	7,232
1856	Tucker	1,851	5	.....	20	.....	2	1,887	20	.....	.....	3	8	8	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	1,887	20	1,907
1858	McDowell	1,662	1	4	.....	172	27	1,949	3	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1,949	3	1,952
1860	Webster	1,708	1	.....	.....	12	.....	1,726	4	.....	.....	4	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1,726	4	1,730
1866	Mineral	4,899	152	32	741	1	17	5,906	426	.....	32	245	63	72	1	.....	8	.....	.....	2	5,906	426	6,332
1866	Grant	4,268	18	9	51	.....	18	4,382	85	1	1	2	2	71	.....	.....	7	1	.....	.....	4,382	85	4,467
1867	Lincoln	4,576	21	225	2	114	3	5,039	14	.....	5	2	2	5	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	5,039	14	5,053

8. FOREIGN-BORN POPULATION OF WEST VIRGINIA (BY COUNTIES) 1860-1910

County	1860	1870	1880	1890	1900	1910
Barbour	101	81	96	65	230	527
Berkeley	630	639	469	349	237	344
Boone	143	51	34	12	7	9
Braxton	67	50	50	150	53	195
Brooke	450	398	403	390	336	1,417
Cabell	157	169	278	392	380	558
Calhoun	16	13	16	20	26	20
Clay	.....	.....	1	.....	48	58
Doddridge	273	245	219	155	129	76
Fayette	29	32	406	864	976	4,466
Gilmer	45	25	45	27	18	32
Grant	.....	85	72	72	95	360
Greenbrier	491	239	213	200	121	455
Hampshire	451	75	74	51	52	36
Hancock	336	231	167	319	381	1,324
Hardy	136	41	40	23	23	49
Harrison	301	422	335	291	824	5,064
Jackson	187	123	120	108	91	36
Jefferson	361	261	189	170	96	109
Kanawha	372	687	857	947	753	2,512
Lewis	549	522	464	437	268	288
Lincoln	.....	14	16	16	7	29
Logan	13	7	5	103	8	927
McDowell	4	3	4	306	672	6,260
Marion	308	190	146	168	1,774	4,695
Marshall	957	909	913	929	1,271	3,055
Mason	1,199	953	839	527	318	219
Mercer	32	17	22	398	271	1,148
Mineral	.....	426	459	746	451	825
Mingo	.....	.....	.....	.....	65	1,197
Monongalia	160	92	71	74	303	1,549
Monroe	87	102	56	41	32	10
Morgan	85	107	96	87	68	172
Nicholas	76	43	68	60	245	705
Ohio	5,511	6,020	6,746	6,956	6,151	6,637
Pendleton	5	6	20	8	6	6
Pleasants	55	44	56	65	83	40
Pocahontas	69	34	21	30	347	808
Preston	770	717	673	460	382	1,361
Putnam	70	139	187	215	107	73
Raleigh	10	18	43	29	33	1,525
Randolph	100	137	470	307	701	2,061
Ritchie	258	308	238	180	120	77
Roane	26	12	26	18	52	44
Summers	.....	.....	71	71	65	140
Taylor	391	484	391	254	386	869
Tucker	34	20	12	90	1,511	3,010
Tyler	110	108	85	60	298	254
Upshur	108	85	127	138	107	141
Wayne	27	28	41	88	51	51
Webster	1	4	20	51	74	97
Wetzel	254	314	408	288	394	274
Wirt	21	71	46	27	19	16
Wood	708	1,287	1,263	1,048	930	845
Wyoming	1	3	4	3	5	17
Total	16,545	17,091	18,265	18,883	22,451	57,072

9. FOREIGN-BORN POPULATION BY COUNTRY OF BIRTH, 1870-1910

Country of Birth	1910	1900	1890	1880	1870
England	3,511	2,622	2,700	2,051	1,810
Scotland	1,088	855	914	622	746
Wales	880	482	398	369	321
Ireland	2,292	3,342	4,799	6,459	6,832
Germany	6,327	6,670	7,292	7,029	6,231
Norway	38	19	7	3	1
Sweden	279	132	72	21	5
Denmark	67	60	44	38	21
Netherlands	60	22	22	19	174
Belgium	800	79	36	8	21
Luxemburg	1	.....	.....	1	.....
France	535	298	213	230	223
Switzerland	600	696	610	810	325
Portugal	3	.....	.....	.....	.....
Spain	464	5	3	3	1
Italy	17,292	2,921	632	48	34
Russia	5,143	1,038	126	19	11
Finland	127	6	.....	.....	.....
Austria	8,360	1,143	227	5	59
Hungary	5,939	810	236	39	5
Roumania	259	1	.....	.....	.....
Bulgaria, Servia, Montenegro	100	.....	.....	.....	.....
Greece	787	108	4	.....	.....
Turkey in Europe	420	20	4	8	.....
Turkey in Asia	726	.....	.....	.....	.....
China	62	47	23	9	.....
Canada (French)	88	72	25	.....	.....
Canada (Other)	784	639	349	295	173
Cuba and West Indies	46	12	10	1	.....
Mexico	10	7	6	1	.....
Central & South America	13	33	8	3	4

10. NATIONALITY OF FOREIGN-BORN (by Counties) 1870-1910

County	Irish					English					German					Welsh		
	1870	1880	1890	1900	1910	1870	1880	1890	1900	1910	1870	1880	1890	1900	1910	1890	1900	1910
Barbour	61	54	36	25	20	1	6	3	8	5	11	22	20	18	37	.....	1	3
Berkeley	323	216	131	70	46	34	37	30	31	24	252	199	149	96	64	.....	1	.....
Boone	35	31	9	3	.....	7	2	1	.....	1	1	.....	1	1	2	.....	1	.....
Braxton	23	23	23	12	10	.....	10	5	9	12	24	14	22	17	15	.....	.....	1
Brooke	199	218	151	74	49	61	55	84	44	134	100	110	94	91	127	5	3	186
Cabell	59	87	77	59	57	24	79	97	80	102	54	73	120	114	128	17	12	13
Calhoun	2	4	2	2	1	1	3	.....	3	1	10	17	16	18	14	.....	.....	.....
Clay	.....	1	.....	1	5	.....	.....	.....	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	9	3	.....	.....	.....
Doddridge	133	117	68	30	17	3	4	5	15	16	61	89	47	29	15	.....	1	.....
Fayette	24	69	89	79	50	1	222	392	399	609	3	19	66	85	212	88	70	66
Gilmer	.....	13	5	3	3	13	11	7	4	3	12	19	12	9	7	.....	.....	.....
Grant	2	3	1	2	4	1	4	8	4	22	71	60	48	43	31	1	.....	7
Greenbrier	179	155	123	69	31	19	20	14	13	28	8	9	8	10	9	1	.....	3
Hampshire	35	27	14	9	5	2	9	6	4	4	36	32	23	17	9	.....	.....	.....
Hancock	131	92	124	65	69	63	42	72	39	147	15	18	22	21	47	8	6	78
Hardy	2	3	.....	.....	.....	2	2	3	6	7	29	25	12	13	11	.....	.....	.....
Harrison	300	220	157	111	93	30	36	19	46	142	24	29	40	39	137	6	2	44
Jackson	31	26	18	13	5	29	26	22	14	3	27	33	39	39	19	3	1	1
Jefferson	153	103	62	27	14	37	24	18	12	18	54	43	41	29	24	.....	.....	.....
Kanawha	228	314	198	129	98	144	201	203	139	257	183	230	260	219	323	43	34	33
Lewis	369	339	252	143	81	43	29	25	21	39	75	66	71	55	48	1	5	2
Lincoln	2	4	6	2	8	5	3	3	.....	2	5	7	4	3	1	.....	1	.....
Logan	.....	2	18	2	4	.....	.....	4	.....	12	2	2	7	1	7	.....	.....	3
Marion	124	100	70	87	126	24	10	26	114	192	16	14	10	73	115	7	12	25
Marshall	370	348	382	215	133	99	75	105	116	127	342	398	423	484	395	18	33	26
Mason	194	160	97	54	25	466	361	122	77	50	207	251	198	120	67	64	37	14
McDowell	1	2	26	20	22	.....	2	32	102	153	.....	.....	4	29	100	1	20	30
Mercer	6	4	19	6	15	9	15	189	68	76	1	1	33	19	54	27	10	10
Mineral	245	292	320	172	98	32	38	86	70	99	72	77	72	51	55	9	1	11
Mingo	.....	.....	.....	2	8	.....	.....	.....	13	10	.....	.....	.....	10	33	.....	1	2
Monongalia	29	22	17	14	24	37	25	32	45	134	16	14	11	97	211	.....	2	140
Monroe	76	28	16	11	2	15	20	15	7	4	4	3	6	7	2	.....	.....	.....
Morgan	24	24	15	10	11	3	7	9	8	13	64	47	44	33	36	.....	.....	1
Nicholas	29	28	19	12	3	1	3	25	22	21	2	2	2	5	17	3	2	2
Ohio	1,594	1,705	1,306	953	646	524	630	693	687	536	3,485	3,921	4,261	3,567	2,816	31	139	82
Pendleton	4	9	4	4	.....	.....	2	.....	.....	2	1	5	3	2	1	.....	.....	.....
Pleasants	8	12	10	8	3	12	12	10	12	12	18	20	20	20	12	.....	2	.....
Pocahontas	21	10	7	11	9	.....	2	1	16	17	3	2	2	8	36	.....	.....	1
Preston	266	276	126	58	21	115	97	81	56	76	166	181	172	94	130	22	13	19
Putnam	59	51	36	24	12	49	60	43	20	16	10	32	64	33	22	16	11	7
Raleigh	18	21	9	12	18	.....	4	8	6	110	.....	3	.....	.....	61	.....	.....	7
Randolph	113	98	99	98	61	1	1	10	24	19	3	45	41	68	101	1	18	14
Ritchie	212	135	107	56	29	27	22	11	16	8	33	37	31	23	14	1	.....	1
Roane	3	4	3	7	3	.....	8	3	6	6	8	7	7	16	16	.....	.....	.....
Summers	.....	49	27	17	10	.....	4	20	14	8	.....	8	16	15	13	1	.....	3
Taylor	287	211	108	109	67	25	39	12	16	22	124	122	73	97	170	16	3	9
Tucker	3	2	11	38	15	.....	.....	11	68	83	8	4	22	48	48	15	15	7
Tyler	50	42	23	58	27	7	8	7	30	10	29	22	16	60	30	3	1	.....
Upshur	64	64	63	36	20	11	16	13	14	10	8	17	11	29	30	2	3	5
Wayne	9	13	10	7	4	6	12	18	4	5	6	10	13	15	9	5	3	1
Webster	4	6	6	7	4	.....	.....	4	2	.....	.....	12	6	11	1	2	13	.....
Wetzel	104	99	47	46	23	33	24	17	21	17	91	151	118	100	75	.....	1	.....
Wirt	21	13	7	5	4	18	5	4	2	2	24	15	12	4	5	3	.....	.....
Wood	600	508	353	255	176	98	93	72	72	63	428	491	478	422	359	39	4	24
Wyoming	3	2	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	1	.....	1	1	1	3	.....	.....	.....

(English and Welsh for 1870 and 1880.)

10. NATIONALITY OF FOREIGN-BORN (by Counties) 1870-1910 (Continued)

County	Italian					Austrian					Hungarian					Russian				
	1870	1880	1890	1900	1910	1870	1880	1890	1900	1910	1870	1880	1890	1900	1910	1870	1880	1890	1900	1910
Barbour	3	2	1	99	227	.....	.....	.....	62	54	.....	.....	.....	2	82	.....	.....	.....	2	81
Berkeley	.....	.....	.....	.....	70	4	3	1	.....	56	.....	.....	.....	.....	10	.....	.....	10	20	43
Boone	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Braxton	.....	.....	83	6	92	.....	.....	.....	.....	11	.....	.....	.....	.....	19	.....	.....	.....	.....	8
Brooke	.....	.....	23	64	396	.....	.....	.....	12	154	.....	.....	.....	9	239	.....	.....	.....	.....	51
Cabell	.....	1	5	14	32	7	4	4	.....	9	.....	.....	15	6	14	.....	.....	6	2	17
Calhoun	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Clay	.....	.....	.....	2	34	.....	.....	.....	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Doddridge	.....	.....	.....	20	.....	22	1	16	12	4	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Fayette	.....	.....	.....	32	1,476	.....	1	4	8	829	.....	.....	.....	2	377	.....	.....	5	36	490
Gilmer	.....	1	1	1	13	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2
Grant	.....	.....	.....	11	137	.....	.....	.....	9	98	.....	.....	.....	.....	4	.....	.....	.....	.....	41
Greenbrier	2	4	2	1	80	1	.....	.....	1	223	.....	.....	.....	.....	11	.....	.....	.....	.....	5
Hampshire	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	..	.....	.....	3	10	10
Hancock	.....	.....	30	86	295	.....	.....	9	17	402	.....	.....	.....	1	9	.....	.....	3	53	119
Hardy	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	22	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1
Harrison	.....	.....	44	380	1,775	.....	6	.....	60	349	.....	.....	.....	44	768	.....	.....	1	12	352
Jackson	1	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Jefferson	.....	.....	27	.....	33	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	3	11	8
Kanawha	20	3	51	19	346	.....	5	12	1	160	.....	.....	.....	1	161	.....	.....	18	15	590
Lewis	1	1	33	4	25	.....	.....	9	4	38	.....	.....	2	3	.....	.....	.....	3	2	8
Lincoln	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	5
Logan	.....	.....	46	1	354	.....	.....	.....	.....	121	.....	.....	.....	.....	239	.....	.....	.....	.....	117
McDowell	.....	.....	43	79	2,298	.....	.....	17	62	864	.....	.....	164	263	1,816	.....	.....	.....	51	685
Marion	.....	.....	19	686	2,185	.....	.....	.....	236	798	.....	.....	.....	243	409	.....	.....	.....	40	438
Marshall	2	3	2	27	460	2	3	9	178	810	.....	.....	.....	97	796	.....	.....	1	10	141
Mason	.....	.....	1	1	37	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	5	5	3	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Mercer	.....	.....	52	34	458	.....	.....	5	24	52	.....	.....	19	52	196	.....	.....	20	23	133
Mineral	2	1	29	43	345	.....	.....	3	5	27	.....	.....	5	.....	27	.....	.....	2	7	62
Mingo	.....	.....	.....	3	595	.....	.....	.....	2	105	.....	.....	.....	8	309	.....	.....	.....	5	23
Monongalia	.....	2	2	44	497	.....	.....	.....	1	182	.....	.....	.....	.....	24	.....	.....	.....	1	37
Monroe	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Morgan	.....	.....	3	2	34	.....	.....	.....	.....	5	.....	.....	.....	.....	17	.....	.....	.....	6	5
Nicholas	2	.....	.....	184	327	.....	.....	.....	.....	135	.....	.....	.....	.....	16	.....	.....	.....	.....	43
Ohio	.....	20	86	49	324	9	13	117	117	686	.....	.....	20	16	192	.....	.....	20	37	539
Pendleton	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Pleasants	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	5	2	.....
Pocahontas	.....	.....	.....	166	317	.....	.....	1	16	185	.....	.....	.....	.....	16	.....	.....	5	4	111
Preston	.....	.....	4	88	854	3	6	.....	.....	106	.....	.....	3	2	16	.....	.....	.....	8	44
Putnam	.....	1	.....	5	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Raleigh	.....	.....	.....	1	465	.....	.....	.....	.....	354	.....	.....	.....	.....	90	.....	.....	2	.....	170
Randolph	.....	.....	1	145	975	.....	12	4	6	461	.....	.....	.....	33	24	.....	.....	3	3	97
Ritchie	.....	.....	.....	.....	4	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1
Roane	.....	.....	.....	1	5	.....	.....	.....	.....	4	.....	.....	.....	2	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Summers	.....	1	.....	1	72	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Taylor	.....	.....	.....	16	255	7	1	1	39	128	.....	.....	.....	.....	12	.....	.....	8	25	72
Tucker	.....	.....	.....	528	1,216	.....	1	.....	149	901	.....	.....	.....	13	17	.....	.....	.....	312	564
Tyler	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2	8	.....	.....	.....	1	6	.....	.....	.....	5	5
Upshur	.....	.....	10	2	34	.....	.....	1	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	5
Wayne	.....	.....	25	6	7	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	16	.....	.....	.....	1	2
Webster	.....	.....	.....	1	49	.....	.....	1	1	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Wetzel	.....	.....	.....	57	15	.....	.....	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	15	6
Wirt	.....	5	.....	1	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Wood	.....	3	8	11	61	4	5	3	.....	7	.....	.....	3	.....	1	.....	.....	7	3	12
Wyoming	.....	.....	.....	.....	10	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....

Hungarians and Russians not in census for 1870 or 1880 in W. Va.

COUNTY OR CITY	Total foreign-born white	COUNTRY OF BIRTH																				
		Austria	Belgium	Canada	Czecho-slovakia	England	France	Germany	Greece	Hungary	Ireland	Italy	Jugo-Slavia	Lithuania	Poland	Rumania	Russia	Scotland	Spain	Switzerland	Syria	Wales	All other countries
COUNTIES																							
The state	**61,906**	**5,115**	**938**	**957**	**1,549**	**3,433**	**633**	**3,798**	**3,186**	**6,260**	**1,459**	**14,147**	**2,802**	**717**	**5,799**	**625**	**3,911**	**998**	**1,540**	**545**	**1,235**	**704**	**1,555**
Barbour	726	105	.....	6	8	31	3	11	1	85	9	254	9	.....	31	21	122	16	.....	1	.....	1	12
Berkeley	385	54	.....	4	1	22	3	25	12	12	16	163	22	.....	1	.....	38	2	.....	1	5	2	2
Boone	230	20	.....	5	2	13	2	3	5	103	3	33	4	.....	2	2	24	3	.....	.....	.....	1	5
Braxton	164	2	.....	5	1	9	1	13	2	39	5	24	1	.....	23	3	18	3	1	3	1	1	9
Brooke	2,459	275	36	28	54	163	46	89	128	262	46	692	167	10	115	48	92	32	15	8	10	113	30
Cabell	766	27	11	93	5	119	19	92	60	19	32	51	8	.....	22	8	66	40	1	8	43	7	35
Clay	154	.....	.....	5	9	2	.....	5	.....	48	1	4	28	.....	29	2	11	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	9
Fayette	3,203	293	5	36	35	372	23	144	19	121	31	873	66	112	489	21	230	112	68	10	39	32	72
Grant	163	21	.....	3	10	3	.....	13	.....	.....	.....	26	12	.....	2	1	66	1	.....	.....	.....	1	4
Greenbrier	163	9	.....	8	3	17	4	12	12	.....	27	39	.....	.....	.....	.....	2	6	.....	5	8	2	9
Hampshire	58	1	.....	1	.....	7	2	7	.....	.....	4	1	8	.....	5	.....	17	3	.....	.....	.....	.....	2
Hancock	6,131	823	12	12	111	120	27	60	1,347	539	46	873	363	.....	938	241	137	20	1	1	16	73	371
Harrison	6,584	331	456	29	257	236	107	127	225	321	86	2,207	169	14	384	31	177	62	1,015	18	149	33	150
Jefferson	106	2	.....	3	.....	15	.....	9	2	.....	8	46	2	.....	.....	.....	14	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	4
Kanawha	2,735	95	162	133	12	271	41	190	55	178	94	414	22	8	125	28	415	93	7	31	221	39	101
Lewis	243	48	3	10	5	22	.....	25	15	2	32	44	7	.....	3	.....	12	5	3	5	.....	.....	2
Logan	2,710	181	2	21	30	88	8	42	54	1,154	14	360	26	10	307	77	113	20	43	3	63	11	83
McDowell	5,416	384	9	26	139	178	14	50	121	1,409	14	1,450	147	11	614	63	585	32	35	8	34	17	76
Marion	5,112	347	33	57	129	193	32	97	60	483	101	1,989	316	53	582	20	340	65	16	20	69	37	73
Marshall	3,068	361	9	42	285	172	40	235	49	210	62	345	344	94	457	8	183	55	38	15	28	19	17
Mason	110	1	.....	8	.....	34	4	34	1	.....	8	2	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	2	.....	1	4	7	3
Mercer	914	37	.....	26	50	90	5	28	35	99	8	256	40	21	43	2	98	14	.....	1	35	3	23
Mineral	705	10	1	12	.....	60	3	35	14	4	58	294	21	64	16	.....	33	44	2	3	13	10	8
Mingo	698	26	.....	11	8	27	4	15	26	206	2	206	5	3	35	1	37	4	17	.....	49	1	15
Monongalia	3,279	384	94	21	106	149	43	128	155	406	22	802	168	41	246	10	211	30	24	31	5	146	57
Morgan	69	5	.....	3	2	9	.....	6	.....	4	11	5	2	.....	4	6	4	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	8
Nicholas	436	40	.....	9	9	21	2	16	47	11	5	193	.....	.....	26	.....	17	3	2	8	.....	.....	27
Ohio	6,290	375	25	108	72	513	134	1,749	473	137	406	415	115	6	690	25	298	121	13	92	296	73	154
Pocahontas	343	115	.....	19	.....	4	.....	4	2	16	3	92	.....	.....	2	.....	59	1	1	1	2	1	21
Preston	786	48	.....	5	24	36	3	34	.....	57	2	364	13	9	111	.....	35	13	.....	11	.....	9	12
Putnam	71	.....	.....	12	1	9	1	12	.....	.....	20	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	10	.....	2	.....	2	1
Raleigh	2,270	336	3	31	26	177	13	35	191	176	12	425	20	12	186	1	219	99	215	7	27	21	38
Randolph	1,098	137	1	29	40	14	2	43	7	8	41	377	142	1	38	.....	66	4	2	101	12	9	24
Ritchie	69	1	26	2	.....	6	1	8	.....	.....	12	4	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	1	7	.....	.....
Roane	60	3	.....	1	.....	3	1	13	.....	12	1	8	.....	.....	6	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	7	.....	3
Summers	68	.....	.....	11	.....	14	.....	4	11	1	3	16	.....	.....	.....	.....	2	3	.....	2	.....	.....	1
Taylor	889	60	2	9	50	23	6	42	21	104	39	185	205	6	20	.....	59	24	5	18	1	.....	10
Tucker	1,497	88	.....	26	59	41	1	26	.....	13	14	379	306	242	214	1	36	19	.....	7	.....	5	20
Tyler	148	.....	25	13	1	8	12	17	1	.....	11	2	.....	.....	.....	1	1	1	1	5	27	.....	22
Upshur	181	40	16	6	1	15	4	19	3	3	6	28	5	.....	3	.....	9	1	.....	17	1	4	.....
Webster	138	1	.....	15	.....	1	.....	3	.....	.....	2	61	34	.....	.....	.....	3	.....	.....	11	.....	4	3
Wetzel	165	9	2	8	.....	8	4	26	.....	.....	14	1	4	.....	2	.....	3	6	.....	50	24	3	1
Wood	645	10	3	33	.....	65	15	190	27	5	103	65	1	.....	6	3	39	18	.....	17	13	16	16
Wyoming	162	5	.....	3	.....	18	.....	3	.....	10	4	64	.....	.....	11	.....	10	1	14	2	11	.....	6
All other counties	239	5	2	9	4	35	3	59	5	3	21	14	.....	.....	10	1	8	8	1	19	15	1	16
CITIES																							
Bluefield	276	4	.....	16	.....	34	3	21	34	3	3	75	.....	1	3	.....	56	9	.....	.....	5	.....	9
Charleston	1,354	51	48	81	7	129	17	125	39	20	50	89	3	.....	47	16	319	40	4	12	183	17	57
Clarksburg	1,937	36	131	18	63	178	66	82	58	53	67	674	24	.....	81	3	65	34	137	8	66	28	65
Fairmont	1,276	28	24	25	1	75	8	43	41	8	61	767	14	.....	34	1	52	38	.....	8	8	6	34
Huntington	732	27	11	93	5	103	17	81	60	19	31	49	8	.....	22	8	66	39	.....	8	43	7	35
Martinsburg	156	3	.....	2	.....	18	3	20	12	.....	15	34	.....	.....	.....	.....	37	2	.....	1	5	2	2
Morgantown	936	54	80	13	28	68	35	97	26	27	11	257	2	.....	8	2	29	14	2	25	1	131	26
Moundsville	789	76	6	24	22	39	18	34	14	28	8	50	17	88	153	1	88	45	37	3	27	4	7
Parkersburg	478	4	8	25		41	6	110	27	4	24	24											

12. DISTRIBUTION OF CHURCH MEMBERS BY PRINCIPAL DENOMINATIONS, 1916, 1906, 1890

	1916		1906		1890	
	Number	Per Cent of Total	Number	Per Cent of Total	Number	Per Cent of Total
All denominations	427,865	100	308,626	100	192,679	100
Methodist Episcopal	82,551	19.3	61,641	20	48,925	25.4
Baptist, Northern Conv	62,459	14.6	48,636	15.8	34,154	17.7
Roman Catholic	60,337	14.1	47,072	15.3	18,415	9.6
Methodist Epis. South	53,030	12.4	36,632	11.9	25,064	13.0
United Brethern	29,426	6.9	19,993	6.5	12,242	6.4
Disciples of Christ	19,227	4.5	10,729	3.5	5,807	3.0
Methodist Protestant	18,948	4.4	16,004	5.2	10,652	5.5
Baptist, National Conv	16,238	3.8	10,057	3.3	4,233	2.2
Presbyterian in U. S.	15,705	3.7	10,047	3.3	5,995	3.1
Presbyterian in U. S. of America	11,644	2.7	8,514	2.8	4,275	2.2
Churches of Christ	10,342	2.4	2,594	0.8	.....	...
Protestant Episcopal	6,831	1.6	5,230	1.7	2,906	1.5
Church of the Brethren (conservative)	4,179	1.0	3,457	1.1	2,710	1.4
All other denominations	36,958	8.6	28,020	9.1	17,301	9.0

Denomination	Total Number of Organizations	Members				Places of Worship			Value of Church Property	
		Number of Organizations Reporting	Total Number Reported	Sex		Number of Organizations Reporting		Number of Church Edifices Reported	Number of Organizations Reporting	Value Reported
				Number of Organizations Reporting	Male	Female	Church Edifices	Halls, etc.			
All denominations	4,639	4,635	427,865	3,767	155,968	202,300	3,877	445	3,984	3,827	$15,472,996
Adventist bodies:											
Advent Christian Church	63	63	2,629	40	744	933	31	19	31	32	54,750
Seventh-day Adventist Denomination	10	10	283	10	88	195	5	4	5	5	7,700
Assemblies of God, General Council	2	2	69	2	28	41	.....	2	.....	.....	.....
Baptist bodies:											
Baptists—											
Northern Baptist Convention	636	636	62,459	511	20,362	29,436	519	35	525	506	1,670,115
Southern Baptist Convention	11	11	2,449	11	937	1,512	11	.....	11	11	129,100
National Baptist Convention	235	235	16,238	235	6,995	9,243	161	55	161	179	432,168
Seventh Day Baptists	6	6	650	6	266	384	6	.....	6	5	17,250
Free Will Baptists	7	7	296	7	114	182	2	5	2	2	700
Regular Baptists	42	42	1,763	21	365	621	9	8	9	11	6,705
United Baptists	40	40	3,565	20	639	1,092	7	14	7	7	6,235
Primitive Baptists	14	14	673	6	145	273	5	.....	5	5	8,100
Brethren, German Baptist (Dunkers):											
Church of the Brethren (Conservative Dunkers)	43	43	4,179	41	1,834	2,169	42	1	69	41	70,743
Old Order German Baptist Brethren	3	3	65	3	30	35	2	1	3	2	700
The Brethren Church (Progressive Dunkers)	7	7	500	7	215	285	5	2	11	5	11,800
Christian Church (American Christian Convention)	23	23	650	14	165	267	14	2	14	13	22,150
Church of God and Saints of Christ	2	2	86	2	52	34	1	.....	1	1	66
Churches of Christ	182	182	10,342	182	4,291	6,051	163	18	163	163	226,100
Churches of God, General Assembly	7	7	146	7	50	96	3	3	3	3	6,200
Churches of God in North America, General Eldership of the	25	25	1,056	22	434	533	14	11	14	14	34,300
Congregational Churches	2	2	316	2	130	186	2	.....	2	2	52,500
Disciples of Christ	174	174	19,227	112	5,794	8,257	153	5	155	106	671,155
Evangelical Association	7	7	232	7	94	138	7	.....	7	7	6,800
German Evangelical Synod of North America	2	2	840	2	305	535	2	.....	2	2	23,000
Independent churches	9	9	960	9	565	395	5	3	5	4	7,500
International Apostolic Holiness Church	8	8	368	8	134	234	2	5	2	2	21,000
Jewish congregations	6	5	280	5	165	115	3	3	3	3	73,000
Latter Day Saints:											
Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints	7	7	1,732	7	799	933	1	6	1	1	1,800
Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints	11	11	622	11	233	389	6	5	6	6	14,250
Lutheran bodies:											
General Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the United States of America	28	28	3,854	21	1,354	2,006	27	.....	27	27	300,600
United Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the South	9	9	799	9	329	470	9	.....	9	9	49,000
General Council of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in North America	5	5	1,330	5	563	767	5	.....	5	5	95,794
Evangelical Lutheran Synodical Conference of America	5	5	239	5	124	115	4	1	5	3	3,300
Evangelical Lutheran Joint Synod of Ohio and Other States	15	15	1,790	14	743	915	15	.....	15	15	143,700
Mennonite bodies:											
Mennonite Church	7	7	226	7	88	138	1	.....	1	1	500
Methodist bodies:											
Methodist Episcopal Church	1,002	1,002	82,551	636	22,409	32,255	944	32	949	939	3,564,215
Methodist Protestant Church	316	316	18,948	316	7,975	10,973	285	29	287	285	619,090
Wesleyan Methodist Connection of America	8	8	216	8	83	133	8	.....	8	8	10,900
Methodist Episcopal Church, South	687	687	53,020	629	20,938	29,821	560	109	582	562	1,868,095
Free Methodist Church of North America	17	17	256	17	97	159	12	2	12	12	20,600
African Methodist Episcopal Church	33	33	1,325	33	530	795	26	3	26	30	117,515
African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church	8	8	338	8	118	220	3	5	3	3	4,300
Nonsectarian Churches of Bible Faith	10	10	252	10	122	130	6	3	6	6	6,100
Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene	3	3	98	2	20	38	3	.....	3	3	4,800
Pentecostal Holiness Church	3	3	114	3	47	67	2	1	2	3	7,400
Presbyterian bodies:											
Presbyterian Church in the United States of America	69	69	11,644	64	4,710	6,844	65	1	69	66	1,077,900
United Presbyterian Church of North America	7	7	1,196	6	475	690	6	.....	7	6	178,500
Presbyterian Church in the United States	137	137	15,705	127	5,255	8,430	128	2	153	126	970,615
Protestant Episcopal Church	116	115	6,831	72	1,818	3,379	94	1	96	93	667,650
Reformed bodies:											
Reformed Church in the United States	6	6	1,015	5	402	595	5	.....	5	5	60,300
Roman Catholic Church	162	161	60,337	150	30,215	24,567	127	20	130	121	1,205,805
Salvation Army	11	11	287	11	117	170	2	9	2	2	33,400
Spiritualists:											
Spiritualists (National Spiritualists' Association)	4	4	261	4	97	164	1	3	1	1	20,000
Unitarians	2	2	265	1	92	23	1	1	1	1	25,000
United Brethren bodies:											
Church of the United Brethren in Christ	363	362	29,426	273	9,472	12,815	339	13	339	338	626,701

Denomination	Total	Debt		Parsonages		Current Expenditures for Year		Church Organizations			
	Number of Organizations	Number of Organizations Reporting	Amount of Debt Reported	Number of Organizations Reporting	Value of Parsonages Reported	Number of Organizations Reporting	Amount Reported	Number of Organizations Reporting	Number of Sunday Schools Reported	Number of Officers and Teachers	Number of Scholars
All denominations	4,639	595	$1,382,105	790	$2,353,522	4,088	$3,039,781	3,800	4,050	34,624	337,682
Adventist bodies:											
Advent Christian Church	63	1	136	2	4,000	37	8,075	26	26	156	1,478
Seventh-day Adventist Denomination	10	2	1,453	.....	.....	8	6,468	9	10	72	289
Assemblies of God, General Council	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	2	405	1	1	11	50
Baptist bodies:											
Baptists—											
Northern Baptist Convention	636	31	64,858	51	145,125	608	326,134	525	552	4,591	45,514
Southern Baptist Convention	11	4	15,200	4	19,500	11	25,800	9	11	181	2,010
National Baptist Convention	235	41	43,066	9	35,100	222	98,891	211	211	1,350	10,304
Seventh Day Baptists	6	.....	.....	3	10,200	6	3,521	6	6	66	416
Free Will Baptists	7	1	100	.....	.....	5	311	5	5	35	283
Regular Baptists	42	1	23	.....	.....	13	934	3	3	14	105
United Baptists	40	1	15	.....	.....	9	806	3	3	7	78
Primitive Baptists	14	1	35	.....	.....	5	340	.....	.....	.....	.....
Brethren, German Baptist (Dunkers):											
Church of the Brethren (Conservative Dunkers)	43	3	185	1	900	34	6,397	39	78	512	3,656
Old Order German Baptist Brethren	3	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	20	.....	.....	.....	.....
The Brethren Church (Progressive Dunkers)	7	1	800	.....	.....	7	3,460	7	10	81	568
Christian Church (American Christian Convention)	23	3	168	.....	.....	11	2,582	12	12	77	915
Church of God and Saints of Christ	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Churches of Christ	182	15	10,141	.....	.....	60	16,708	94	95	412	4,777
Churches of God, General Assembly	7	1	250	.....	.....	6	391	6	6	35	207
Churches of God in North America, General Eldership of the	25	4	4,476	.....	.....	20	4,421	16	16	145	1,134
Congregational Churches	2	.....	.....	2	6,000	2	4,630	2	2	26	204
Disciples of Christ	174	28	113,819	13	36,800	103	126,451	142	143	1,541	16,248
Evangelical Association	7	1	400	1	1,000	7	1,211	6	6	68	530
German Evangelical Synod of North America	2	1	1,036	1	3,000	2	5,765	2	2	39	511
Independent churches	9	1	600	.....	.....	7	2,702	7	8	84	1,352
International Apostolic Holiness Church	8	2	4,255	.....	.....	8	5,975	8	10	53	469
Jewish congregations	6	1	2,000	.....	.....	5	5,050	5	5	17	122
Latter Day Saints:											
Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints	7	.....	.....	.....	.....	7	1,694	5	5	47	619
Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints	11	2	660	.....	.....	4	1,260	6	6	56	289
Lutheran bodies:											
General Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the United States of America	28	11	68,500	6	13,500	28	46,116	25	25	392	3,501
United Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the South	9	1	3,355	4	10,000	9	6,172	7	7	53	467
General Council of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in North America	5	2	3,500	3	18,000	5	24,765	5	5	94	798
Evangelical Lutheran Synodical Conference of America	5	.....	.....	.....	.....	5	668	2	2	4	46
Evangelical Lutheran Joint Synod of Ohio and Other States	15	3	27,400	7	12,300	15	13,097	14	14	97	1,058
Mennonite bodies:											
Mennonite Church	7	.....	.....	.....	.....	2	95	1	2	10	80
Methodist bodies:											
Methodist Episcopal Church	1,002	213	355,032	225	616,505	959	586,247	922	956	9,420	88,504
Methodist Protestant Church	316	17	7,490	56	119,850	298	97,221	275	290	2,257	19,643
Wesleyan Methodist Connection of America	8	1	1,228	.....	.....	8	3,971	8	8	51	408
Methodist Episcopal Church, South	687	55	130,626	132	383,602	682	463,336	591	612	5,149	54,006
Free Methodist Church of North America	17	3	4,800	2	5,000	14	6,462	12	12	67	603
African Methodist Episcopal Church	33	13	12,882	7	5,660	31	16,309	28	29	178	1,001
African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church	8	2	220	.....	.....	7	2,386	4	4	28	181
Nonsectarian Churches of Bible Faith	10	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	75	1	1	3	43
Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene	3	2	1,550	.....	.....	3	1,500	3	3	22	171
Pentecostal Holiness Church	3	.....	.....	.....	.....	3	1,089	1	1	8	63
Presbyterian bodies:											
Presbyterian Church in the United States of America	69	12	60,987	31	128,350	62	206,923	64	75	1,032	11,489
United Presbyterian Church of North America	7	3	28,700	3	9,500	6	30,590	7	8	91	980
Presbyterian Church in the United States	137	20	70,413	51	194,550	130	229,858	116	180	1,658	16,861
Protestant Episcopal Church	116	11	19,778	45	187,100	97	130,261	74	76	510	3,809
Reformed bodies:											
Reformed Church in the United States	6	2	1,500	4	16,000	5	10,860	5	6	69	864
Roman Catholic Church	162	38	228,353	62	259,530	124	296,655	109	122	324	7,909
Salvation Army	11	2	10,400	.....	.....	11	36,617	11	12	76	931
Spiritualists:											
Spiritualists (National Spiritualists' Association)	4	1	7,500	.....	.....	2	1,452	1	1	3	75
Unitarians	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
United Brethren bodies:											
Church of the United Brethren in Christ	363	30	56,165	61	106,025	354	144,318	345	353	3,243	30,847
United Evangelical Church	4	.....	.....	1	2,200	4	1,891	4	4	38	423
Universalists	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	485	1	1	9	40
All other denominations	16	7	18,050	3	4,225	12	19,960	9	9	62	753

Moral and Religious Life

The social and moral needs of the people have been met by schools and churches which have adjusted their work to the new conditions resulting from the industrial revolution in the State. The churches have made organized efforts to extend their influence to the new industrial communities often composed of large numbers of foreigners. From 1906 to 1916 the number of church organizations (congregations) increased from 4,042 to 4,639; the number of members from 308,626 to 427,865; the value of church property from $9,733,585 to $15,472,996; and the value of parsonages from $1,622,566 to $2,353,522. For 3,767 organizations reporting in 1916, the number of male members was 155,968 and the number of female members was 202,300.

A valuable aid of the churches in the work of religious and moral training is The West Virginia Sunday School Association, which held its first annual convention at Clarksburg on June 22-24, 1880. Annual conventions, the records show, have been held since 1880, with the exception of the years 1888, 1889 and 1890.

The Association is an inter-denominational voluntary association of all Sunday School workers in West Virginia, numbering in 1921, twenty-seven thousand. It is the only organization in West Virginia which represents all Protestant churches co-operating in an effort to promote religious education. It is the only place where all the churches are represented in assemblies regularly held, covering the entire state and engaged in a program of active co-operative effort. It is represented in each county by a county association, similarly organized, and is affiliated with the International Sunday School Association which is affiliated with the World's Association, a voluntary association of the various national associations.

The work of the Association in the state is to promote the organization of new Sunday Schools in needy communities, and conventions, institutes, conferences, training schools, and other assemblies, held in state, county and district to discuss better methods of Sunday School work. Annually it distributes thousands of pages of leaflets, circular letters, and helpful information. To do this work it has a paid staff of specialists in Sunday School work and an adequate office force of ten directors and clerks is maintained.

The Association has no constitution or by-laws, no creed, and no requirements for the Sunday Schools which compose its membership. In annual conventions it elects its officers and names its committees. It has no dues or assessments. An apportionment of five cents per Sunday School member is asked. Forty of the fifty-five counties paid their apportionment last year in full, giving a total of $11,431.33. There were personal contributions of $10,216.77. Other miscellaneous receipts brought the total to $30,956.34.

Every Sunday School in West Virginia is a member of the Association, either active or inactive. In 1920 there were in the state 3,532 Sunday Schools with a total enrollment of more than 335,000 members. From 1906 to 1916 the number of denominational Sunday Schools increased from 3,699 to 4,321; the number of scholars from 223,777 to 352,752 (an increase of 57.6%); and the number of officers and teachers from 29,037 to 36,633.

Educational Development

In 1863 West Virginia had no state institutions, no social organs to secure general welfare, no common school system, no normal schools and no university. Before 1863 the few schools which were maintained at public expense were primarily for indigent children.[3] The people who had so long agitated the question of free schools for all,[4] influenced by

[3] Mr. Johnson, of Taylor County, speaking in the House of Delegates in 1850, cast the blame for the ignorance of the youth of the state on the East which he said had fastened on the people of Virginia a system of education which "may be very properly called a system of education for the poor and also properly a poor system, one calculated to create and keep up distinctions in society, one so abhorrent to the feelings of the poorer class of people that the children of poor dread to come within the pall of its provisions."

[4] In the constitutional convention of 1829-30 resolutions submitted by western members for the encouragment of public education were opposed by eastern men, some of whom feared the adoption of a system by which the people of the East would be taxed for the education of the children of the West. Morgan, of Monongalia, submitted a resolution that a tax of 25 cents per annum, levied on every free white man of twenty-one, together with an equal amount set aside by the legislature should constitute a fund, the interest of which should be used for elementary education. Mr. Henderson remarked that at that time Virginia made provision for the education of one-eighth of the children annually educated by the small state of Connecticut. Alexander Campbell also introduced a resolution for the

Battelle who said that people were leaving the State because there were no public schools, and consistent with the policy of the West, in 1863 inserted a clause in their constitution providing for their establishment, and promptly secured from their first legislature a law for efficient free schools supported by the interest of an invested school fund, etc. In 1865 the state superintendent reported that there were 431 schools and 387 teachers in the State. In 1866 and 1867 provision was made for colored schools where the number of colored children was sufficient. The constitution provided that white and colored children should not be educated in the same schools.

The new school system encountered many obstacles. The law was opposed by many of the ultra-conservatives who urged the people to disregard it and refused to cooperate with the authorities. In some thinly settled counties of the interior, and along the southern border the people were not able to build schoolhouses. In several counties the superintendents were too ignorant to examine the incompetent teachers. In order to supply the great need for trained teachers, the legislature, in 1867, established normal schools at Huntington, at Fairmont and at West Liberty. In 1872 three additional schools were established at Shepherdstown, Athens and Glenville. By 1869 the school system was better organized, but as late as 1872 over half of the county superintendents failed to submit reports and the state superintendent reported that in many districts there had been no schools for two years. In many others the attendance continued to be poor. In many instances progress was hindered by misuse of funds by the school boards who voted themselves a liberal compensation for their services. The sheriff often postponed the payment of the salary of teachers until they were compelled to sell their orders at great sacrifice to the curbstone broker, often a confederate of the sheriff. In spite of laws to prevent, this abuse continued for more than a quarter of a century. Examinations in many counties continued to be conducted so loosely and so dishonestly that incompetent teachers found little difficulty in securing certificates until finally the widespread jobbery in teachers' certificates was almost terminated in 1903 by the adoption of the uniform examination system.

Supervision of schools by the county superintendent in many counties remained a fraud and a farce for decades. An effort to secure more efficient supervision was made in 1901 by forbidding the county superintendent to teach, and in 1907 by increasing the salary of the office.

To secure better attendance the legislature in 1901 passed a compulsory school law which was made more effective in 1908. The opposition to these laws, which was very strong at first,[5] has gradually declined, although in many instances it is still disregarded or evaded.

encouragement of free schools and seminaries. But with all these resolutions not one word on the subject of education was admitted in the constitution.

The *Kanawha Banner*, commenting on the general mortification which the West felt in securing none of her desired reforms, named three things which in its opinion would not greatly postpone a renewal of the contest between the two sections, and the first of these three things mentioned was "a good system of education."

By 1840 the subject of popular education was much agitated in the West. A remarkable educational convention met at Clarksburg, September 8-9, 1840, and was attended by 130 delegates from the northwest. Its object was to have the general assembly establish a system of free district schools to be supported by the literary fund and a tax on property.

By the time of the election for members of the constitutional convention of 1850, throughout the West, newspapers and candidates pledged themselves for a constitutional system of education where rich and poor should meet on an equality —for the establishment of some form of an equitable system of common school education. But despite this fact and the resolutions of Martin, Faulkner and Carlisle in favor of a constitutional provision, the new constitution was adopted without mention of education.

[5] In 1897 when the subject was strongly agitated the *Logan County Banner* published editorials such as this: "We are so confident that the parent is the proper guardian for his child, that we hope never to see the day when the state shall assume such guardianship except in extreme cases" and "Professor Lewis (who knows nothing about privations of parents in country districts) recommends that the schools be filled up by force, that the sacred precincts of an humble home be entered by the officers of the law and children, half-clad, torn from their mothers. This is what compulsory school law means and we are heartily opposed to compulsory education!"

Although progress was slow for so many years, it has been more rapid in recent years. High schools have increased in number and improved in character. The normal schools, whose work until recently was largely that of the high school, have begun to give more attention to the purpose for which they were formed. A state board of education, created by the revised school law of 1908, was empowered to prepare a course of study for the public schools of the State, and to unify and increase the efficiency of the school system by defining the relations of the different kinds of schools, and by securing better articulation of the school work. Teachers' institutes, summer schools, school libraries, better wages and better teachers contributed to the progress of education in West Virginia.

In 1918 the state superintendent of schools appointed a school code commission which proposed a revised code, later adopted by the legislature of 1919, and providing better facilities for new educational movements.

West Virginia University, since its foundation in 1867, has exerted a gradually increasing influence in the development of the education and other activities of the State. At first it was little more than a classical high school. For many years the growth of the new institution was very slow and uncertain. This retarded growth was due to many causes. Among these causes may be enumerated the partially local foundation, the sectional jealousies, the post-bellum political questions and partisanships, the lack of satisfactory system of secondary schools, the divided responsibility and *laissez faire* policy, and the lack of means of communication with Morgantown, the seat of the institution. Gradually the power and importance of these causes were reduced by changing conditions. Industrial progress has been a prominent factor in the transformation of the earlier school into a real college or university. One may smile now at the earlier bickerings and driftings. The admission of women to the collegiate departments in 1889 and to other departments in 1897 marked a great advance in the educational history of the State.

Although many in the State did not realize it, the University by 1910 was an institution of high rank—ranked by the Carnegie Foundation as better than the University of Virginia.

The growth of the University has been greatly aided by the development of better secondary schools. The normal schools have partially solved the problem of suitable preparatory schools. A preparatory school at Montgomery, opened January, 1897, was established by an act of February 16, 1895. Another was established at Keyser by an act of 1901.

To supply the demand for State institutions where colored people could receive special or more advanced academic training, the colored institute at Farm (Kanawha county) was established in 1891, and the Bluefield colored institute (in Mercer county) was established in 1895.

The State and County Government

The work of the state government has greatly increased by problems resulting from economic and social changes. It seems strange now that William E. Stevenson (later governor) in 1862 would have the idea that the executive would probably not be needed at the capital for more than one month of each year and that he would be absolutely free to spend the remainder of his time upon his farm.[6] The small amount of administrative work done by the governor of that day also seems strange to the younger generation, which has seen only the increasing problems of administrative work of the latest two decades. Necessity has gradually driven out the earlier idea of reducing the work and expense of the government to the lowest minimum.

The executive department consists of the governor, secretary of state,

[6] Stevenson, in reply to the proposal to pay the governor $2,000, stated that $1,600 would surely be enough.

State Capitol Building, Charleston, Destroyed by Fire,
January, 1921
(Courtesy of West Virginia Geological Survey)

treasurer, auditor, attorney-general and superintendent of free schools and after 1912, the commissioner of agriculture.[7] All of these are elected at the time of the presidential election for the term of four years beginning March 4, following. All, except the attorney-general, must reside at the capital. Together, the governor presiding, they act as the Board of Public Works which assesses the value of railroad property, designates banks in which the state money shall be kept and has charge of internal improvements. The governor is ineligible for reelection for the four years next succeeding the term for which he was elected. In case of his disability in the fourth year of his term, the president of the Senate acts as governor, and after him the speaker of the House—and if both fail, the legislature on joint ballot elects an acting governor. Although he may veto the separate items of an appropriation bill, any bill may be passed over his veto by a majority of the total membership of each House. He has no pocket veto. He appoints, subject to the consent of the majority of the members of the Senate, all officers for whose election no other method is provided.

Other state officials (appointed by the governor) are the three members of the state board of control, members of the public service commission, compensation commissioner, librarian, state tax commissioner, adjutant-general, commissioner of banking, state geologist (who serves without pay), chief of the department of mines, health commissioner, state road commission, commissioner of labor, state historian and archivists, chief of department of public safety and hotel inspector.

Among the administrative boards that of first importance is the rotary board of control (created in 1909), consisting of three persons appointed by the governor for terms of six years. At the discretion and upon its approval the appropriations to state institutions (of education, charities and correction), and to various boards and bureaus, are expended.[8] Its creation illustrates the recent tendency toward centralization of administration both for efficiency and for economy. A public service commission was created in 1913.

Among the other important permanent boards, bureaus or commissions are the geological and economic survey, state board of agriculture (superseded by the new department of agriculture after 1912), the department of mines, the state board of health, the bureau of labor, the state road commission, the department of history and archives, state board of education and the state board of regents for the university and normal schools. A state school book commission was established in 1911 to perform the service which was done by the legislature itself until 1897, by county school book boards from 1897 to 1912. Its work after 1919 was performed by the new board of education.

Considering the intimate relation of geological knowledge to the vast resources of the state it is surprising that the geological and economic survey—although urged by Governor Boreman in 1864, by Governor Stevenson in 1870,[9] by Governor Jacob in 1875, and by successive governors—was not created until 1897, and that the first appropriation was only $3,000 and that Dr. I. C. White, the state geologist, a man of national and even international reputation, has continued to do the important work of the office without compensation from the state.

Largely through the need of historical data for use in the Virginia

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[7] By law of 1911 a state department of agriculture was created with a commissioner who took the place of the old state board of agriculture which ceased to exist in 1912.

[8] The State Board of Control has full power in the management and control of all State institutions for defectives, delinquents, and dependents, and it controls the financial and business affairs of various State educational institutions, and also supervises the financial transactions of the newly created department of public safety.

By act of 1919, the legislature established the State Board of Children's Guardians (to take the place of the West Virginia Humane Society), and also created the Department of Public Safety whose financial transactions are also supervised by the State Board of Control.

[9] Stevenson urged that at least a partial survey should be made to correct erroneous reports in regard to the decrease of the population and wealth of the state.

debt case, the Department of Archives and History at Charleston was created by act of 1905, and considerable documentary materials were collected in subsequent years—resulting in the stimulation of the historical spirit and possibly preparing the way for the future creation of a library reference bureau and other means of utilizing the past to aid in the practical solution of present legislative and administrative problems.

In 1864, a commissioner of immigration was provided for but without adequate compensation; and in 1871, the legislature, which was unfriendly to immigration, refused to make an appropriation for the commissioner and transferred the work of the bureau to the board of public works, without satisfactory provisions for its continuance as an active agency.

The first commissioner of immigration (appointed by Governor Boreman) was J. H. DissDebar who before the war had brought a Swiss colony to Santa Clara in Doddridge county. Among the earliest immigrants who came in colonies after the war were the Swiss.

In 1869, a real estate company of New York induced a number of Swiss immigrants to establish a settlement on a branch of the Buckhannon river. In honor of their native village, the colony was called Helvetia. In June, 1879, Carl Lutz, agent for the company that owned a large boundary of land arrived. He was a man of practical qualities of mind and his services were invaluable to the colonists.

In 1872, a Sunday School was organized in Mr. Senhauser's store with store boxes for seats. A little later, Rev. Andreas Kern, from Zurich, Switzerland, organized a German Reformed Church to which about twenty members subscribed. Rev. Kern is still affectionately remembered by his former congregation.

Dr. Carl Stuckey, of Berne, Switzerland, the first physician to locate in Helvetia, was much interested in religious matters and was instrumental in organizing churches and Sunday Schools in the community. The first public school was opened in 1873-4. The first trustees were Gustav Senhauser, John Dever, and Jesse Sharp. The first teacher was a Mr. Wilson.

By frugality and industry these pioneers succeeded in converting the forests into farms, producing various grains and cereals, but they did not swerve from their original purpose of engaging in the dairy business. Accordingly, John Kellenberger of Appenzell, Switzerland, imported, at the instance of the settlers, a herd of brown Swiss cattle, and a company was organized to manufacture Sweitzer cheese. The business lasted several years but was abandoned because of the distance from the railroad and the limitations of local markets. John Teuscher, a member of the company, remained in the business and was recently still making Swiss cheese on his own account.

After nearly half a century, the lumber industry invaded the community, and modern frame houses supplanted the round log structures that had so long sheltered the settlers. The first to engage in the lumber business in Helvetia was Floyd Brown, who later gained the sobriquet of Cherry Brown.

A few years subsequent to the coming of the Swiss to Helvetia, a colony was located nine miles southwest of that town on Turkey Bone mountain. Among the colonists were: Mark Egglison, John Zender, Casper Winkler, John Hartman, Sr., and John Hartman, Jr., Horles Zimmerly, John Lazzy, Peter Swint and a Mr. Stadler, who for a number of years operated a tannery. Although undergoing many privations, this colony did not suffer the inconveniences and hardships experienced by the older colony. However, no preparation was made for their arrival and many lived in tents and houses without windows until better ones could be afforded. Heads of families, in many instances, were compelled to leave home to obtain work in order to maintain their families and pay for their lands.

In April, 1879, a colony of about one hundred Swiss emigrants settled at Alpena, on the eastern slope of the Shaver mountain. In a strange environment, unaccustomed to the tillage of the crops suitable to this soil and climate, they became discouraged and all but about a half dozen families abandoned the country within the first year. About a half dozen families remained and prospered and constitute a valuable acquisition to our population. Those who became permanent residents of the county are Emiel Knutti, Jacob Ratzer, Christian Herdig, Godfrey Herdig and John Herdig.

Although somewhat embittered for a time by the unsatisfactory conditions of their new environment the Swiss colonists of Randolph by industry and intelligence triumphed over obstacles, cemented their friendships, developed a cooperative community spirit, became prosperous and contented in their homes and developed a patriotic attachment to their adopted country.

The governor reported in 1880, that foreign immigration into West Virginia for permanent settlement had "already commenced," and several prosperous colonies were already founded. The first organized effort to promote immigration to the state, launched through the efforts of the Wheeling Chamber of Commerce, was begun on February 29, 1888, by the organization of the West Virginia Immigration and Development

Association with plans for the organization of an auxiliary in every county. Mr. John Nugent who about 1912—without compensation from the state—held a commission to foster immigration of miners, found his efforts blocked.

The chief state institutions are the University, six normal schools, the penitentiary (self supporting), a reform school for boys, an industrial home for girls, a school for the deaf and blind, two hospitals for the insane, an asylum for incurables, three miners' hospitals and a tuberculosis sanitarium.

The legislature (thirty senators and ninety-four members [10] of the House of Delegates) meets in January of odd years. Its membership cannot include persons holding lucrative office under the state or United States government, nor an officer of any court of record, nor salaried officers of railroad companies. Its sessions of forty-five days may be extended by a vote of two-thirds of the members elected to each house. After its adjournment an appropriation bill cannot be vetoed. No act takes effect until ninety days after its passage unless especially otherwise provided by vote of two-thirds of the members of each house.

An amendment to the Constitution, ratified in November, 1918, provided that a budget should be submitted to the legislature by the Board of Public Works, consisting of the elective executive officers. This amendment provided that the bill for the proposed appropriations for the budgets, clearly itemized and classified, should be delivered to the presiding officer of each house by the Board of Public Works. The legislature could not amend the bills so as to create a deficit and was otherwise restricted in regard to amendments. Neither house could consider other appropriations until the budget bill had been finally acted upon.

In case the budget bill had not been acted upon within three days of the expiration of the regular session, the governor was given power to extend the session for a reasonable period during which no other matter except the bill could be considered.

In November, 1920, the people ratified an amendment providing that all regular sessions of the legislature shall have two periods, the first not exceeding 15 days during which no bills shall be passed or rejected except under special recommendation of the governor to provide for public emergency, and then only by vote of 4/5 the members elected to each house. In the second period, beginning on Wednesday after the second Monday in March, no bill shall be introduced in either house without a yea and nay 3/4 vote of all the members elected to each house. The latter period shall not continue longer than 45 days without concurrence of 2/3 of the house.

The purposes of the amendment were to give more time for careful consideration of bills, and to furnish an opportunity for the people to become familiar with the proposed legislation.

The judiciary is composed of a supreme court of appeals (five judges elected for terms of twelve years); twenty-two circuit courts; several courts of limited (generally criminal) jurisdiction created to meet the needs resulting from rapid industrial development in some parts of the state; the county court of three commissioners whose judicial powers are confined to such business as probate, guardians and administrators; justices of the peace (at least one elected for each magisterial district of the county), and city courts. There are no chancery courts, but courts of record have equity jurisdiction. Notary publics are appointed by the governor without limit as to number. The judicial system cannot be changed more frequently than eight years.

Salaries of state officers and judges, which were extremely small in 1863 and remained low for half a century, were greatly increased by 1922.

In 1913, the salary of the State Superintendent was increased to

[10] The House of Delegates which by provisions of Acts of 1901 consisted of 86 members, was increased to 94 members after the election of 1916 (Acts of 1915).

$4,000, the Treasurer to $3,500, and later the salary of the Attorney-General $4,000. By Act of January, 1919, the salary of the Governor was increased to $10,000, to take effect with the inauguration of the new Governor in 1921. In January, 1921, the salaries of the other elective state officers were increased to $5,000.

In 1909, the salaries of the Supreme Court Judges were increased to $5,500. By Act of February, 1919, their salaries were increased to $8,000, effective from July 1, 1919.

By Act of March, 1919, the Circuit Judges were allowed an annual salary of $5,000 with provision for $5,500 in circuits of over 60,000 population.

By the two-period legislative session amendment, ratified in 1920, the salaries of members of the legislature were increased to $500 a year.

County Government. The county is a unit of local government. The sheriff (who also acts as tax collector and treasurer), the prosecuting attorney, the surveyor, the assessor, and the county superintendent of schools are elected by the voters for terms of four years. No person is eligible for election as sheriff for two full consecutive terms. Three commissioners (constituting the county court) and the clerk of the county court (who also has custody of all deeds and other papers presented for record), are elected for six years. The county court is not composed of trial justices (since 1881) but is largely an administrative board for county business affairs, chiefly police and fiscal. It appoints coroners, overseers of the poor and surveyors of the road. It nominates members of the local board of health (who, however, receive their appointment from the state board of health). The board of jury commissioners (two) are appointed by the judge of the circuit court. Each county is divided (by the old Virginia system adopted by the constitution of 1851), into magisterial districts (varying from three to ten) corresponding to the township which was adopted in 1863 and abolished in 1872. Each district elects magistrates (justices of the peace) and constables, and a board of education (a president and two other members) which has power to establish and alter sub-districts, etc.

Recent Political Problems. After 1900 the reform of the tax laws and the extension of state regulation or supervision, as applied to problems of public health and safety or economic and industrial interests, the increase of administrative organization, methods of party control, and the proposals for a primary election law furnished the largest questions in politics. Recent legislation included a much needed pure food law (1907), an act abolishing the sale of cocaine except on prescription of a licensed physician (1911), an act establishing medical inspection in the public school (1911), the appointment of a commission to provide a uniform system for the government of cities and towns (1911), a workmen's compensation law, and the establishment of a public service commission and a bureau of roads (1913). A proposed constitutional amendment prohibiting traffic in intoxicating liquors was submitted to the people at the election of 1912 and ratified by a majority of 90,000 votes. The West Virginia debt question, concerning which Virginia brought a suit before the United States supreme court in 1906, and recently obtained a decision in her favor, had an influence in politics.

The first substantial reform in taxation was made by the legislature of 1901 which increased taxes from corporations and created a tax commission which resulted in additional reforms. The office of tax commissioner was created in 1904. In 1909 Governor Glasscock urged a tax on coal, oil and gas production but the legislation could not be secured. A later pipe-line transportation tax was declared unconstitutional.

The destruction of the capitol building by fire early in January, 1921, precipitated an active but brief agitation for removal of the capital to Clarksburg. The legislature opposed removal, and authorized the appointment of a commission to select a site at Charleston. The decision produced at Charleston a friendlier feeling toward the northern part of the state.

View of Weston, Showing State Hospital at Left
(Courtesy of West Virginia Geological Survey)

Institutions for Dependents, Defectives and Delinquents

West Virginia at the beginning of her statehood had no charitable or reformatory institutions within her boundaries—all such state institutions having been built east of the mountains. The new state, without any permanent home or suitable buildings in which to conduct the work of its government, and in the face of so many other difficulties, was compelled to make temporary arrangements until she could provide something permanent. Many of the insane, who were already at Staunton, remained there until an asylum could be completed, but the county jails were filled with all kinds of unfortunates, the insane, convicts, and juvenile offenders of both sexes. For seven years arrangements were made with other states for the care of the blind.

The hospital for the insane at Weston was opened in 1866, but it did not furnish sufficient accommodation, and some of the insane were confined in the jails until the second hospital was opened at Spencer in 1893. There is still need of additional room for the colored insane. A school for the deaf and the blind was opened at Romney at the close of 1870. Since 1901 efforts have been made to induce the legislature to provide a separate school for the blind in some larger city of the state. In 1897 an asylum was established at Huntington for such incurables as epileptics, idiots, insane and others whose disorders affected their minds.

In 1899, the legislature provided for the construction and maintenance of three miners' hospitals (at Welch, McKendree and Fairmont) to which any person injured in a coal-mine or on a railroad is admitted free of charge.

The legislature of 1911 created a tuberculosis sanitarium, located near Terra Alta on the top of the great Cheat Mountain range. It was opened for the reception of patients in January, 1913. By act of February, 1917, the legislature appropriated $40,000 for the establishment of the state tuberculosis sanitarium for colored people, which was opened for the reception of patients on January 15, 1919.

The necessity of establishing a state prison was urged by Governor Boreman, but the legislature first authorized negotiation with other states for the use of their prisons, and (when this proved unsuccessful) then authorized the governor to use the county jails, until in 1866, it was finally induced, by the escape of prisoners, to provide for a state penitentiary constructed in part by convict labor. The penitentiary was for years not only self-supporting, but earned quite a large surplus which was turned into the state school fund several years ago, instead of being expended in keeping up the property and preventing it from running down. In the last half of 1918, the expenditures were greater than the income. The population of the penitentiary decreased from 1,237 in 1914, to 892 in 1919 and 849 in 1920.

In 1899, the unpleasant notoriety given to the state by exaggerated reports of the sickly details of a public hanging in Jackson county, which appeared in the yellow dailies of New York and other cities, caused the legislature to enact a law against public executions, requiring that all hanging should be conducted within the penitentiary and in the presence of a limited number of witnesses.

In 1890, twenty years after Governor Stevenson first protested against the necessity of confining youthful offenders (of both sexes) with persons whose lives had been given over to crime, the legislature established at Pruntytown a reform school for boys, the name of which was changed to The West Virginia Industrial School for Boys, by act of the legislature in 1913. In 1897, after further urging, it provided for a similar industrial home for girls at Salem. The usefulness of this home is greatly lessened, however, by the great number of feeble minded girls who are kept there. Two years later, it established the West Virginia Humane Society, one aim of which is to improve the condition of children under fourteen years of age who are abandoned, neglected, or cruelly treated. In 1901, it passed an additional act increasing the powers of the society.

The growing feeling that there should be some means provided to prevent the imprisonment of youthful offenders in jails with other prisoners was recently expressed by Governor Glasscock, who also suggested the need, in some West Virginia cities, of juvenile courts with large discretionary powers. In response to an urgent need for a place of temporary shelter or home for children such as came into the custody of the West Virginia Humane Society, the legislature of 1909 established "The West Virginia Children's Home" to be conducted in buildings to be provided by the directors of the humane society, which was authorized to select and purchase the site, and cause the buildings to be erected for a temporary home for children committed to the custody of the society. The home was located at the city of Elkins, and was open for the reception of children on May 9, 1911. By an act of the legislature of 1917 the home was placed under the management of the state board of control.

The Board of Children's Guardians, created in 1919, consists of three members appointed by the governor. It supplanted the former humane society and was designed to look after the general welfare of dependent, neglected, homeless and physically deficient children. It is also interested in the study of the problems and proper care of all other classes of children needing attention. It is required to assist in the enforcement of the Child Labor Law.

Before West Virginia separated from Virginia, the care of her poor was directed by a board of overseers appointed from various districts by the county court. From 1863 to 1873, the overseers, though really agents of the county board of supervisors, were elected by the people of each township. Following the constitution of 1872, the Virginia plan was revived. In 1881 the county court was authorized to provide a county infirmary, workhouse, farm, and other things necessary for the use and benefit of the poor. Since 1903, the messages of the governors have recommended measures to prevent abuses connected with the care of the poor, such as the assignment of their maintenance to the lowest bidder—a practice which still exists in some counties, and was strongly criticised in the last biennial message of Governor Glasscock (1913) who also said that in many instances the jails and almshouses of the state are a disgrace, referring especially to the unsanitary conditions which endanger the health and lives of the inmates.

Inspection and Regulation

Executive agencies for inspection and regulation were developed rather slowly. In 1863 there was only a board of public works, consisting of the executive officials of the state, whose principal duties then related to state turn-pikes and taxation of railroads, but whose work has continued to grow with the development of the state. To relieve this overworked board, Governor White in 1905 recommended a railroad commission, and in 1907 Governor Dawson recommended a commission of corporations to act with the state tax commissioner as a state board of assessors.

An act of 1913 created a public service commission, intended as a court of the people to consider complaints against public service corporations. The act creating the commission provided for a bi-partisan body of four members—two from each of the leading political parties of the state—and committed to it the administration of the Workmen's Compensation Fund. An act of 1915 reduced the membership of the commission from four to three, and removed from its jurisdiction the administration of the Workmen's Compensation Fund.

In February, 1920, the commission established a new department, the telephone department, the duties of which are to investigate and report on telephone facilities and service whenever such investigation may be needed.

The West Virginia Compensation Law was passed by the Legislature of 1913. It was amended at the regular and the first extraordinary ses-

sions of 1915, and became effective, as amended, May 21, 1915. It was later amended at the regular session of 1919, to become effective, as amended, July 1, 1919. The law as passed in 1913 was faulty in that the maximum and minimum amount of compensation payable per week was too low. The original law was really a compromise act, as the friends and advocates of a compensation law concluded that to accept a law which they did not wholly approve would be wiser than to fail entirely in the passage of any legislation in this direction. The compensation fund is administered by the state compensation commissioner.

Although from 1863 there was a vaccine agent, and beginning with 1873 the law provided for three vaccine agents who were required to furnish vaccine matter to all who desired it, there was no provision for state control or regulation of health until 1881, when the legislature created the board of health to regulate the practice of medicine and surgery and to enforce general sanitary measures for preventing, checking and confining epidemics and contagious diseases. The wisdom of this delegation of power has been proven often—notably at Mason City in 1892, in successfully dealing with what threatened to be an epidemic of smallpox. Although this board has sufficient authority, its efficiency has often been impaired by lack of sufficient funds. An act of March 15, 1882, made additional provision regulating the practice of medicine and surgery, by requiring genuine evidence of graduation from a reputable medical college or a regular examination before the state board of health, or an affidavit that the applicant has practiced in the state for ten years. Its enforcement was later contested on the ground that it violated the bill of rights and was unconstitutional so far as it interfered with the vested rights in relation to the practice of medicine. A practitioner at Newburg (in Preston), failing to procure the certificate required under the law, was arested on an indictment of the grand jury and found guilty in the circuit court (April, 1883). On a writ of error he carried the case to the supreme court of appeals which affirmed (November, 1884) the judgment of the lower court on grounds of police regulation, asserting that "The doctor equally with the lawyer requires a special education to qualify him to practice his profession, and that the community is no more competent to judge of the qualifications of a doctor than of a lawyer, and is liable to be imposed upon by imposters and quacks professing to practice medicine." Later he appealed to the United States supreme court which in January, 1889, decided against him on the ground that "the law of West Virginia was intended to secure such skill and learning in the profession of medicine, that the community might trust with confidence those receiving a license under authority of the state."

For three decades after its establishment, the state health board with a secretary who was paid a very meager salary, was little more than an examining board for physicians seeking license to practice medicine. It gave little attention to public health and sanitation.

By an act of 1913 the new state health department received an annual appropriation of $15,000 which enabled it to begin in the state a new era of preventative medicine. In January, 1914, it began the publication of a quarterly health bulletin.

The Hatfield administration, in 1914, began a campaign to prevent pollution of streams by waste matter from various industrial plants such as tanneries, pulp mills and coal mines. It found considerable difficulty because of the laxity of local officials who favored the large industries rather than the fish and the public health, and also because the statute was regarded as inadequate. Among the encouraging responses was the plan of the Parsons Pulp and Paper Company to construct a by-product plant for utilization of the waste material which hitherto had been allowed to flow into the Cheat river.

In November, 1914, a hygienic laboratory was established at Morgantown, by authority of the new law, in connection with the University, with skilled chemists and bacteriologists in charge, and with Dr. John N. Simpson, dean of the Medical School, as director in chief. In 1918,

it was removed to Charleston which it occupied rooms in the city library building, corner of Kanawha and McFarland streets.

Under a new law of 1915, the state health department was placed under direction of an executive officer, the commissioner of health, who is required to maintain his office at the capital. Through a sanitary engineer, it examined water supplies; investigated the flow of streams, with a view to improvement of drinking water.

Many outbreaks of typhoid fever were investigated, the cause found and the epidemic checked. A large number of nuisances were investigated. Many conditions that have long been known as sources of danger to the health of communities, such as sewers discharging into public water supplies, were remedied and many water supplies that were potentially dangerous were rendered uniformly safe for drinking purposes. The department caused several towns, that never had water supplies, to make installations and also aided greatly in the engineering work.

The Public Health Council has the authority under the new law to adopt regulations controlling the production and sale of milk, the sanitation of public halls, schools, railroads, street cars, barber shops, etc.

The work of public health education was conducted to considerable extent in the form of lectures, health exhibits, posters and newspaper notices.

The methods of preparing and handling foods were investigated in fifty-five cities and towns. This necessitated the inspection of grocery stores, markets and many other food establishments.

The Legislature of 1919 added to the work of the department the division of vital statistics, and division of child welfare and public health nursing.

In 1881, a commission of pharmacy was established (without provision for expenses), and the governor was authorized to appoint a board of dentistry (which by an act of 1907 is required to make a report to the governor). A state board of embalmers was created in 1899.

In 1885, the legislature passed an act to prevent the manufacture and sale of mixed and impure butter and cheese, and in 1907 an inadequate law to protect the people against impure foods, which for years had been shipped into the state and sold. Although the law in itself is good it is rendered ineffective by the failure to appoint an inspector.

A proposition to submit to the people a prohibition amendment passed in the house by a vote of 59 to 14, in 1883, but was rejected in the senate by a vote of 15 to 11. In 1885 a similar proposition passed in the senate but failed in the house by two votes. Finally, in response to the popular demand for elimination of the liquor interests from pernicious lobby politics, the legislature in 1912 submitted to the people at the regular state and presidential election a prohibition amendment which they ratified by a majority vote of nearly 100,000.

In 1882, an inadequate weights and measures law was put on the statute book providing for execution through the county courts, fixing the legal weight of certain commodities and establishing "Scribner's rule." In 1897 the section which provided that the Adjutant-General should be ex-officio superintendent of weights and measures was repealed, and since that time there has been no provision for a superintendent. Except in a few instances no attempt was ever made to enforce the law and the outfit furnished by the National government after a long residence at the state house has recently been deposited with the department of physics at the state university where it has been tested for accuracy and mounted for use. A bill for more efficient state regulation of weights and measures received the approval of the house at the session of the legislature in February, 1913, but failed to reach the calendar for consideration in the senate. There was much need of an efficient law providing for inspectors having not only power of super-

vision, but power to enforce the law whenever local authorities fail to act.

Experience indicated that the officer of sealer of weights and measures should be one of the most important in the public service, affording a protection alike to the honest dealer and to the purchasing public; that to secure efficiency in whatever law is passed, there should be some system of administration with reports of inspectors to prevent the chief office from degenerating into a sinecure whose holder is paid a salary to see that no one runs away with the standards; that these inspectors should visit every part of the State to test the official weights and measures and to instruct the local authorities; and that these officials should have power both to work in cooperation with the local authorities or in case of emergencies which demand promptness of action to enter the field of the local officials and to make inspections and arrests without waiting for local action.

At its regular session of 1915 the legislature enacted a more efficient law on weights and measures and entrusted its enforcement to the State Commissioner of Labor. This law was amended by the legislature of 1919. Under it the commissioner is authorized to appoint two deputies or inspectors. Tests, calibrations, and determinations necessary for the execution of the law are made by the director of the physical laboratory, who by appointment of the Board of Regents becomes assistant commissioner of weights and measures.

Beginning with 1879, as a result of industrial development the legislature passed several important laws providing for regulation and inspection. In that year it passed an act providing regulations for the transportation of petroleum or other oils and liquids by railroad companies or transportation companies.

In the same year it enacted a law for regulating coal mines and for the protection of miners. In 1883 it passed acts to prohibit timber obstructions in streams, to suppress prize fighting, to provide for fire escapes and other safety devices on hotels, and to provide for a mine inspector. In 1887 legislation was enacted to provide for the removal of dams from the lower part of the Elk and Guyandotte rivers, to prevent the employment in factories, manufactories, or mines of minors under twelve who cannot read or write, to regulate working, ventilation and drainage of coal mines and for the appointment of two mine inspectors, and to secure to laborers in mines and manufactories fortnightly payment of wages in lawful money. In 1889 it provided for a commissioner of statistics and labor, who as a result of his inspection of industrial establishments has continued to urge additional legislation providing for arbitration, an efficient child labor law, an eight-hour day, payment of wages in lawful money, efficient factory inspection and regulation, safety appliances and other improvements or reforms in the general interest of labor.

An act of 1890 created the office of chief mine inspector, who later had five assistants to aid in visiting the mines of the State. At the session of 1907, the legislature created the department of mines under a chief with twelve district inspectors. At the session of 1919 it reenacted the mining law, providing for a chief of the department and nineteen district mine inspectors.

An act of 1891 created the office of state bank examiner (now state commissioner of banking) to inspect and supervise the banks which had been increasing rapidly in number and in amount of business and had been entirely free from state regulation. A later act of 1907 authorized the commissioner of banking to extend his duties to the building and loan associations, the incorporation of which had been first provided for by act of 1887, the supervision of which had been urged by the governors and auditors since 1891 and which virtually had operated without inspection before 1907. Inspection of hotels was provided in 1913. The legislature of 1879 enacted a statute imposing a heavy penalty on persons transacting the business of insurance without authority. In 1882 Governor Jackson urged the legislature to protect the people

against criminal life insurance companies, known as "graveyard" or "death rattle" companies which took unusual risks.

In 1897 Governor MacCorkle recommended a provision for an insurance commissioner to secure better control of the operations of insurance companies, which, following the inefficient laws of 1872 and 1879, obtained their certificates from the state auditor; but the legislature neglected to act. Subsequent executives offered similar recommendations.

An act of 1875 providing for inspection of tobacco was repealed in 1879. The legislature which met in January, 1879, enacted a law to protect farmers against spurious and adulterated fertilizers and provided for analysis of samples by the professor of chemistry at the University.

The creation of the state board of agriculture in 1891 proved beneficial to the development of the agricultural interests of the State.

Although a fish commission had been created in 1877 and a hatchery had been established at Romney and the game law revised in 1887, the first practical steps toward the preservation of the fish and game of the State was taken by the legislature of 1897, when it provided for a state fish and game warden and subordinate local wardens.

Two important offices created in the first decade of the twentieth century were those of state tax commissioner (1904) and highway inspector (1907). The former inspects the work of the assessors, justices, prosecuting attorneys, clerks of courts, sheriffs, constables and collecting officers, and has power to remove them from office for failure to do their duty.

The legislature of 1909 passed an act authorizing the state tax commissioner to collect license taxes from persons engaged in a business requiring the payment of a license tax, and in certain cases issue licenses to them. Under the provisions of the act of 1909, the state tax commissioner's office, up to the end of the fiscal year June 30, 1920, collected total gross amount of $231,063.73. An act of 1915 provides that the tax commissioner, *ex-officio* chief inspector, shall cause to be published and printed in pamphlet or book form a report showing the financial transactions of the State covering all state departments, officers and boards. This act also requires all the state officers, boards and commissions to keep their financial accounts in records and use forms approved or prescribed by the chief inspector.

The appointment of the state highway inspector was the first practical step taken by the State to improve West Virginia roads, which have so long been repaired by the wasteful system of employing men who know nothing of the principles of road building.[11] The office was abolished in 1911; but several counties have taken a step toward better roads by the employment of a trained road engineer. The legislature of 1913 created a bureau of roads, consisting of chief road engineer employed at the University, the director of the state agricultural experiment station, and two other members appointed by the Governor. The law provides that the services of the chief engineer may be obtained by county courts which make application.[12] In 1879 an act

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[11] In 1869, the commissioner of immigration said that the roads of the state were the most powerful incentive to emigration from the state. In 1896, the governor stated that the few good roads in the state were located in only five counties.

[12] The bureau has general supervision of all public roads, prescribes regulations as to duties of county engineers, enforces all laws and regulations relating to public roads and bridges, and especially their enforcement by road officials, aids and advises county engineers, collects, compiles statistics and disseminates information and analyzes road materials. It may require monthly reports of local road authorities and it may prepare maps showing location of roads. It is required to give instruction at least 10 days each year to county road engineers who are required to visit the office of the bureau to receive the instruction, at the expense of their respective counties. It has authority to establish and maintain stone quarries, crushers and brick kilns and to employ state convict road force.

The chief engineer, appointed by the Governor, receives $3,500 a year for giving instruction in road building and for the performance of other duties assigned by the bureau; and his services are available to all county courts which request them.

was passed authorizing the use of convicts on works of public improvement, including railways; and an act of 1913 provided for the employment of convicts to construct roads in the counties of the State. The legislature of 1913 created the state road bureau, which was directed by a chairman (who was chief road engineer of the State to May 23, 1917). After 1917 the state road commission replaced the entire road bureau.

In November, 1920, the people ratified an amendment authorizing the legislature to provide for a system of state roads and highways connecting at least the various county seats of the State, under the control and supervision of state officers. Under this amendment, the legislature was vested with authority to bond the State to a maximum of $50,000,000, if necessary, to secure a permanent highway. The public sentiment in favor of the amendment was due in part to the publicity campaign of the West Virginia Good Roads Federation which was organized at Parkersburg in June, 1919.

The Bureau of Markets in the State Department of Agriculture was created by an act of the legislature in 1917.

In 1919 the legislature prohibited (with exceptions) employment of children under fourteen in gainful occupation; and under sixteen in dangerous occupations and in night work. It also established for miners under sixteen an eight-hour day and a forty-eight hour week.

The need of a more efficient organization of the militia of the State was felt long before the militia law of 1889. Soon after the close of the war, the law requiring muster and drill was abolished. In 1872 the legislature prohibited enrollment. In 1872 the duties of the adjutant-general were assigned to the state superintendent of education, who refused to exercise them. In 1877 the duties were transferred to the state librarian. In the summer of that year the condition of inefficiency was forcibly illustrated in connection with the strike at Martinsburg, resulting from a reduction of ten per cent in wages by the railroad companies. The brakemen and firemen of freight trains stopped work and drove off the men sent to replace them. The police were powerless to cope with the situation. Of the three militia companies in the State, the company at Martinsburg was in sympathy with the rioters, one from Wheeling arrived but was fired upon and driven back, and one at Moorefield (38 miles distant from Martinsburg) was armed with a type of musket for which the State had no ammunition. The Governor, seeing the hopelessness of controlling the situation with his slender militia forces, and the impossibility of assembling a legislature in time to take any action in the emergency, requested the aid of the National government, which was promptly given. Though several volunteer companies were organized after this disturbance, the state librarian and the Governor urged that no efficient organization was possible without more adequate State provision for uniforms, target practice and encampment. Under the act of 1889, complying with an act of Congress of 1887, a brigade organization of the National Guard was effected in 1890.

By act of March 29, 1919, a state police was created; to relieve the military arm of the State of burdens arising from calamities and disorders, to supplement the work of local police officers in detection and apprehension of criminals and to supplant the system of private employment of men endowed with the power of peace officers. The department has motorcycles and horses sufficient to mount all its members. During the first year it made 1,100 arrests, including thirty-one charged with homicide, five for sending black hand letters, two for rape, one for horse stealing.

In January, 1921, Governor Cornwell, in presenting to the legislature the need of legislation to prevent the danger of violence and bloodshed

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In addition to his salary he receives no fees except expenses when called to consult with county courts or to aid county road engineers. By approval of the bureau he may select such assistants as may be necessary. Their compensation is fixed by the bureau.

in connection with trouble between employers and employees in the mining regions, said, "The first thing necessary is to eliminate the private guards and the company-paid deputy sheriff, and substitute real public officers in their stead."

In January, 1921, Governor Cornwell urged upon the legislature the importance of a stricter state depository law than the present law which was copied from the Virginia statutes over a half century ago. He said: "The lack of centralization of authority over the deposits of State funds renders it impossible to keep the State's money distributed in an equitable manner in the various sections of the State. * * * Every dollar of money paid to the State should be deposited to the credit of the State and every dollar disbursed should be done in the regular manner through the state treasury."

The Governor's recommendation was partly based upon the report of the state treasurer, W. S. Johnson, who said: "West Virginia is still plodding along hampered and fettered by antiquated laws that make it impossible to apply modern business methods and devices in handling the State's business.

"Most of our depository banks execute to the State a bond as such depository, the minimum of which is $50,000. Under our law they are permitted to have deposits of State money to three-fourths of the amount of bond given. As a result of this method of depositing funds, I often find that banks have amounts deposited with them far in excess of their bonded liability, while other banks with good and sufficient bonds and whose needs are perhaps as great as any, receive no deposits of State funds at all.

"No bank with a bad record or one the solvency of which is questioned, should receive any State funds. It is impossible to prevent this under our law. The treasurer may be convinced that a certain bank is doomed, but can not prevent some State, county or district official, or some taxpayer, from depositing large sums of money in it on the eve of its failure.

"The failure of the Day and Night Bank, of Charleston, in 1919, demonstrated in a striking manner the weakness of our depository system. The cause for the discrepancy between the records of the bank and the treasury department, was due to outstanding checks and to the fact that $19,129.21 had been deposited in this insolvent bank, by someone, without the knowledge of the treasurer, and for which the receipt or certificate of deposit did not reach his office for ten days after the failure of the bank. The State, however, lost nothing by this failure."

Before the stern logic of experience and hard business facts Americans in West Virginia, as elsewhere, have given up the old doctrine and theories of division of powers, checks and balances. As an inevitable result of surroundings and necessities resulting in demands for speed, they have gradually become convinced in favor of quick government. They succumbed to a new political idea born of new business and social conditions for which responsibility rests with the men who invented the steam engine, the trolley motor and the passenger elevator, or with the men who discovered the germ theory of diseases. They have accepted a new political philosophy created gradually by mechanical and industrial growth without the eloquence of orators or the blare of trumpets. They no longer regard government as a necessary evil, but now consider it as a convenient positive good through which the people can obtain efficient public service in the conservation of wealth and health. Their public policy has been largely determined by a series of inventions and scientific discoveries. Their social problems have been created by mechanical inventions. Their conversion to the idea of a preventative policy of public health has resulted from the political influence of new discoveries of medicine. Through the influence of various changes of factory and city life, of conditions of health and of education—changes achieved by inventions—they demand that the state shall make itself more useful by extending its functions to new regulatory duties which formerly would have been regarded as paternalistic or socialistic.

CHAPTER XXXIV

DEVELOPMENT OF TAXATION AND FINANCE [1]

(By W. P. Hubbard,[2] of Wheeling)

The development of taxation and finance in West Virginia may be taken to mean the progress made by the State in its legislation and practice, respecting the sources of revenue, the methods of taxation, the regulation of expenditure, and the public accounting. A discussion of it might naturally extend to the financial administration of counties and other local subdivisions, but that important subject can receive only incidental mention here, because any discussion of it would transcend the limits imposed on the present paper, and because the data needed for accurate discussion are not available.

It is only since West Virginia had a tax commissioner, and especially since he was given supervision of public accounting, that statistics of much value have been assembled concerning county and other local taxes. Even as to State matters, the statistics for the earlier years of the State's history are not very full or accurate. As the population, wealth, revenues and expenditures of the State increased, statistics respecting them necessarily received more attntion until now they have become fairly full, although there should be a still better record of the facts with respect to these important branches of the State's activity. The value of statistics lies largely in the comparisons which they make possible, and for the reason that has been suggested, it is not easy to make accurate comparisons as to State finances, and not possible to do so as to the financial affairs of counties and municipalities.

The courtesy of the Auditor has made it possible to show here some of the facts marking the State's progress which appear upon the records of his office. Under his direction the statistics for fifty years so far as available from those records have been gathered with great care and labor. In order to save space, the figures so supplied have been rearranged and somewhat abbreviated in the following tables.

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[1] In the preparation of this article, acknowledgments are due to the Auditor and the Tax Commissioner of the State and to the Director of the United States Census Bureau for statistics and other information promptly and courteously furnished by them, and especially to Dr. Callahan for the use of valuable compilations made by him in his studies of the financial history of the State.

[2] The first part of this chapter was written by the late Hon. W. P. Hubbard. The latter part, covering the period after 1912, was written by E. H. Vickers, professor of economics at West Virginia University.

RECEIPTS BY STATE TREASURY, 1863-1912
(In Thousands of Dollars.)

Population in Thousands[1]	Year	State Tax	General School Tax[2]	School Fund	Licenses	Public Utilities	Insurance Co's.	Corporation Charters	Inheritances	Fees, Secretary & Auditor	Board of Control Fund	Building Fund	State Road Tax	Miscellaneous	Total
396	1863	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	302[3]	302
403	*1864[4]													273	273
409	1865[4]	302	79	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	381
416	1866[4]	118	214	17	6	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	41	396
422	1867[5]	361	153	23	55	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	32	624
429	1868[6]	316	172	23	40	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	214[7]	765
435	1869	232	161	21	40	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	157[8]	611
442	1870	225	163	18	27	87[9]	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	47	567
460	1871	267	170	29	41	3	....	....	....	....	....	43	....	21	574
477	1872	288	227	13	70	2	....	....	....	....	....	73	....	69	742
495	1873	265	240	16	57	4	....	....	....	....	....	63	....	35	680
513	1874	258	230	22	49	2	....	....	....	....	....	67	....	68	696
530	1875	245	214	9	38	2	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	39	547
548	1876	259	219	15	40	9	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	95	637
566	1877	266	195	16	32	8	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	60	577
583	1878	273	257	25	56	10	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	72	693
601	1879	284	224	20	36	10	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	104	678
618	1880	243	243	24	43	27	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	69	649
633	1881	245	229	18	49	40	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	104	685
647	1882	275	299	33	31	52	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	152	852
662	1883	289	246	32	28	59	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	165	819
676	1884	331	227	30	49	101	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	123	861
691	1885	266	186	35	38	99	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	165	789
705	1886	343	406	23	75	190	....	1	....	....	....	....	....	130	1,168
719	1887	322	398	18	112	209	....	15	....	....	....	82	....	160	1,316
734	1888	347	371	44	81	213	....	12	....	....	....	12	....	125	1,205
748	1889	337	314	27	157	222	....	16	....	....	....	....	....	86	1,159
763	1890	419	364	29	106	237	....	32	....	....	....	....	....	19	1,206
782	1891	380	340	114	148	298	....	49	....	....	....	....	....	23	1,352
802	1892	359	346	39	135	280	....	64	....	....	....	1	....	34	1,258
822	1893	497	328	134	227	292	....	69	5	....	....	....	....	93	1,645
841	1894	468	394	142	135	367	....	67	7	....	....	....	....	71	1,651
861	1895	363	406	40	284	369	....	56	1	....	....	....	....	63	1,582
880	1896	423	407	65	132	379	....	80	1	....	....	....	....	38	1,525
900	1897	493	376	83	238	387	....	104	2	....	....	....	....	60	1,743
920	1898	475	436	107	189	393	....	125	3	....	....	....	....	97	1,825
939	1899	434	366	179	202	412	....	131	16	....	....	....	....	96	1,839
959	1900	451	443	83	219	415	....	140	4	....	....	....	....	51	1,806
985	1901	493	437	79	306	420	....	381	3	....	....	....	....	70	2,189
1,012	1902	564	493	88	202	448	36	376	6	....	....	....	....	79	2,292
1,038	1903	529	555	63	415	490	41	391	1	....	....	....	....	62	2,547
1,065	1904	547	566	12	251	547	48	333	6	....	....	....	....	46	2,356
1,092	1905	581	774	40	677	604	51	342	11	17	....	....	....	69	3,166
1,118	1906	437	821	50	579	617	52	372	26	53	....	....	....	61	3,068
1,145	1907	354	722	57	597	1,448	55	389	95	57	....	....	....	71	3,845
1,171	1908	299	615	10	534	1,811	111	400	88	52	....	....	....	88	4,008
1,198	1909	650	713	72	1,051	1,821	112	429	116	58	....	....	....	21	5,043
1,221	1910	570	780	59	798	1,881	116	445	92	67	....	....	115	42	4,965
1,251	1911	639	748	18	802	1,984	126	446	108	61	293	....	103	52	5,380
1,278	1912	338	797	60	800	2,139	133	442	168	66	412	....	9	77	5,441

(*No report made by the Auditor in 1864.)

Notes to Receipts

These figures are based on the records of the United States Census bureau, which show exact returns for Census years and official estimates for other years.

The greater part of this was distributed to counties, etc., as shown under the appropriate head of expenditures.

These figures include capitation taxes which, until recent years, do not appear separately on the Auditor's books.

$175,000 from the State of Virginia.

Fiscal year began January 1st.

Fiscal year ended September 30th.

From 1868 until 1913 fiscal year began October 1st.

Including $175,000 received from United States.

Including $127,679 received from United States.

Received from B. & O. R. R. Co.

EXPENDITURES FROM STATE TREASURY, 1863-1912
(In Thousands of Dollars)

Year	Salaries	Legislature	Printing, Binding, etc.	Militia	General School Fund	School Fund	University	Normal Schools	Hospitals and Charitable Insts.	Criminal Charges	Building Fund	War Claims	Public Utilities Tax Distributed	Miscellaneous	Total
1863	16	45	....	14[1]	....	....	....	....	....	8	....	....	....	13	96
1864	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	232	232
1865	62	19	6	....	68	7	....	....	22	34	....	144	....	55	417
1866	51	21	12	....	107	5	....	....	54	44	....	151	....	33	478
1867	66	23	13	....	155	....	1	5	132	67	....	30	....	127[2]	619
1868	66	45	12	....	202	27	16	11	93	60	....	107	....	112[3]	751
1869	59	21	14	....	139	36	16	16	78	59	....	15	....	100[4]	553
1870	61	22	13	....	57	22	23	25	78	52	....	....	....	67	420
1871	60	27	31	....	247	34	13	8	112	56	....	....	....	70	658
1872	63	29	22	....	178	6	17	15	88	55	....	....	3	111[5]	587
1873	71	75	29	....	250	43	3	....	67	38	40	....	....	104	720
1874	60	32	27	....	240	....	26	2	73	49	68	....	....	80	657
1875	59	29	12	....	231	....	18	13	118	29	....	....	1	66	576
1876	58	34	19	....	220	46	26	6	110	62	....	....	6	96	683
1877	60	33	21	....	212	16	12	9	94	55	....	....	4	76	592
1878	61	....	11	....	200	1	10	14	89	50	....	....	6	130	572
1879	61	35	25	....	258	44	14	12	124	85	....	....	6	107[6]	771
1880	60	....	19	....	225	5	10	1	140	82	....	....	6	67	615
1881	65	38	30	1	269	18	12	7	98	45	....	....	16	84	683
1882	68	45	43	1	271	33	15	10	110	56	....	....	34	112	798
1883	68	28	39	....	265	66	14	9	113	51	....	....	22	203	878
1884	77	....	22	....	268	27	17	10	120	44	....	....	48	248	881
1885	79	28	34	....	211	35	16	12	118	40	....	....	35	224	832
1886	77	....	28	....	244	26	16	15	121	74	38	....	137	203[7]	980
1887	79	46	41	2	418	18	24	20	142	145	97	....	140	152	1,324
1888	84	....	29	....	402	40	20	24	161	71	28	....	198	170	1,227
1889	85	30	36	1	353	29	29	22	161	88	....	....	161	216	1,211
1890	87	32	29	1	313	1	34	23	155	82	....	....	198	86	1,041
1891	95	40	68	6	312	19	35	27	179	68	.	.	248	214[8]	1,311
1892	104	....	41	12	375	11	40	61	221	76	.	.	218	108	1,267
1893	111	43	48	10	364	52	57	57	206	97	.	.	242	271[9]	1,558
1894	111	....	36	18	335	95	25	61	220	81	.	.	324	187[10]	1,497
1895	117	41	38	19	375	7	12	52	250	86	.	.	314	111	1,422
1896	116	....	27	15	424	120	31	84	276	86	.	.	326	76	1,581
1897	124	48	64	34	382	119	48	79	235	168	.	.	327	143	1,771
1898	137	....	20	16	385	55	44	74	240	115	.	.	350	108	1,544
1899	145	54	41	46	405	....	77	92	271	111	.	.	326	214	1,782
1900	144	....	30	24	384	15	106	101	348	107	.	.	381	150	1,790
1901	158	62	41	32	458	151	126	112	394	129	.	.	369	184	2,216
1902	163	....	18	35	456	148	164	124	386	105	.	.	391	157	2,147
1903	208	66	60	62	500	367	197	120	424	157	.	.	424	273[11]	2,858
1904	222	32	22	35	604	89	148	128	441	141	.	.	483	290[12]	2,635
1905	270	83	48	52	580	47	154	138	446	114	.	.	531	439[13]	2,902
1906	268	1	31	45	729	45	155	170	437	105	.	.	573	541[14]	3,099
1907	308	100	54	48	770	62	161	122	494	77	.	.	1,323	286[15]	3,805
1908	402	55	41	54	762	7	146	127	483	71	.	.	1,695	409[16]	4,352
1909	372	87	49	57	705	56	127	141	428	96	....	....	1,821	534[17]	4,473
1910	416	....	42	57	874	79	179	148	441	84	....	....	1,876	615[18]	4,811
1911	455	69	52	59	747	11	166	184	459	75	151	210	1,985	560[19]	5,183
1912	396	....	43	50	764	40	181	216	270	65	368	16	2,137	739[20]	5,486

Board of Control Fund

State Road Tax

(No report made by the Auditor in 1864.)

Notes to Expenditures

[1] Includes $11,963 for arms.
[2] Includes $79,000 paid on penitentiary.
[3] Includes $65,819 paid on penitentiary.
[4] Includes $50,000 paid on penitentiary.
[5] Includes $64,000 expense of constitutional convention.
[6] Includes payments on public buildings, $50,000.
[7] Includes payment on Capitol building, $53,232.
[8] Includes payment to the School fund, $83,541.
[9] Includes payment to the School fund, $100,970.
[10] Includes payment to the School fund, $100,000.
[11] Transferred from State to General School Fund, $330,500, and from the School Fund to Genera Schoo Fund, $36,767.
[12] Transferred from the School Fund to General School Fund, $36,767, and invested for the School Fund $52,000.
[13] Transferred from State to General School Fund, $230,944, and from the School Fund to General Schoo Fund, $36,767.
[14] Transferred from State to General School Fund, $280,195.
[15] Transferred from State to General School Fund, $58,977.
[16] Transferred from State to General School Fund, $297,016.
[17] Transferred from State to General School Fund, $317,254.
[18] Transferred from State to General School Fund, $405,716.
[19] Transferred from State to General School Fund, $412,716.
[20] Transferred from State to General School Fund, $474,285.

RECEIPTS BY STATE TREASURY, 1913–1920
(In Thousands of Dollars)

Year	State Tax	General School Tax	School Fund	Licenses	Public Utilities	Insurance Companies	Corporation Chart'rs	Inheritances	Fees, Secretary and Auditor	Board of Control Fund	Building Fund	State Road Tax	Workmen's Compensation	Miscellaneous	Total of Items Named	Total Receipts[2]
1913[1]	557	608	105	816	2,760	218	307	72	64	481	382	.....	.....	.....	.....	4,252
1914	959	750	27	410	3,015	226	420	281	73	468	402	.....	533	3	.....	6,964
1915	1,351	900	23	206	3,582	232	474	85	69	524	521	.....	1,062	3	.....	8,120
1916	1,583	1,130	39	192	3,639	241	827	156	70	581	626	.....	1,816	1.5	.....	11,296
1917	1,052	750	88	195	4,364	259	742	265	77	607	610	.....	1,905	.....	.....	10,548
1918	1,123	768	131	180	4,473	304	695	340	75	864	631	.....	3,144	1.6	.....	13,922
1919	1,595	1,000	136	215	6,226	353	787	288	69	1,260	1,259	.....	3,406	.....	.....	15,010
1920	.....	715	64	226	.....	381	.....	321	90	1,028	1,111	.....	3,837	.....	.....	19,901

[1] The year 1913 contains nine months, the legislature having changed the end of that fiscal year from September 30 to June 30.
[2] Total receipts include additional which are not listed in the table, and which are not included in the miscellaneous column.

EXPENDITURES FROM STATE TREASURY, 1913–1920
(In Thousands of Dollars)

Year	Salaries[2]	Legislature	Printing, Binding, Etc.	Militia	General School Fund	School Fund	University	Normal Schools	Hospitals and Charitable Institutions	Criminal Charges	Building Fund (Board of Control)[3]	War Claims	Public Utilities Tax Distributed[4]	Workmen's Compensation	Miscellaneous	Totals of Items Named	Total Expenditures[5]
1913[1]	356	71	40	344	501	48	157	100	436	78	382	.....	2,355	.....	2	.....	5,185
1914	525	.....	49	68	760	102	253	311	592	80	402	.....	2,412	133	14	.....	6,691
1915	546	104	64	88	909	20	277	199	624	78	521	.....	2,859	849	35	.....	8,087
1916	551	.....	71	83	1,213	47	331	663	840	73	626	.....	3,075	1,629	4	.....	10,586
1917	615	50	84	86	772	29	343	282	759	61	610	.....	3,707	1,795	17	.....	10,128
1918	659	.....	73	10	792	170	582	284	766	62	631	.....	4,004	3,043	.....	.....	12,139
1919	694	162	129	½	973	61	584	202	259	47	1,259	.....	3,909	4,135	25	.....	16.693
1920	862	26	118	3	674	57	674	351	173	55	1,111	.....	5,144	3,888	11	.....	19,570

[1] Year 1913 contains nine months, the legislature having changed the end of that fiscal year from September 30 to June 30.
[2] Salaries of all state elective officers and their clerks, the officers and instructors of the University and its branches, all the normal schools and the colored institutes.
[3] Board of Control fund.
[4] Taxes paid by public utilities for county (including roads) and district purposes.
[5] Total expenditures include additional items which are not listed in the tables and which are not included in the miscellaneous column.

RATES OF STATE AND STATE SCHOOL LEVIES FOR THE YEARS FROM 1863 TO 1912, INCLUSIVE (UPON EACH $100 VALUE)

	State.	State School.	
1863	$ .40	$ .00	
1864	.30	.00	
1865	.30	.10	
1866	.30	.10	
1867	.30	.10	
1868	.20	.10	
1869	.20	.10	
1870	.25	.10	
1871	.25	.10	
1872	.25	.10	
1873	.25	.10	
1874-1882, inclusive	.20	.10	
1883	.25	.10	
1884	.20	.10	
1885-1904, inclusive	.25	.10	
1905	.16	.06	
1906	.06	.02½	
1907	.05	.00	
1908	.05	.00	
1909	.06	.00	(1c of which is Road Tax.)
1910	.05½	.00	(1c of which is Road Tax.)
1911	.02½	.00	
1912	.01	.00	
1913	.06	.00	

GROWTH OF POPULATION, REVENUE AND TAXES

A few years for which the figures are at hand may be compared, so as to show the recent growth of the state in population; in taxable wealth, gross and per capita; the amount of state taxes; the amount of all taxes; the amount per capita of state revenue, of state property taxes, and of all taxes; and the total average rate of levy.

The comparative growth by decennial periods of population and taxable property in West Virginia may be stated as follows, all the valuations except that for 1910 being from statistics compiled by the United States Census:

[That for 1910 is taken from the State assessment, the census valuation for that year not having been compiled yet. The resulting estimate of per capita wealth for that year is therefore on a different basis from the others, and for purposes of comparison is probably too large.]

	Population	Taxable Wealth	Approximate Wealth per capita	State Revenue per capita. (a)
1870	442,014	$ 190,651,491	$430	$1.28
1880	618,457	340,000,000	550	1.05
1890	762,794	426,887,358	560	1.58
1900	958,800	635,607,830	660	1.47
1904	1,065,055	814,340,202	760	2.21
1910	1,221,119	1,119,828,000	925	4.06

a. Includes public utilities taxes distributed to counties.

The following table shows, in separate columns, state taxes, county and local taxes on property, and the per capita amount of each for 1904 and the years 1909 to 1912, inclusive:

(Stated in Thousands)

	Population	State Taxes	All Other Taxes	Per capita State	Per capita All Other	Per capita Total
1904	1,065	976	5,033	$ .91	$4.72	$5.63
1909	1,198	638	8,664	.53	7.23	7.76
1910	1,224	611	8,846	.50	7.22	7.72
1911	1,251	287	9,453	.23	7.56	7.79
1912	1,277	116	9,909	.09	7.76	7.85

The total average rate of levy throughout the State on each $100.00 of assessed value was for:—

1904	$2.15½
1905	1.84½
1906	.76½
1907	.83⅞
1908	.84⅛
1909	.86½
1910	.84½
1911	.84⅝
1912	.85⅚

The following table will show for 1904 and for the years 1909 to 1912, inclusive, the amount of taxes levied on property by the several taxing authorities. The amounts are stated in thousands of dollars to save space:

	State	Counties	Schools	Roads and Bridges	Municipal	Total
1904	967a	1,701	2,095	502	735	6,009
1909	638b	2,752	3,688	729	1,395	9,302
1910	611b	2,716	3,931	795	1,404	9,457
1911	287	2,727	4,284	952	1,490	9,740
1912	116	2,624	4,583	1,132	1,570	10,025

a. Including State school tax. b. Including State road tax.

The facts shown by the foregoing tables afford the principal basis for the conclusions here stated and by them the reader may test the accuracy of those conclusions, or be guided to others. They will enable him to measure the growth of the State's revenue and expenditures, to classify them, to note the comparative importance of the different classes, to trace the changes in method from time to time, and to test the efficiency and economy of the State's administration.

Of course, comparisons based on these figures may not be absolutely accurate, because changes in the assessment day or in the fiscal year, in the sources of revenue and objects of expenditure, or in methods of bookkeeping and administration, may well make it difficult to apply the same classification throughout the table, and because the growth of treasury transactions tends to complicate the accounts.

A state may be moved, as some individuals are, by the desire to be efficient. When it has clear purposes and ideals, its activity may be thoughtful and logical and definite, and it comes to have a controlling policy. It has been said that the more conscious a state is of having such a policy, the higher is its place in civilization. There are various phases of government activity, though, and a state may have and be conscious of a definite policy as to one of them and not as to another. For example, West Virginia's efforts for good schools have been more persistent and efficient than its efforts for good roads; and the State would naturally seem more civilized to a teacher than to an automobilist.

Taking her whole history together, West Virginia cannot boast a definite, traditional and controlling policy as to taxation and finance. The steps she has taken have for the most part been rather to meet some immediate need for revenue than to heed the calls of justice. This may be due in part to the rapidly changing composition of legislative bodies. At present legislators rarely serve more than one term and cannot be expected to study seriously or understand thoroughly State finances, and the lessons of experience fail of their proper effect. Under a recent wise amendment to the constitution of the United States, providing for the election of senators by the people, members of the legislature will be chosen upon other considerations, and it is to be hoped that capable men may there find creditable careers in aiding the normal, harmonious and logical development of the financial system of the State.

On the single occasion when a fairly complete financial plan was presented, the people of the State came to its understanding and approval with reasonable promptness and vigor, but political controversy and private interest made such breaches in it that what the legislature

enacted was rather a collection of beneficial amendments than a compact, correlated financial system.

Naturally, the purposes, tendencies and results of State taxation have differed from time to time, as differing motives and interests gained or lost influence. These changes of purpose and result may fairly be assigned to five periods of the State's history, and these periods coincide nearly enough with the decennial periods defined by the taking of the United States Census to justify us in using the latter, especially as that will open a wider range in making comparisons.

The Period from 1861 to 1870

The first of these periods extends from the formation of the State, or, indeed, from the reorganization of Virginia in 1861, until 1870. The story of taxation and finance in West Virginia really began when the Government of Virginia was reorganized and had its seat at Wheeling. The men and influences behind that movement were the same which brought the new State into being two years later. The assets of the restored government at first were the laws of Virginia and the recognition of the United States government, for it had no organized body of officers, not even an auditor or treasurer; it had no money and no credit; it could not pay the members of the Convention of June, 1861. But the ways of those men and those times were practical and direct. Governor Pierpont and Peter G. Van Winkle, afterwards United States Senator, called on the cashiers of the two principal banks at Wheeling. The governor told them that a State without money was of no account and that he wanted $10,000 to pay the expenses of the convention, saying that he did not ask a loan to the State, but wanted a bank loan to himself on his individual note, endorsed by Mr. Van Winkle. On that paper he got $5,000 from each bank, with which he paid the expenses of the convention. The seed of the finances of West Virginia was then sown.

Neither then nor afterward, when West Virginia was formed, was there any effort or, indeed, any opportunity to consider and plan financial organization or methods of taxation and the men who were then at work had not been trained in the investigation of such questions.

The restored government of Virginia in February, 1863, in contemplation of the formation of the new state, re-enacted in substance the tax laws of Virginia, except as to slaves.

The West Virginia constitution of 1863 kept in force the common law and statutes of Virginia not repugnant to that constitution. So West Virginia, at its formation, was provided with a fully developed financial system. This had its advantages and its drawbacks. Every other new State was formed in time of peace and had an opportunity to establish its finances in accordance with the needs and spirit of its own people, unembarrassed by any existing system and undisturbed by violence. Every one of them came into being with the good will of all its own people and of the other states. West Virginia, in the midst of war, scarcely assured of its own existence or of that of the Union to which it had been admitted, had problems which were more important even than those of finance and which demanded all its powers. Its men had left productive industry to engage in war. Some were fighting for the State's existence, and it had to contribute to their support as well as bear its ordinary charges. Others of its own citizens were fighting to destroy the State. In nearly half its territory its taxes could not be collected. Railroads were largely exempted from taxation for some time by their Virginia charters.[3] Under such conditions, West Virginia's

[3] *Note* (By J. M. C.)—In connection with the development of the taxation of railroad companies in West Virginia, there were two early controversies, both of which resulted in an appeal to the United States supreme court.

A controversy with the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company in regard to the assessment and collection of taxes (both by the state and by the local authorities) on its property within the state was a source of considerable friction from the beginning of the commonwealth, and the first of a series of controversies over the

financial history in that early period was as creditable as its political history.

With an old system in operation, familiar to the people, strengthened by many interests, influences and prejudices to say nothing of inertia, if West Virginia, even after the war, had desired an ideal system, it would have had the double task of getting rid of the old and forming the new and better one. Therefore, it is not remarkable that the progress that has been made in financial methods in fifty years has been somewhat slow, halting and irregular, with an occasional backward step, or that there is still lack of a thorough and symmetrical system.

The changes in the old system from the time the State was formed until the present, although some of them are important, have for the most part been gradually made, as the need of funds and the appearance of taxable subjects suggested them, and have been rather practical and amendatory than logical and fundamental in their nature. While old taxes have been increased, or in some instances disused, and new taxes have been added, while new methods of assessment and collection have been adopted and new checks on expenditures have been provided, and while, as the State grew, the public undertakings of the State have

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collection of railroad taxes which finally resulted in the enactment of a law requiring all taxes (state, county, district and municipal) to be paid into the state treasury for equitable distribution by the state treasurer—thus placing the state in a position to enforce the collection of all railroad taxes and relieving the local authorities from the expense and trouble of separate suits.

The Act of March 6, 1847, incorporating the B. and O., contained a clause providing that the taxing power of Virginia should not be exercised against the road until its net income should exceed six per cent per annum upon the capital invested. In 1864 the company was charged by the assessors with both state and county taxes, and Marshall county heard the case in April, 1867, and dissolved the injunction. The company, not satisfied with the decree, and desiring to have the case reviewed, assigned six different causes of error and appealed to the supreme court of appeals which affirmed the judgment of the lower court partly on the ground that the net income of the entire road for 1863-64 had exceeded the six per centum on capital invested. (3 W. Va.) The B. and O. then appealed on a writ of error to the United States circuit court for West Virginia, and on a certificate of division of opinion between the judges of the circuit court (Chief Justice Chase and Judge J. J. Jackson) on the question of jurisdiction, the case finally reached the United States supreme court which (December 13, 1869) denied a motion to advance it on the docket. (131 U. S.) Pending a decision of the suit the company compromised for $25 000—a sum which the county greatly needed to pay for the construction of a court house.

The other early controversy resulted from the conditions of incorporation and the later reorganization of the railroad constructed in 1872 along the New and Kanawha rivers and via Teay's valley to Huntington. West Virginia incorporated the Covington and Ohio Railroad Company by an act of March 1, 1866, providing that "no taxation upon the property of said company shall be imposed by the state until the profits of said company shall amount to ten per cent on the capital of said company." Later, by acts of February 26, 1867, and January 26, 1870, the same provision was extended to the reorganized company known as the Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad Company, which after July, 1878, was reorganized as the Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad Company. Finally, to meet popular demand, the West Virginia legislature, by act of January 21, 1879, and without consent of the railway companies, repealed the exemption from taxation granted by the earlier acts, and the state auditor (Joseph S. Miller) in the following December presented to the company a detailed statement of taxes claimed for the year 1879, for state, state-school, county and district purposes, amounting to $27 927.40, payable before January 20, 1880. The company, declaring that the act of 1879 was unconstitutional on the ground that it impaired the obligation of a contract, declined to pay the taxes assessed. The auditor threatened to certify the taxes for collection by officers in counties through which the road was located. The railway company, desiring to avoid a multiplicity of suits for restraining sheriffs, asked the circuit court of Ohio county for an injunction (February, 1880) which was granted. The auditor demurred on the ground that the act of exemption (1866) was unconstitutional and that anyhow it could not apply to the reorganized company. The court, in June, 1881, overruled the motion to dissolve the injunction. The auditor then appealed to the supreme court of appeals which on April 22, 1882, reversed the decision of the lower court and dissolved the injunction, agreeing with the auditor that the exemption clause of the act of 1866 was unconstitutional. (19 W. Va., 408.) The railway company on a writ of error appealed to the United States supreme court which in April, 1885, affirmed the decree of the West Virginia court of appeals, holding that the exemption granted to the Covington and Ohio Railroad Company did not inhere in the property so as to pass by transfer of it, and that immunity from taxation conferred on a corporation by legislation is not a franchise.

widened, yet most of the changes have been more in method than in substance. Notable exceptions to this are to be mentioned later.

State Indebtedness

The formation of West Virginia brought into being a new and specific problem—the apportionment of the debt of Virginia.

West Virginia has no public debt of its own, its constitution forbidding that such debt should be contracted, except to meet casual deficits in the revenue, to redeem a previous liability of the State, to suppress insurrections, to repel invasions, or defend the State in time of war. Fortunately, none of these conditions, unless that which mentions a previous liability of the State was intended to refer to some portion of the debt of Virginia, has ever existed to an extent which caused an indebtedness of any considerable size or for any considerable time.

The sums of money borrowed by the State of West Virginia, as shown by the reports of the State auditor, on account of deficits in the State revenue, are as follows:

1876	Borrowed from The School Fund	$ 46,000	
1876	Borrowed from Banks	24,000	$70,000
1877	Borrowed from Banks		40,541
1878	Borrowed from Banks		55,000
1879	Borrowed—Not shown from whom		64,000
1880	Borrowed from The School Fund	$ 5,000	
1880	Borrowed from Banks	40,000	45,000
1881	Borrowed—Not shown from whom		80,000
1882	Borrowed—Not shown from whom		110,000
1883	Borrowed—Not shown from whom		153,000
1884	Borrowed—Not shown from whom		113,000
1885	Borrowed from The School Fund	$ 34,000	
1885	Borrowed from Banks	110,000	144,000
1886	Borrowed from The School Fund	$ 25,000	
1886	Borrowed from Banks	10,000	35,000
1887	Borrowed from The School Fund	$ 18,000	
1887	Borrowed from Banks	50,000	68,000
1888	Borrowed from Banks		75,000
1889	Borrowed from The School Fund	$ 15,000	
1889	Borrowed from Banks	40,000	55,000
1890, 1891 and 1892, nothing borrowed.			
1893	Borrowed from The School Fund		50,000

Reports do not show any further loans to the State, up to 1912. Those mentioned above were paid long ago.

In December, 1863, the State of West Virginia passed its first general tax law. At first the expenses of the State, outside of the war expenses, were very light, providing the bare necessities of civil government on a modest scale. By the end of the first period, the war with its harassing problems and extraordinary expenses was over, and the State was fairly launched upon its normal career. Throughout this period State revenues were derived almost entirely from taxes on property and on licenses. From these and without any resort to unusual methods, the expenses of government were met. That could have been done only by the exercise of remarkable economy and efficiency in every branch of the government. It is without parallel in the subsequent history of the State, and indicates a business ability in the fathers worthy of mention with their statesmanship in creating a commonwealth.

The Period 1870 to 1880

At the beginning of the second period, that from 1870 to 1880, there was some recurrence to the institutions and methods of Virginia, and

a disposition to disturb the legislation of the preceding period. Shortly after 1870 the State came under the control of those who were attached to the sentiments and methods of the old State and were not entirely satisfied with the changes which had been made in form and substance by the legislation of the new State. A new constitution was adopted in 1872. In terms it permitted the taxation of privileges and licenses. This, perhaps, was unnecessary in view of the well-settled rule that all the legislative power of the State may be exercised by its legislature without any special grant thereof. Indeed, the power of taxation had been widely exercised in Virginia, under the constitution of 1830, which contained no grant of taxing power. This expression in the constitution of 1872 may be taken, however, as an indication of willingness that the field of taxation might be widened. If, however, the legislature could only exercise such powers as were especially granted to it by the constitution, as a majority of the constitutional convention seem to have thought, if we may judge from the many grants of power made in the constitution to the legislature, this provision would have been retrogressive, rather than progressive. It would have hampered the taxation of public utilities and prevented the taxation of inheritances.

During this period taxes on railroads (included in the table under the caption of "Public Utilities") were collected in small amounts, and in the years 1871 to 1874, inclusive, temporary taxes were collected for the construction of public buildings aggregating for the four years nearly $250,000. The averages of revenues and disbursements in this period were almost identical with those in the first period.

The Period from 1880 to 1890

In the third period, from 1880 to 1890, the features of interest were the so-called supplemental order of Governor Jackson against certain exemptions, and the report of the first State Tax Commission. Although the constitution of West Virginia of 1863 definitely provided that all property should be taxed in proportion to its value, but that property used for certain specified purposes might be exempted from taxation, the first legislature undertook to exempt other property than that which the constitution said might be exempted. It provided that the products of agriculture, mining and manufacturing remaining on hand unsold on the assessment day should be exempt. These had been exempted by the Virginia legislature under the constitution of 1851, which permitted the legislature to exempt any property it chose. The exemption was repeated in every revision of the West Virginia statute up to 1882. The State being in need of money, the Governor, in 1883, directed the assessors to disregard the exemptions thus provided by the legislature and to assess the property covered by them. Some assessors refused to do this, insisting that the exemption was legal, or at least that the question was one for the legislature and the courts and not for the Governor. The question was taken to the Supreme Court of Appeals, and it upheld the action of the Governor. The assessments were ostensibly made accordingly, but the addition to the taxable property thereby was very inconsiderable, increasing the total about four per cent. The exemptions, which were more considerable, and which wrought the greatest injustice, were not those which had been expressed in legislation, but others which had grown up gradually in practice, and under which the larger portion of intangible personalty escaped assessment, and a large part of the value of real estate escaped taxation because of its under-valuation. The principal revenue of the State was derived from taxation on property assessed by the assessors of counties or of districts within counties. The rate of State levy being the same in all counties and districts, it was to the interest of each of them to have its property assessed as low as possible, because the lower its assessment, the less was the percentage of the State tax which it must pay and the greater the percentage which other counties or districts must pay. The assessors of the various counties and districts were impelled by local sentiment

to reduce their assessments as low as possible, and an assessor was hardly deemed patriotic who would let himself be outdone by another in this competition. In counties in which there was more than one assessment district a like condition existed between the assessments in the several districts, the assessor of each endeavoring to protect it against an undue share of the county levy.

Before 1904 re-assessments of real estate were made when ordered by the legislature, at intervals of about ten years, usually when more revenue was needed. These re-assessments were made by commissioners appointed for the purpose in the several counties and assessment districts, and the commissioners were men of standing and ability. It was always necessary, the State property tax then being a matter of importance, to have the assessments made by the several commissioners equalized as between the counties and districts. This was ordinarily done by the Board of Public Works, until the re-assessment of 1899, when a special board of equalization composed of five of the most capable men of the State did the work. That Board asked each commissioner "what per cent of the actual appraised value of the real estate was adopted as the valuation" by him. The replies of the commissioners varied all the way from 33⅓% to the full actual value, the percentages stated ranging through 33⅓, 50, 55, 60, 65, 66, 66⅔, 70, 72, 75, 80, 85. In some cases improved lands and wild lands, or lands and buildings, in the same district were valued at different percentages of their actual value. The injustice of such a state of affairs demonstrated the necessity for an assessment of property at its full, "true and actual value."

The exemption of agricultural or manufactured products was, in its amount and nature, inconsiderable in comparison with these other hindrances to just taxation. The best result of the Governor's order and of the litigation which followed was that attention was directed to questions of taxation and finance, and the public mind was to some extent prepared for the consideration of more important questions of that kind which were later to be brought to its attention.

Further interest in questions of this sort attended the appointment and report of a tax commission of three members appointed by the Governor in 1883 under authority of a resolution of the legislature. This commission made several reports in which some of the wrongs of taxation as it was administered were exposed in vigorous terms. Unfortunately, the commission was small in number and so could not be very representative, and, still more unfortunately, the three failed to agree in their recommendations. One dissented in all respects from the views of the other two, and the two differed with one another in some important particulars. The Governor was not in sympathy with the suggestions of the commission, and in laying its report before the Legislature declared that the additions to the revenue growing out of the assessment of personalty theretofore exempted would meet the requirements of the State. Perhaps the serious defect in the report of the commission from a practical point of view was that it did not formulate any bills to carry out its views. Under such circumstances, it could hardly be expected that legislation would follow or that anything of practical value would immediately result. So it proved, and the reports of the commission served only as food for thought for those whose tastes or occupations gave them an interest in such questions. The report, however, contained one suggestion of great value, and that was the recommendation that there should be one State head to the administration of the tax system. Later, through legislation based on the recommendation of the second tax commission hereafter to be mentioned, this idea was realized in the appointment of the State Tax Commissioner, the existence of whose office made possible the success of some of the tax reforms advocated by the last-mentioned commission.

During this period, in 1885, license taxes on corporation charters were first imposed. These taxes being then nominal in amount, the proceeds from them remained inconsiderable during this period. Later they were so developed as to produce large revenues.

The Period from 1890 to 1900

During the fourth period, from 1890 to 1900, there was but little movement with respect to State taxation or finance. In 1887 an act was passed taxing collateral inheritances. Returns from this, however, did not appear until 1893, and for years were insignificant. The statute was not very thorough, and its enforcement was still less so. It, however, was in the line of progress and suggested later legislation under which a large revenue for the State was obtained. The Legislature in 1897 appointed a joint special committee to propose amendments of the State Constitution. The committee gave little attention to taxation and finance, but did propose to limit the State levy to 25 cents and the State school levy to 12½ cents and to deduct mortgages from the valuation of real estate. The first of these suggestions was not of much value in the absence of any provision regulating the valuation of property. The second suggestion was made ostensibly for the benefit of the farming classes. It would have afforded more relief, however, to railroad, mining and manufacturing corporations. In the case of a railroad mortgaged almost to its full value, the mortgage bonds being held outside of the State, it would have left nothing for the State to tax. Indeed, this proposition might have opened the way to much fictitious exemption. These suggestions not only failed of enactment, but failed to attract public attention.

The Period from 1900 to 1910

It was in the fifth period, from 1900 to 1910, that public attention was turned strongly to taxation and finance, and that in all branches of the subject decided progress was made by the State.

This was due largely to the need of revenues to meet the growing expenditures of the State, but also to a sense of the injustice which had existed for many years in the administration of the taxing power.

The second tax commission was appointed under a resolution of the Legislature in 1901. It consisted of five members fairly representative of different localities, interests and politics. Through good fortune, or good management, its report was unanimous. It presented bills carrying out in detail the suggestions in its report. These bills together constituted a comprehensive plan. The commission's suggestions received the approval of the Governor. They were, however, opposed by strong influences in the dominant party of the State, which led to conferences in which it was necessary to make some changes in the bill proposed by the commission in order to facilitate their passage. Still there was opposition before the legislature from strong political and business interests in both great political parties. No action was had at the regular session and it was only at a special session of the legislature, called for the purpose of considering the report and bills, that action on them was had somewhat in accord with the strong popular demand.

While the symmetry of the proposition of the commission was somewhat marred by the changes which were made, so much as was enacted into law constituted the most important and significant advance ever made in West Virginia finances.

Some of the important matters recommended by the commission were: the separation of the sources of revenue for State and local purposes, and to that end the abolition of the State property tax and the increase and extension of license taxes to go to the State; the assessment of all property at its true and actual value and the collection of taxes on so much as is taxable, and thereby the reduction of the rate levied on the property; one assessor in each county with the requisite number of assistants; an annual assessment of realty as well as personalty; a graduated tax on inheritances; the assessment of all public service corporations by the board of public works; limitations on local taxation; the repeal of unconstitutional exemptions; the transfer from the State

to the counties of expenses which are in their control; a tax commissioner.

The commission recommended several measures of economy, the enactment of which has brought about considerable saving. In the reports of the commission, too, are other suggestions which ripened into legislation later during the same period, such as a system of public accounting and the establishment of a central board to control the operation and expenses of the State institutions.

In the special session of 1904 many of the acts recommended by the tax commission were passed, and at the regular session of 1905 these were somewhat amended as to phraseology.

The response in the revenues of the State to the amendments relating to the subjects of taxation was prompt. In 1904 the revenue from licenses was $250,496; in 1907, $597,564, and in 1912, $779,508. In 1904 the taxes on inheritances amounted to $6,443; in 1907, to $95,013, and in 1912 to $168,233. The taxes on public utilities in 1904 were $547,448; in 1907, $1,447,659, and in 1912, $2,138,874.

By an act passed in 1904 the fees collected by the auditor and secretary of state were directed to be paid into the treasury. In 1907 these amounted to $56,877 and in 1912 to $65,734.

While the State expenditures for salaries of officers and clerks, and their contingent expenses, increased from $62,000 in 1865 to $396,000 in 1912, the percentage of the revenues going to that purpose has steadily decreased, having been 16 per cent in 1865, 11 in 1875, 10 in 1885, 7 in 1895, 8 in 1905 and 7 in 1912.

The marked increase in State expenditures has been in those for education. Aggregating under that head the payments to the General School Fund, the School Fund, the University and the Normal Schools, they amounted in 1865 to $75,000; in 1875 to $262,000; in 1885 to $273,000; in 1895 to $445,000; in 1905 to $918,000 and in 1912 to $1,674,000, the amount in the latter year being twenty-two times as much as in 1865 and nearly four times as much as in 1895.

Expenditures upon hospitals and charitable institutions have increased from $78,000 in 1870 to $470,000 in 1912.

The disbursement of funds on account of State institutions, educational, charitable and penal, has been since July, 1909, under the direction of a State Board of Control, whose administration has resulted in large saving to the State.

The State taxes on licenses have produced more revenue than any other class of State taxes. While the abolition of liquor licenses will reduce this very much, the consequent financial benefits in the reduction of expenses and otherwise, which may be hoped for, will inure mainly to the counties and municipalities. It will be wiser to develop new sources of revenue to make good this loss than to yield to the temptation to increase the State property tax. While the latter seems the easy way, it will be found in its consequences to be expensive and unwise, for it leads back to the objectionable financial methods which were largely discarded in 1904.

Conditions, Tendencies and Needs (In 1912)

This consideration and the more serious one of the possible liability of the state for part of the Virginia debt call for a careful and conservative course on the part of the legislature, with regard to expenses of the state, and with regard to the powers of the local taxing authorities, and for a like course on the part of those authorities in the administration of their powers.

The public welfare is largely in the hands of local officers, and their zeal in enforcing the law against their neighbors often needs the spur of public opinion. There is an unceasing conflict between private and public interests, and the latter will yield unless supported by a settled public policy continually and vigilantly asserted. As the State enters its sixth decade, there are some indications that popular interest has

shifted from matters of taxation to other questions. The legislature is not making progress in State finance; indeed, it is not holding at every point the advanced financial position already won.

While the population is increasing the capitation taxes are decreasing. The auditor's records show these separately only since 1906, the figures being for 1907, 165,896; for 1908, 166,976; for 1909, 227,509; for 1910, 213,926; for 1911, 208,086; for 1912, 195,939.

Provision has now been made for the increase of the State property tax, which had nearly disappeared and should be abolished.

The wholesome limits imposed by legislation on the taxing powers of local bodies and on the creation of municipal indebtedness have been broken down in part.

The Tax Commissioner's office, hitherto always efficiently conducted, and always at variance with some private interests, has lately been charged with duties foreign to its nature and original purpose. Some time ago it was given supervision of public accounting, thus bringing it into controversy with local officers throughout the State, who sometimes organize not merely to defeat the enactment of a law in the public interest, but to nullify its execution. Recently the enforcement of the prohibition law, producing a new set of active adversaries, have been assigned to the Tax Commissioner. Overloading this officer with these new and foreign duties, merely because he has been efficient in those which properly belong to him, and to which his office is adapted, is unwise, and is unjust to the administration of the tax system.

While the finances of the State, therefore, now invite serious study and also amendment at various points, State taxation has not up to this time pressed excessively or even seriously on the industry or resources of the people, and the most urgent problems for the reformer lie in the field of local finance and taxation.

All this under the control of the legislature, which may relieve the taxpayer even more by improving his local situation than by direct dealing with the State taxes and expenditures, important as those subjects are.

The Period Since 1912

(By E. H. Vickers)[4]

The period since 1912 is distinctly marked by a huge expansion of expenditures; by fiscal deficits and difficulty in obtaining the necessary additional revenues; and by consequent compromises which violate the principles underlying the reforms imperfectly achieved in the preceding period and which threaten, if uncorrected, to bring about ultimate financial disorganization.

The total expenditure of the State increased from $5,486,000 in 1912 to $19,570,000 in 1920. But this increase cannot be regarded wholly as net expenditure. Still less does it all represent burdens imposed on taxpayers for the support of the State Government. In 1920 over $3,000,000 of the additional sums were tax revenues collected from public utilities and distributed among counties and districts for local government uses. Another $3,900,000 were disbursed for workmen's compensation—an item newly appearing in 1914—out of funds almost wholly paid into the treasury by the employers of the recipient workmen. These seven million dollars are State expenditures only in a nominal sense. Another new and large item in the 1920 total is the cost of the Virginia debt service, which, including allocation from sinking fund, would presumably be about one million dollars. (Interest and incidental expenses were $446,000.) Approximately eight million dollars, out of the total fourteen million dollars of increase, are accounted for by these three uses. Still other large items of expenditure added during this period appear as the result of accounting methods and

[4] The receipts and the expenditures by the State Treasury during the period 1913-1920, as supplied by courtesy of the State Auditor, are appended to the tables of the original article by Mr. Hubbard.

are not real outlays defrayed from taxes and other ordinary revenues of the State.

But there has actually been a large increase in the normal net expenditure of the State. This increase has resulted partly from the great rise in wages, salaries and prices of materials, and in greater part from the enlargement of personnel, from the expansion of existing services and especially from the creation of new services. Thus in the period 1912 to 1920, the expenditure for salaries of officials rose from $396,000 to $862,000; that for buildings rose from $368,000 to $1,111,000; and the funds devoted to education, including the University and the normal schools, swelled from $1,201,000 to $1,756,000. Even the cost of printing and binding grew from $43,000 to $118,000.

Among the services newly created and those reorganized on a much more costly scale during this period, the more noteworthy, as causing enlarged expenditure, are these. Tuberculosis sanitaria (white and colored), $123,000; Department of Agriculture, $84,000; Department of Health, $45,000; Humane Society and Children's Home, $33,000; Public Service and Compensation Commissions, of which salaries are paid by the State, $24,000; Department of Archives and History, $12,000; Department of Public Safety, $95,000 (in lieu of militia which cost $50,000 in 1912); Department of Mines, greatly expanded, $108,000; State Road Commission and various other services of which only a part of the large expenditures are net.

The existing sources of revenue were inadequate to meet the rapidly expanding expenditures of the State. An audit of the State finances. completed in 1914, revealed an actual deficit in the General Fund, as of July 1, 1913, amounting to $480,000. This deficit originated primarily in the extraordinary expenditure of about $350,000 in connection with the industrial disorders of 1912-13 in the Kanawha valley. Meanwhile, further appropriations had been made greatly in excess of the current revenue. Finally, the advent of prohibition, July 1, 1914, wiped out a source of revenue that yielded yearly more than $600,000.

Various methods have been used in order to obtain the additional revenue required to meet the unusual and the growing needs. Anticipating the loss of revenue derived from licenses to sell alcoholic beverages, the legislature in 1913 authorized an increase in the levy of the so-called direct taxes. The rate, which had been only 1 cent on the hundred dollars of valuation in 1912, was made 6 cents for 1913 and 10 cents in 1914. But the deficiency of revenue persisted. Controversy about the method of obtaining the necessary additional revenue became prolonged and embittered. A compromise measure, significantly designated the "Omnibus Bill," resulted. It was enacted May, 1915, by the legislature in the second special session that year called to provide the needed revenues, after the regular session had been adjourned without making such provision. By this compromise measure the direct state tax levy was raised to 15 cents, a new "excise" tax of ½ of 1 per cent was imposed on the net earnings of corporations doing business within the State, and the state charter tax was doubled. The additional revenue thereby secured was sufficient to restore the balance in the State's finances—but only temporarily.

The entrance of the United States into the World war in 1917 occasioned extraordinary expenditures on the part of the State. In order to meet them, *special additional* war levies were authorized in the form of 2 cents in the general levy (which had after 1915 dropped to 9 cents) and ¼ of 1 per cent (making ¾ of 1 per cent) excise tax on the net earnings of corporations.

Final adjudication of the Virginia Debt Case imposed on the State an interest bearing obligation in excess of 13½ million dollars. The necessity to provide for the service of this debt, as well as to meet a great expansion of normal expenditure, obliged the legislature in 1919 again to seek new sources of revenue. Accordingly the special additional tax of ¼ of 1 per cent on the net earnings of corporations, a tax then about to terminate automatically, was re-enacted. Another measure

(abortive) sought to impose a tax of 2 cents per barrel on oil and ⅓ of 1 cent per 1,000 cubic feet on natural gas when transported by pipe line for any distance exceeding 10 miles within the State. For the special service of the Virginia Debt obligations, a levy of 10 cents in direct state tax (making the whole levy 14 cents for 1919) was authorized. Provision was also made for increasing the levy, if necessary, for other State purposes.

Suits at law were promptly instituted to contest the validity of the transportation tax on oil and natural gas. Pending the process of adjudicating this contest the collection of the tax was prevented by means of court injunction. Finally, the State Supreme Court decided that the tax was invalid in so far as applied to oil and gas transported across the State boundary. Failure of this source of revenue again resulted in a deficit and in a consequently embarrassed condition of the State's finances.

The legislature in 1921 enlarged the powers of the Tax Commissioner with a view to effect an assessment of property at its "true and actual value." At a special session, it revised the inheritance tax law with a view to secure an increased yield. But main reliance for the needed addition to revenue was reposed in the enactment of a Gross Sales Tax. This is an annual "privilege" tax to be levied on the gross sales of every business of which the gross sales exceed $10,000. The rate is ⅖ of 1 per cent of the values in the production of minerals and ⅕ of 1 per cent of the values in the case of all other kinds of industry, trade and gainful business or profession. The Gross Sales Tax is a new experiment in taxation. It is likely to be difficult and costly of administration, slow, irregular and uncertain of yield. Meanwhile, the levy of the direct state tax for 1921 was raised to 20 cents on the hundred dollars of valuation—10 cents for the Virginia Debt Service and 10 cents for other State purposes.

In sum, the State has during the period under review had to meet large unusual demands created by industrial disorders, by the World war and by adjudication of liability for a large amount of the Virginia Debt. It has also been forced to meet rapidly growing normal expenditures for the welfare of the people. It has in the exigency unfortunately yielded to the temptation to resort increasingly to the use of the direct taxes for securing the needed revenues. It is even now (January, 1922) seeking greater uniformity of tax burdens and an increase of yield from the direct taxes by a strong effort to raise the assessment valuations throughout the State. This is a grave departure from the fundamental principle of the tax reforms in the preceding period, which principle was that the State would leave the direct tax to the local divisions of government. The use of that tax for State purposes inevitably tends to a competition between counties and districts in order to keep down their assessment valuations, thereby to create inequalities of tax burdens and insuperable difficulties of tax administration. Such was the earlier experience of West Virginia that necessitated the tax reforms of sixteen years ago. Such has been the experience of every State that has sought large revenue for State purposes from that source.

The present necessity for extraordinary effort to secure uniformity at a higher level of the assessed valuation of property is in itself renewed evidence of the impracticability of securing large sums of revenue for State purposes from the direct tax. It signifies the reversal of tendencies initiated by the tax reforms and a return movement towards the financial impotence and inequity which those reforms were designed to correct.

CHAPTER XXXV

INTERSTATE RELATIONS

Between West Virginia and her neighbors, since 1863, there have arisen several questions, two of the oldest and most prominent of which were recently settled by the United States supreme court.

Minor Questions

Among those of minor importance were: (1) the boundary question with Pennsylvania which was settled by a joint boundary commission in 1885-86; (2) the trouble along the Big Sandy boundary between West Virginia and Kentucky resulting from the Hatfield-McCoy feud which, after periodically disturbing the peace for several years, was terminated by the action of Governor Fleming in withdrawing the rewards which had been offered by West Virginia for the arrest of some of the McCoys; and (3) the question of transferring from Virginia to West Virginia the records of original grants of land in West Virginia—a question which was satisfactorily settled by negotiations of Governor Fleming. Among the later sources of friction along the boundaries of the State, the most recent is that resulting from the winding flow of the upper Bluestone along the southern border of Mercer, turning southward into Tazewell county, Virginia, before it resumes its flow northward through West Virginia territory into the New river. The passage of the sewage of Bluefield into the waters of this stream was offensive to the town of Graham, Virginia, which at first resorted to litigation, but later agreed upon a more peaceful method of settlement by granting permission for Bluefield's sewers to pass through her streets to a lower point on the stream.

Among several cases involving the question of extradition, the most prominent was that of Mahon in 1887-88. In September, 1887, the Governor of Kentucky made a requisition on Governor Wilson of West Virginia for Plyant Mahon who was indicted in 1882 for murder in Pike county, Kentucky, and had fled to West Virginia to escape arrest. At the same time he appointed Frank Phillips as agent of Kentucky to receive Mahon and convey him from West Virginia. About January 12, 1888, pending the correspondence on legal questions involved, a body of armed men from Kentucky led by Frank Phillips forcibly arrested Mr. Mahon without warrant or legal process and against his will conveyed him into Pike county, Kentucky, where he was arrested by the sheriff of that county on February 12 and confined in the Pike county jail in obedience to various writs issued after 1882 at each term of court. On February 1, 1888, Governor Wilson of Virginia made a requisition on the Governor of Kentucky for his release and safe conduct back to West Virginia. His request was refused on the ground that the questions involved were judicial and not executive.

Governor Wilson then, on February 9, on behalf of West Virginia, applied to the United States district court for a writ of habeas corpus for release of the prisoner. At the same time John A. Sheppard of West Virginia presented a similar petition for Mr. Mahon. The court issued a writ requiring the jailer, Abner Justice, on February 20, to produce the prisoner before the district court, sitting at Louisville, and on March 3, after hearing the case, denied the motion for discharge of the prisoner, and ordered the United States marshal to return him to the jailer of Pike county. From this order an appeal was carried to the United States circuit court. Governor Wilson in his application proceeded upon the theory that the United States should secure the inviolability of the territory of the state from lawless invasion from other states, and should secure the return of persons forcibly taken from the state.

The case was argued on April 23 and 24, and decided on May 4, 1888. Justice Field in delivering the opinion of the court against the contention of West Virginia, said that no legal way had been provided for compulsory restoration of parties wrongfully abducted from territory of a state by parties from another state.

From this judgment Justice Bradley and Justice Harlan dissented, stating that

the writ of habeas corpus, issued to the jailer holding Mahon in custody was the constitutional legal remedy for settlement of the case by peaceful judicial means, and that the prisoner should have been discharged and allowed to return. "It is not the surrender of the fugitive from justice which is sought," said Justice Bradley, "but the surrender of a citizen unconstitutionally abducted and held in custody for such a wrong. It cannot be that the states in surrendering their right of obtaining redress by military force and reprisals, have no remedy whatever." (U. S. Reports 127, pp. 700-718.)

In 1918 Governor McCall of Massachusetts refused to honor a requisition from the Governor of West Virginia on the ground that the negro criminal for whom the extradition was asked would not receive a fair trial. West Virginia, although it issued a violent protest, was obliged to acquiesce in Governor McCall's decision.

The two large and most important interstate questions, finally settled by the supreme court, were the boundary dispute with Maryland and the debt dispute with Virginia resulting from the separation from the mother state in 1861.

Boundary Dispute with Maryland

The boundary question with Maryland was an old one in regard to the meaning of the "first source of the Potomac," which in Lord Baltimore's charter was mentioned as a point from which to determine the western boundary between Maryland and Virginia. This was marked by the Fairfax stone at the head of Fairfax run of the North Branch in 1746 in accordance with the decision of the line in council, after a careful survey by a boundary commission. The North Branch had practically been accepted as the boundary several years before the revolution, and again in 1785 and even later when Maryland claimed that her western boundary should be located a mile west of Fairfax stone, on the meridian of Potomac Spring, the most western spring of the North Branch.

Although in 1852 Maryland finally accepted the Fairfax stone as a point marking the meridian of her western boundary, in 1859 she secured a new survey of the meridian line northward which terminated at the Pennsylvania boundary about three-fourths of a mile west of the old line (surveyed in 1788) thus laying the basis of later controversies with West Virginia in regard to conflicting land claims and jurisdiction in the triangular strip between the two lines—some of which culminated in personal encounters and breaches of the peace which each State treated as a crime within its jurisdiction and attempted to punish.

Although West Virginia, wearied with the resulting "border war," in 1887 was willing to yield her claims to jurisdiction, Maryland ignored the terms of the proposition and three years later authorized a boundary suit before the supreme court. Into this suit the attorney-general of Maryland injected the old claim to the South Branch as the farthest source of the Potomac—a claim which, if sustained, would have extended the southwest corner of Maryland southward to the southern border of Pendleton county, thus completely dividing West Virginia into two non-contiguous parts. Governor Fleming, with the sanction of the legislature, employed counsel to defend the interests of the State against the claims of Maryland for territory which had been embraced within the limits of Virginia until 1863, and which had been in the undisturbed and exclusive possession of West Virginia and under her jurisdiction and control since 1863. After the suit was brought Maryland proposed arbitration; but West Virginia preferred to leave the settlement to the court.

Although her counsel in the recent suit submitted much documentary evidence bearing upon her title to the South Branch as her southern boundary, Maryland had repeatedly and in many ways recognized the North Branch as the boundary since her abandonment of her claim to the head spring of the South Branch in 1818 and had not really intended to raise the old question when she authorized the suit. Although the old claim was injected into the case, it was not pressed in the briefs and arguments submitted to the court in 1910 by the counsel for Mary-

land—probably because they saw that, even if the court should recognize her original right under the charter of 1632, she had little chance to recover the territory between the North Branch and the South Branch, against estoppel and the doctrine of laches and adverse possession. Admitting that the North Fork was "clearly marked by irresistible evidence as the main stream of the Potomac" they urged that its source was at Potomac Spring (over a mile west of the meridian of Fairfax stone) which should mark the western boundary of Maryland—although no line had ever been run from it before 1897, and the territory between it and the Deakin line was covered by Virginia patents, settled by Virginia citizens, and never under the jurisdiction of Maryland in any way.

Although the location of the Fairfax stone at the head of Fairfax run as the first fountain of the Potomac may have been against the plain provisions of the charter of Lord Baltimore, on February 21, 1910, the supreme court (Justice Day) rendered a decision recognizing the old Deakin line as the boundary between Maryland and West Virginia, beginning at a point where the north and south line from the Fairfax stone crosses the Potomac and "running thence northerly" to the Pennsylvania border. This decision was based on the prescriptive right arising from long continued possession of people claiming rights on the West Virginia side of the line, and the failure of all steps taken to delimitate the boundary established by the running of this line in 1788. (Md. vs. W. Va., 217 U. S. p. 1-47.) It was held that even if a meridian boundary line is not astronomically correct it should not be overthrown after it has been recognized for many years and become the basis for public and private rights of property.

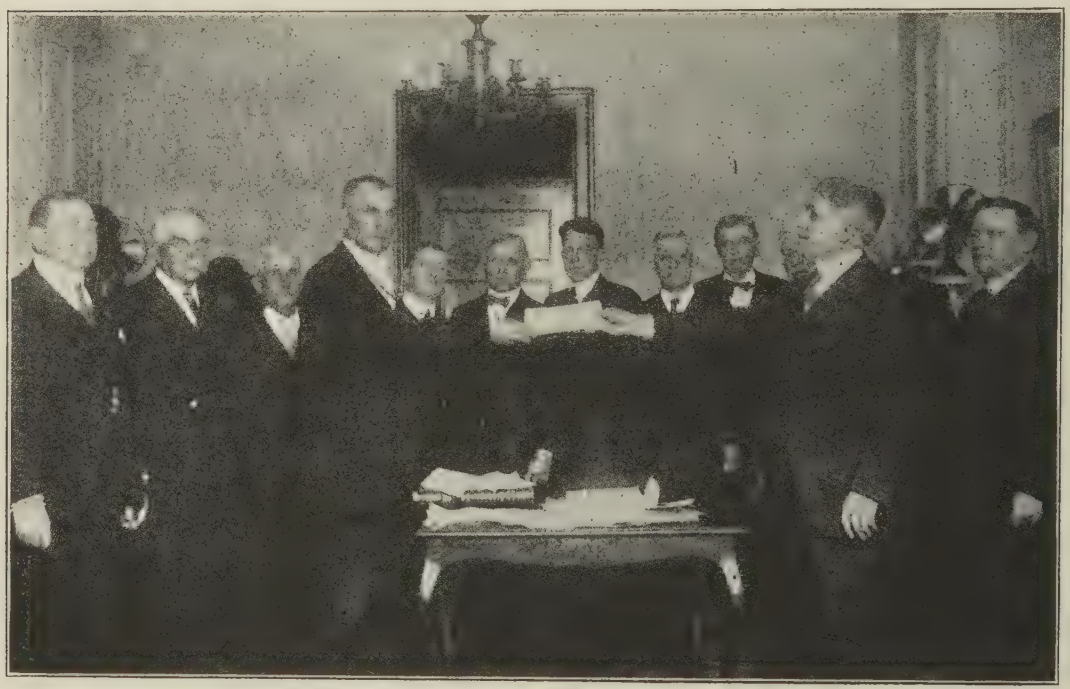
On the basis of a previous decision (Morris vs. U. S., 174 U. S. p. 196) that the rights of Lord Baltimore included the Potomac to the high water mark of the southern or Virginia shore, the court held that West Virginia is not entitled to the Potomac river to the north bank. This still left a difference of opinion as to whether the Potomac boundary should be located at low-water or high-water mark. Arbitrators appointed in 1877 to settle the boundary between Maryland and Virginia had agreed that the boundary contemplated by Lord Baltimore's charter was the right bank of the Potomac at high-water mark but in the light of subsequent events showing that Virginia had always used the south bank as though the soil to low-water mark had always been her own—a condition to which Maryland had assented in the compact of 1785—they decided to fix the boundary at low-water mark. On May 31, 1910, the court (Justice Day), agreeing with the opinion thus reached in the arbitration between Virginia and Maryland, decided that, consistent with the continued previous exercise of political jurisdiction, the uniform southern boundary of Maryland was at low-water mark on the south bank of the Potomac to the intersection of the north and south line between Maryland and West Virginia—thus establishing the proprietary right of West Virginia on the south shore to low-water mark (Maryland vs. West Virginia, 217 U. S. 577-585).

The survey and marking of the boundary in accord with the court decision was accomplished in 1912 by a joint commission.

The Virginia Debt Question

The Virginia debt question arose with the formation of West Virginia, and has been a prominent factor or issue in state politics at various times. At the time of the separation, it was agreed that the new State would assume a just proportion of the public debt of Virginia prior to 1861 "to be ascertained by charging to it all the expenditures within the limits thereof and a just proportion of the ordinary expenses of the state government, since any part of said debt was contracted, and deducting therefrom all moneys paid into the treasury of the commonwealth from the counties included within the said new State, during the same period."

In 1866 Virginia appointed commissioners who, in case of failure to secure reunion of West Virginia to Virginia, were authorized to negotiate for the adjustment of the public debt and a fair division of the public property. The West Virginia legislature, expressing a willingness for a prompt and equitable settlement, authorized the Governor to appoint three commissioners to consider the adjustment of the debt question after the announcement of the decision of the supreme court in the case brought by Virginia for the recovery of Berkeley and Jefferson counties. In February, 1870, Virginia appointed a commission which went to Wheeling and induced the West Virginia legislature to appoint a similar commission to treat for the purpose of adjusting the question. The West Virginia commission, without any appropriation for expenses, failed to act; and, a year later when an appropriation was made by the



SETTLEMENT OF VIRGINIA DEBT

succeeding legislature of 1871, Virginia, having changed her policy on the mode of adjustment, proposed arbitration by commissioners who should not be citizens of either State—a proposal which West Virginia declined.

The West Virginia commission, acting alone, went to Richmond, examined such documents as were accessible, and reported that of the $31,778,877.62, which had been spent on internal improvements, $2,784,-329.29 had been spent in West Virginia. To the latter was added an additional $559,600 from other sources; and from the sum was subtracted a credit of $2,390,369.06, exclusive of taxes paid to the Virginia government, leaving a remainder of $953,360.23 in favor of Virginia. On the ground that the commission had been unable to secure complete data, and for other reasons, the legislature did not accept the conclusions.

In 1873, the subject was considered by the finance committee of the senate. On December 22 the chairman, J. M. Bennett, who had been auditor of Virginia for eight years, submitted a report showing that from 1822 to 1861 the State expenditures in counties in West Virginia was $3,366,929.29, that the counties of West Virginia had paid into the treasury of Virginia at least $3,892,000 besides an equitable portion of the ordinary expenses of the government, and that after

subtracting from this sum the amount expended for internal improvements in West Virginia there was a remainder of over $525,000 in favor of West Virginia. This view was adopted by the people of West Virginia, who believing that they owed no debt, urged the basis of settlement which was persistently refused by Virginia.

In the meantime, in 1871, Virginia passed a funding bill, giving in exchange for the old bonds, new bonds for two-thirds the amount surrendered and certificates for the remaining third. These certificates identified the holders of the unfunded part of the debt and were to be paid only as should be provided in accordance with the future settlement between Virginia and West Virginia. Thus Virginia became liable for these certificates as soon as she settled with West Virginia. In the later certificates of 1879, 1882 and 1892, however, there was a clause

W. S. Johnson—Delivering Bonds to J. L. Dickinson

releasing Virginia from all liability. These Virginia certificates thrown on the market under the misleading name of "West Virginia certificates" greatly injured the financial standing of West Virginia and prevented immigration and investment of capital at a time when they were much needed.

In March, 1894, after Virginia had compromised and settled with her creditors and had been released from all liability, the legislature of Virginia adopted a resolution providing for the appointment of a commission of seven members to negotiate with West Virginia for the payment of the certificates and on the basis that Virginia was bound for only two-thirds of the old debt. In 1895 and in 1896, when the negotiations were proposed, West Virginia refused to accept the condition that Virginia should be held liable for only two-thirds of the old debt. Again in 1900, Virginia, as trustee of the certificate holders, tried to secure an adjustment, but again on conditions which West Virginia could not accept. She then instituted a suit to secure an accounting and settlement under the supervision and direction of the United States supreme court. On various grounds, including lack of authority of the attorney general to bring the suit, the plaintiff's action as trustee for private individuals, lack of jurisdiction by the court, and lack of

power to render or enforce any final judgment or decree in the case, the attorneys for West Virginia entered a demurrer which the court in March, 1907, through Chief Justice Fuller overruled "without prejudice to any question." The court in May, 1908, appointed a special master of accounts under whom the representatives of both parties to the suit collected data on the following subjects for presentation to the court:

(1) The amount and nature of the public debt of Virginia on January 1, 1861;

(2) the extent and assessed value of the territory of Virginia and West Virginia on June 20, 1863, and the population;

(3) expenditures made in the territory of West Virginia from the beginning of items constituting the debt;

(4) proportion of the ordinary expenses of government properly assignable to the counties of West Virginia for the same period, based upon the population and upon estimated valuation of property;

(5) all money paid into the treasury of Virginia, for the period prior to admission of West Virginia into the Union, from counties included within the new state;

(6) the amount and value of all money, property, stocks and credits which West Virginia received from Virginia, not included in preceding items and not acquired by Virginia after the date of the organization of the Restored Government of Virginia.

Evidence was presented to the special master at various meetings from November, 1908, until July, 1909, and the arguments were concluded on January 1, 1910. The final arguments before the supreme court were presented in January, 1911; and, on March 6, the court rendered its decision, tentatively finding that West Virginia's share of the ante-bellum debt of Virginia amounted to $7,182,507.48, and leaving the question of interest for later adjustment. Later, on October 10, the court was asked by Virginia to determine all questions left open by the opinion rendered; but, on October 30, the court refused to proceed further in the case until West Virginia should have an opportunity to take further action through regularly constituted authorities (at the next session of the legislature).

West Virginia then created a "Virginia Debt Commission" to reduce the amount, if possible, preparatory to contingent arrangements for payment.

On June 14, 1915, the court rendered a formal judgment in favor of Virginia against West Virginia for $4,215,622.28, and interest on same at 4% from January 1, 1861, to 1891, and at 3% from January, 1891, to July 1, 1915, making a total interest charge of $8,178,307.22 and a total (interest and principal) of $12,393,929.50 on that date. The court further decreed that this amount should draw interest at 5% until paid.

In June, 1916, Virginia asked the Supreme Court for a writ of execution by levy upon public property of West Virginia. This the court denied for the time in order first to give the West Virginia legislature a "reasonable opportunity to provide for the payment of the judgment." In February, 1917, Virginia filed application for a writ of mandamus against the legislature of West Virginia to compel the levy of a tax to pay the judgment. The court, although (in April, 1918), it deferred action, indicated that appropriate remedies for enforcement could be found, both in the power of Congress and in the power of the judiciary under existing legislation, in case West Virginia should fail to do her duty. On January 1, 1919, the amount of the debt including accrued interest to July 1, 1915, was $14,562,867.16. Of this amount, West Virginia, by act of March 31, 1919, arranged to pay $1,062,867.16 in cash and the balance by an issue of "listable" 3½ per cent bonds (coupon and registered) payable in 1939 (or earlier).

The West Virginia legislature at its regular 1919 session passed a law providing for the payment of this judgment as follows: $13,500,000 in 20-year 3½% bonds in favor of the Commonwealth of Virginia, and a cash payment of $1,062,867.16.

On July 3, 1919, Secretary of State Houston G. Young, Auditor J. S. Darst and Treasurer W. S. Johnson delivered to the Virginia Debt Commission at Richmond, $12,366,500 in bonds. The remainder of the $13,000,000 of bonds amounting to $1,133,500 was held in escrow pending the filing of any remaining outstanding Virginia debt certificates.

The history of this debt question shows that the State of West Virginia was not at fault in the postponement of the settlement of the debt; that for the first fifteen or twenty years after the separation she endeavored to bring about an adjustment, but her efforts in this direction were not met by the State of Virginia, and that the State of Virginia never showed any interest in the settlement of the debt until she, herself, had re-adjusted her debt and been released absolutely from one-third of it without reference to whether West Virginia owed that amount or not.

CHAPTER XXXVI

EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

In the preparation of this chapter, the author of this volume acknowledges the courtesy of Supt. M. P. Shawkey in contributing the survey of public school development, of J. F. Marsh in permitting the use of extracts from his address of November 3, 1921, to the Educational Association at Huntington, and of President Joseph Rosier who contributed the sketch of normal school development.

1. Development of the Public School System

Supt. M. P. Shawkey

The public school system of West Virginia began with the election of Doctor White as State Superintendent in 1864, in accordance with the educational provisions of the first constitution of the state. To be sure Ohio, Kanawha and Jefferson counties had made a beginning before that date, acting under authority of the first general school law of the Old Dominion. This law was enacted in 1846 and gave to any county the authority to establish a system of free schools within certain prescribed limitations. To Jefferson county belongs the honor of being first to establish such schools in the present state of West Virginia. This was done in 1847. Ohio and Kanawha counties followed Jefferson's lead by launching a single school each in 1848. Thus we have before us the simple beginnings of the present state-wide school system of West Virginia. Compared with what we have today they were, indeed, as the grain of mustard seed compared to the full grown tree.

While the free school idea met with much favor among most of the people west of the mountains, the growth of schools was slow, owing to a number of things, but more especially to the sparseness of the population and the straitened circumstances of the people. All this was preliminary to the real development of our present school system. It represents a period of uncertainty, a groping in the dark, a searching after light.

When Doctor White was chosen State Superintendent and entered upon the duties of that office, immediately ideas began to crystallize, the features of a system began to shine forth out of the cloudy doubt and uncertainty.

The report of Doctor White's first year's work sets out with some definiteness the number and kind of schools in the state at the beginning. By that report we find that of the fifty counties then composing the state twenty-two had established a system of free schools, while eleven others had taken some steps toward the establishment of such a system. There were 133 schools with 431 rooms and an enrollment of 17,972 pupils. The enumeration showed 63,458 children of school age.

It was a great good fortune to this state that the direction of her educational interests was at the very first committed to so wise a leader as Doctor William Ryland White.

Laying the foundations.—Doctor White had been a student of Horace Mann, America's greatest educational statesman, and a co-laborer with him. While admitting some discouragement on account of the hard conditions of the early life of the settlers and because of the lack of interest on the part of a large proportion of the people, he nevertheless faced the future hopefully and planned even more wisely than he himself knew. Acting on Doctor White's recommendation, the legislature established the West Virginia University at Morgantown in

1867. Between this great university and the humble elementary schools first established a great gap existed. How that gap has been closed will appear later. It was all in the first far-seeing plan of the first State Superintendent. Doctor White also saw that the first need of these new schools as of all schools was trained teachers. He accordingly recommended the establishment of a series of teacher training schools. The legislature was quick to respond to this suggestion also. In 1867 under its provisions the state acquired the property of Marshall College at Huntington and converted that institution into a state normal school for the training of teachers. Later five other ("branch") normal schools were established, viz.: one at Fairmont in 1868; one at West Liberty in 1870; one at Glenville in 1872; one at Shepherdstown in 1872; one at Athens in 1872.

To call these institutions normal schools was more a declaration of faith than a statement of facts, for they were not professional schools in any sense of the word, yet it would be difficult to overestimate their value in the educational development of the state. They were at first little more than good, strong elementary schools for more mature pupils. Later they took the lead in secondary work; and finally, during the present day, they assumed the character of real normal schools. We get a better conception of the important part they have played in the state's educational development when we recall that they have enrolled and instructed, during these years of growth, something like sixty thousand of the best young men and women of the state. That conception is further quickened when we glance at the roster of men who have served as principals of these schools and note the character of the men and their prominence in the educational affairs of the state. Such men as Doctor William Ryland White, Doctor J. G. Blair, Professor U. S. Fleming, Doctor R. A. Armstrong, Doctor J. N. Deahl, Professor S. B. Brown and Honorable Thos. C. Miller tell the story of the normal school mission in such terms that any comment I might add would simply be trifling with words.

It will be found upon investigation that these normal schools for which Doctor White made such a vigorous fight, declaring that "it would be better to suspend the schools of the state for two years and donate the entire school revenue for that time to the establishment and endowment of a state normal school than to have none at all," with their ups and downs, with their meager equipment and still more meager support, oftentimes fighting for their very existence, have nevertheless reached a larger number of people in the state than any other state school and have done more for the elementary and secondary education of the state than any other institution. They have touched a larger number of teachers in the elementary schools and have been in closer touch with the masses, leading, encouraging and instructing them, than any other of our state institutions. This was their province, and while the work they did through all these years of struggle was very imperfect, the present harvest of results gives additional evidence of the importance of the service which they rendered.

Other agencies.—While recognizing the large amount and the importance of the work the University and the normal schools have done in the development of education in the state, we must not overlook the service rendered by the numerous other educational agencies that have been at work from time to time, serving in one capacity or another, with ideas very much at variance at times but all working toward the final important end. Among the important agencies in the early years especially, the old time academies must not be overlooked. Of these Virgil A. Lewis in his "Handbook of West Virginia" gives a list of sixty-five and calls it a "partial" list. All of these have now disappeared or have been converted into other institutions, but their vital influence may be seen in the educational sentiment and the more modern schools that have grown out of that sentiment in many localities of the state such as Buckhannon, West Liberty, Clarksburg, Charles Town, French Creek and numerous other places. While these academies

were of a local and rather temporary character, they gave rise in the latter part of the half century of our history to a number of larger and more permanent private and denominational institutions which are at the present time playing a significant part in the educational work of the state. No present day view of educational matters in West Virginia would be complete that did not take in the West Virginia Wesleyan College at Buckhannon, Bethany College at Bethany, Salem College at Salem, Broaddus Institute at Philippi, Powhatan College at Charles Town, Morris Harvey College at Barboursville, Beckley Institute at Beckley, Allegheny Collegiate Institute at Alderson, Alderson Academy at Alderson, Davis and Elkins College at Elkins, Lewisburg Seminary at Lewisburg, Greenbrier Presbyterian Military School at Lewisburg, Mount De Chantal Academy at Wheeling and Stephenson Seminary at Charles Town.

The legislature of 1909 recognized the value of the services that some of these institutions were rendering to the state and provided that graduates of their normal departments should be given state certificates without examination the same as the graduates of our state normal schools. The reports for 1912 showed that the private institutions of the state furnished 22 per cent of the graduate teachers to whom certificates were granted without examination.

The other institutions that should be mentioned as contributing materially to the educational development of the state are the West Virginia Colored Institute at Institute, which was established in 1891 and is now equipped with a farm and a splendid group of buildings and enrolls nearly three hundred students annually, and the Bluefield Colored Institute at Bluefield, which was established in 1895 and is rendering much excellent service to the large colored population in the southern section of the state. This school enrolls more than two hundred pupils a year and is crowded to the limit of its capacity. Another institution belonging to this class is Storer College at Harper's Ferry, which was established by John Storer of Maine during the Civil war, but which for many years has been partially supported by state appropriations and has been closely identified with the general educational work of the state.

The schools for the deaf and blind at Romney were established in 1870 on a small scale, but gradually the state has provided more liberally for the education of these two classes and the value of the particular service which these institutions have rendered is very great.

Effectually re-enforcing the work of the public schools and the other educational institutions are the Girls' Industrial School at Salem and the Boys' Industrial School at Pruntytown near Grafton. These institutions have been peculiarly successful in the work which they have undertaken to do.

When we glance back over the record of the state we are likely to evince some enthusiasm over the continuous, substantial and rapid educational advancement. We must not overlook the fact, however, that there have been failures and disappointments along the way, that mistakes have been made here and there, that stubborn obstacles have obstructed the path of progress, and that every advance has meant a fight to overcome opposition of one sort or another.

The vanishing factor.—"Pioneering" in West Virginia has become a matter of history only. The pioneer settler, the pioneer statesman, the pioneer institution and the pioneer teacher have alike disappeared. A picture of that early life which held so much of deprivation, hardship and suffering softens in the distance and shows up other characteristics that appeal to the heart more favorably. The faith, zeal, earnestness and patriotism of the early mountaineers were of as genuine quality as that found among the Spartans of old Greece or the patriots of the Swiss Alps.

The log schoolhouse was crude, but the ideals of life which it upheld were noble in their simplicity, and the passing of that old institution stirs us with mingled feelings of gladness and sorrow. While we

rejoice at the day of more modern architecture, the old log house will ever have a place in memory dear. Its gradual disappearance during the past generation is an accurate index of the thorough revolution that has been going on in the educational work of West Virginia. The figures are striking. In 1890, for instance, there were 1,007 such school buildings in the state out of a total of 4,814 of all classes. In 1900, just ten years later, the total number of school houses had increased from 4,814 to 5,916 but the number of log houses had decreased from 1,007 to 345. In the next decade to 1910 the total number of school buildings increased from 5,916 to 6,674 but the number of log houses had decreased to a mere handful of 75. Our reports for 1912 showed that the use of the log house was gone forever, there being but a scattered half dozen in temporary service as a kind of makeshift, pending the construction of newer buildings.

We have even gone beyond what was once considered a modern frame structure and the average community now demands that the public school shall be of such architectural design as to comply with the latest developments of science. It is built for both health and beauty and stands as an emblem of progress in the community.

Higher standards for teachers.—As the school system of the state developed, the demand for trained teachers became more insistent year by year. For a decade or two the public press and the teachers' institute resolutions kept calling for a reform in the method of issuing teachers' certificates. Accordingly the legislature of 1903 passed a sweeping uniform examination law, placing "the general regulation, direction and control of all matters relating to the examination of applicants for teachers' certificates" in the hands of the State Superintendent of Schools. This sudden change worked some hardship and probably had some temporary ill effects, but on the other hand it removed the certificate-granting authority from the sphere of local control, fixed a wider horizon for the teacher, made him in fact a statewide institution. As a consequence of this open market a rivalry set in among the various districts for securing the best teachers, which was followed naturally by a distinct advance in teachers' salaries. Moreover, the new law gave the state and county superintendents a better means of supervising the work of teaching and afforded the opportunity for a successful organization of reading circles and district institutes. The important outcome of all of this is a marked and gratifying improvement in the personnel of the teaching body of the state which is showing itself in the general improvement of the schools.

A better day for rural schools.—With the revolution of the industrial life of West Virginia there came a crisis in the elementary school work. Abundant opportunities and the remunerative wages lured from the profession of teaching hundreds and hundreds of the older and even younger men and women who formerly found teaching the best business in the community, because it paid a fair cash salary and kept them in touch with the world of active thought. This sudden change was especially hard on the rural schools. At the same time it was discovered that while the towns and cities were developing hundreds of features for the enriching of life, there had been little change in rural life. Consequently those progressive teachers who were disposed to remain in the profession naturally drifted toward the towns and cities. This state in harmony with what was being done elsewhere turned its attention to the rural school problem. Among the first things to be done was to provide a supplementary school fund which would enable even the remotest and poorest rural sections to maintain a six months' term, paying at least the minimum salaries which have been fixed by law. The first supplementary fund of this kind was appropriated by the legislature of 1908 and amounted to $50,000 for teachers' fund purposes. That amount later was increased to $75,000 and $15,000 additional was appropriated for building fund purposes. This form of state aid increased to $483,000 by 1921. At the same time our teachers' institutes and normal schools began to give special attention to the peculiar

problems of the rural school. This was followed in 1910 by the appointment of a State Rural School Supervisor who has especially cooperated with the district supervisors of whom there are now 58 in service. The legislature of 1913 showed its interest in the rural problem by providing the State University with ample funds for agricultural extension work. The development of farm interests of the state will be a potent factor in strengthening and vitalizing the rural schools.

The high school era.—During the first quarter of a century of our existence as a state, the University, which we have seen was established in the very infancy of our state's existence, found it extremely difficult to win large numbers of students for college work. Indeed, it found it necessary to maintain a preparatory department to train boys and girls for college, and this preparatory department became the larger part of the University. The University, together with the other educational agencies, kept on preaching the crusade of higher education, and a decade ago our people began to be aroused to the need of high schools. The high school era may be considered to have begun, however, in 1909, when the State Superintendent organized the division of high schools in the State Department and appointed a State Supervisor of High Schools. The slogan adopted was, "One Hundred High Schools for West Virginia within four years." The crusade was organized, literature published and sent broadcast, and wherever the people manifested an interest in the high school project, information and assistance were given in working out the problem. Meanwhile, legislation was shaped up, and in 1911 the legislature passed a bill providing for state aid to high schools, on a basis of a standard classification which was to be made by the State Superintendent. As a result of this movement and the various influences at work, we have today one hundred and fifteen standard high schools in West Virginia, with something like a score more in process of organization and construction. The value of high school work shows in both directions. It is first reflected in the improved opportunities for intellectual life in the various communities and in the greater interest shown in educational work in these communities, and second in the large increase of enrollment in the freshman class of the University, practically all of whose recruits at the present time are coming from the various high schools of the state. For instance, the freshman class of 1912 of the University was 20 per cent larger than any former freshman class, and not only is the class so much increased in size, but the general average of preparation shown by the students is much better.

We have seen that at the end of the first year's existence of her public school system we had 113 schools only, with 431 teachers, with an enrollment of 17,972 and a total school enumeration of 63,458 children of school age. In a half century the 133 schools increased to 6,866; the 431 teachers to 9,312; the 17,972 pupils to 284,757; and the 63,458 children of school age to 382,938.

The diversified interests of the state afford a great variety of opportunities for industrial life but these things have not occupied the minds of the people to the exclusion of things intellectual. It is gratifying to note that a large number of single-room rural schools even are supplied with libraries for the use of the children and the patrons of the community. In one county in 1913 every single school had a library, and in numerous other counties the larger number of the schools are thus equipped. In 1913 there were 314,430 volumes in our school libraries. In 1912 the state spent for elementary and secondary schools $5,081,603 and for all of our educational institutions including the University $5,691,076. The school property was valued at $14,342,688. Two of the leading cities of the state, Charleston and Parkersburg, by 1913, found a demand for greater high school facilities, and Charleston voted $300,000 bonds for the equipment of a thoroughly modern city high school.

Partly by the use of state funds and mostly by private subscriptions libraries have been placed in nearly all of the rural schools. The num-

ber of volumes reported in 1920 was 500,000. The consolidation of schools, in spite of difficulties, has proceeded at a good rate, more than 500 one-room schools having been abandoned within recent years.

Under the state elementary test for promotion to high school, diplomas were issued to about 10,000 young folks in 1920. With all of the centralization and unification, our laws have been so made and administered as to provide for freedom in local initiative and adaptation.

The compulsory school law passed in 1919 increased the average daily attendance nearly 50,000 in one year.

We now (1920) have 172 classified high schools with 1,129 teachers most of whom hold college degrees, with high school property valued at $10,000,000 these schools have an enrollment of about 20,000 students and graduate about 3,000 each year. State aid for high schools in 1920 amounted to $118,000.

Our state normal schools have advanced into teacher-training institutions offering standard professional courses; one, Marshall College, has grown to collegiate rank.

The new school code enacted in 1919 placed all educational affairs of the state from the kindergarten to the State University in a State Board of Education made up of the State Superintendent as executive officer and six members appointed by the Governor, with an advisory council of three colored citizens.

There was a time not so very long ago when West Virginia perhaps might have offered some apology for her meager school facilities but that day has passed. Let any prospective citizen of the state be assured that if he bring his family to the Mountain State, there will not only be abundant facilities for thorough and liberal education of his children, but he will find such interest and public spirit in matters of education as to afford the greatest possible encouragement for their highest moral and intellectual development.

SUMMARY OF SCHOOL STATISTICS

(For the Years 1918-19, 1919-20 and 1920-21)

		1918-19	1919-20	1920-21
1.	Number of schools	6,908	6,956	7,489
2.	Number of schools with libraries	4,570	4,629	4,378
3.	Number of volumes in libraries	505,273	498,297	488,640
4.	Number of elementary teachers (male)	2,508	2,972	2,936
5.	Number of elementary teachers (female)	7,375	7,305	7,693
6.	Number of high school teachers (male)	334	430	468
7.	Number of high school teachers (female)	681	699	769
8.	Total number of teachers	10,898	11,406	11,866
9.	Average annual salary paid teachers (including high school teachers)	$ 453	$ 581	$ 706
10.	Average length of term in days	137	137	149
11.	Enumeration of school youth	*446,922	**448,670	**449,663
12.	Total enrollment in schools	311,695	341,670	347,841
13.	Average daily attendance	212,699	253,395	267,710
14.	Annual increase in average daily attendance	7,132	40,696	14,315
15.	Per cent of attendance based on enumeration	48	57	59.5
16.	Per cent of attendance based on enrollment	68	74	77
17.	Per cent of enrollment based on enumeration	70	76	77.4
18.	Per capita cost of education based on enumeration	$18.63	$25.18	$28.45
19.	Per capita cost of education based on enrollment	26.70	35.90	36.78
20.	Per capita cost of education based on average daily attendance	39.14	44.57	47.79
A—21.	Total disbursements Teacher's Fund	$ 5,596,071	$ 7,448,394	$ 9,345,119
A—22.	Total disbursements Maintenance Fund	2,729,699	3,843,170	3,449,733
A—23.	Total disbursements for public schools	8,325,769	11,291,563	12,794,852
24.	Total for state educational institutions	1,710,840	1,850,906	2,843,532
25.	Total school expenditures	10,036,610	13,142,470	15,638,384
26.	Value of public school property	21,033,942	25,639,697	27,318,823
27.	Value of state educational institutions	2,720,000	2,775,000	4,066,650
B—28.	Total value of all school property	23,753,942	28,414,697	31,491,473
29.	Number of high schools	160	172	190
30.	Enrollment in public high schools	16,168	18,512	20,236
31.	High school graduates	2,368	2,911	3,191
32.	Total number of first grade (elementary, normal, renewal) certificates issued	1,622	1,521	4,016

*From 6 to 21 years.

**From 6 to 20 years.

A—Numbers 21, 22 and 23 contain report from McDowell County for year 1919-20 instead of 1920-21.

B—Contains 1919-20 report from McDowell County instead of 1920-21.

Discards and Gains of the Half-Century

(extracts from an address by J. F. Marsh)

Changes in state boards.—With respect to state boards, the development of the fifty years shows a strong tendency toward consolidation, centralization and simplification of power. Without giving tiresome details of dates, personnel and duties regarding the various boards, the list below will show in graphic form a summary of this movement:

Boards Abolished	Boards as Now Organized (1921)
The University Board of Regents.	State Board of Education composed of six members appointed by Governor and State Superintendent of Schools.
The Regents of the Normal Schools.	State Board of Control composed of three members appointed by the Governor.
The Regents of the Preparatory Branch at Montgomery.	An Advisory Council (advises State Board of Education relating to negro schools).
The Regents of the Preparatory Branch at Keyser.	
The Regents for West Virginia Colored Institute.	
The Regents for the Bluefield Colored Institute.	
The Regents for the Schools for the Deaf and Blind.	
The Regents for the Reform School for Boys.	
The Regents for the West Virginia Industrial Home for Girls.	
State Board of Examiners.	
State Book Commission.	
Ten Local Boards for Institutions.	

Local boards and trustees.—The sound doctrine of putting the schools of a district or township under the general charge of a small board elected by the people has held through all of these fifty years, but the old trusteeship (three local trustees for each school) has been bombarded, submarined, and gassed from every direction. The following is a sample of the shots fired at this office by the State Superintendents of the earlier and later days:

"The trusteeship is an incumbrance on our school system. * * * It is an incubus—an immense mass of cumbrous, ill-adjusted machinery requiring more force effectively to move it than to work the system successfully without it."

In 1921 the 25,000 or more trustees were largely routed by a provision making their appointment optional, and placing in their stead one local custodian for each school. Now, let us add to that scrap heap of 150 State Board members, 10,000 to 15,000 trustees.

School buildings.—At the beginning of the fifty-year period we had 2,059 school buildings—1,127 frame, 859 log, 63 brick, and 10 stone.

With the rapid increase in population, the erection of new school buildings went on at a lively pace, with a steady and almost uniform increase in number from year to year until we now have some 7,000 buildings, with fully 97 per cent wood and frame structures, and less than 3 per cent brick.

Apparatus.—The high schools which were few, and without special apparatus, a half century ago, now number about 185, all with standard apparatus specifically required by State regulations. In these "Universities of common people" you will find good libraries, all kinds of maps and charts and laboratories to aid in the discovery of the mysteries of a wide range of sciences. This special apparatus of the high schools of the State, to say nothing of the growing equipment of the numerous junior high schools, is now valued in round numbers at one million dollars.

Growth measured in money.—In 1870, we spent a total of $470,000.00 for education in the entire state of West Virginia. According to the State Superintendent's report, Cabell county spent about the same amount last year. Indeed, this good city of Huntington is now spending annually for education almost as much as the entire Commonwealth of

West Virginia was spending for the same purpose fifty years ago. In this connection, it is interesting to note, that in the same period the amount spent per capita based upon enumeration of school youth has increased from $3.35 to $25.26, which represents a growth in our gifts to each child for its education of 654%. While our population has increased 230% our school expenditures, now more than $12,000,000.00 annually, have increased 2,300%.

Progress measured by the course of study.—In 1870, the elementary course of study consisted of reading, writing, arithmetic, some formal grammar, with history and geography recognized as new and doubtful subjects. Ten or fifteen years later a strange feature called "composition" was added to the study of grammar; and about the same time anatomy and physiology, then as horrible to the conservative communities as the Ku Klux Klan, was added while the women blushed and the men wagged their heads, as the children looked at the pictures of the skeletons and the stomachs of drunkards. Then came hygiene giving the technical names of all of the diseases. Later the law required us to teach the evil effects of "alcohol and narcotics" which resulted in a 90,000 majority for the Prohibition Amendment; and, now we have health and sanitation which is causing the children to fight whole armies of germs and to follow every mosquito that whizzes by to his lair, there to engage him in mortal combat. We are training the young army of sanitary experts to make this country so clean that disease will starve for the want of nourishment. A far-visioned legislature of 1911 required the teaching of agriculture in all of our schools. This subject has withstood all of the jibes at "book farming" and is now pursued by some 50,000 youth in our elementary schools and 2,000 in our high schools. In addition to the search for the scientific facts relating to farming in the school, the 100,000 farmers of the State with their wives and families are being constantly instructed through the Press, the State and National Departments of Education, and the extension division of our University which is sending the results of the latest agricultural discoveries to every nook and corner of the State. Then came civil government near the beginning of the present century, and within recent years the elementary schools have been given the subjects of drawing, music, physical education, and general science, thrift, commercial work, and for any time that may drag on the teacher's hands she is supposed to add to her daily work, Americanism, manners and morals, fire prevention and safety first.

The course of study of our high schools which are partly relieved from the hum-drum necessity of laying the common foundations for our citizenship has expressed with finer sensitiveness the changing demands of the times and the growing conception of public education. The high school of 50 years ago represented by the old academies confined their efforts almost entirely to English, history, mathematics and the languages. The many different subjects added to the curriculum, since that day, will show us the distance we have travelled in the half century.

We have added to the educational scrap heap about half of the old spelling books which contained such words as, "Chef d'oeuvre," "Tintinnabulation," and "Ticdouloureux," the old blue-backed grammar, with its cases, genders, numbers, parsings, and sprawled-out diagrams; the old-fashioned geography that pictured the earth as a smooth ball with ten thousand black spots on it for pupils to name and locate. Much of the intricate formulae of the old mathematics, many Latin endings and Greek roots, and the good old stories of the readers that always wound up with a moral. On the other hand, we add to the bulging pile of new things the little spelling book with only the words of everyday use, the language book that deals with language as "she is," the geography that teaches about a world peopled with business partners and neighbors, and the great mass of new and strange subjects listed

above bristling at all corners with suggestions for the work-a-day world and the 1921-model citizen.

Changes in teaching force.—When the first Education Association meeting was held 50 years ago, we had a teaching force of approximately 2,500. Today it requires 12,000 teachers to lead our army of 350,000 pupils. In the same time the amount of the payroll has increased from $328,000.00 to $7,500,000.00; and the monthly pay from an average of $33.50 to approximately $90.00.

When the trembling youngster of 50 years ago entered the school house door, the chances were five to one that he would meet a grim-visaged male teacher, as 80% of us were then of the less deadly of the species. The proportionate number of lady teachers grew a pace but the men kept the lead for more than 30 years of the period under discussion. * * * Now, the situation is reversed. Of the 12,000 teachers in the State, only a little more than 3,000 of us are classified as male. * * *

High schools.—In 1870, the records indicate that we had one high school, in 1871 three, in 1883, six, and ten years later than that, twenty, although many schools so listed were not to be compared with the high schools of the modern day. The real high school era began in 1909 when State Superintendent Shawkey, organized a State division of high schools, with L. L. Friend in charge, and adopted the slogan, "One hundred high schools in West Virginia in four years."

Now, we have 185 classified high schools employing 1,200 highly trained teachers, and enrolling approximately 20,000 students. These serviceable institutions opening wide their doors to the youth of all the cities, towns, camps, valleys, hills, and mountains are sifting out and preparing the leaders that will insure the better day for our great Mountain State.

Our great leaders.—The State Superintendents of the first decade of the half century deserve great credit for preaching the gospel to a half convinced citizenship, and of bringing school officers everywhere to a sense of their responsibilities and opportunities. B. L. Butcher in spite of his youth, became a national leader and brought our State into helpful contact with the sister-states. B. S. Morgan insisted upon a better professional spirit, and a better preparation on the part of teachers. The venerable Virgil A. Lewis, taught and lived the love of the West Virginia hills, while J. R. Trotter insisted upon a better co-ordinated effort for education throughout the entire school system. To Thomas C. Miller belongs the glory trailed by the bold crusader for a great cause. His enthusiasm was caught up by all of the educational leaders and agencies of the State and brought public sentiment for better schools to a high tide. M. P. Shawkey as State Superintendent, brought to our schools a master mind for organization and for twelve years directed our educational energies with a certainty and spirit that inspired confidence and forward looking everywhere.

2. Normal Schools

President Joseph Rosier

The first State Normal School was established at Lexington, Massachusetts in 1839, twenty-four years before West Virginia was created as a result of the Civil war. The first Normal School in Pennsylvania was started at Philadelphia in 1848. The Normal School located at Ypsilanti, Michigan, in 1850, was the first state supported institution for the training of teachers established west of the Allegheny Mountains. These institutions were founded as a result of several years of study and agitation for the special training of teachers for the elementary schools of our country. To James G. Carter has usually been given the honor of the title of "Father of Normal Schools in America." As early as 1825, he published articles and made appeals to the public in the interest

of teacher training, and in 1827 he opened a school for the special training of teachers at Lancaster, Massachusetts. Henry Barnard, in his Annals of Education, did much to create sentiment for the professional training of teachers, and to secure public support and approval. Horace Mann, in his Fifth Annual Report, issued in 1842, discusses the teacher, Normal Schools and pedagogical books. Other educational leaders of that period emphasized the value and the importance of special training for teachers.

When the State of West Virginia was formed, in 1863, the movement for the establishment of state supported Normal Schools was already under way in many states of the Union. The first Governor of the State, Arthur I. Boreman, in a message to the First Session of the Legislature, called the attention of that body to its obligation to provide as soon as practicable for the establishment of a thorough and efficient system of free schools. State Superintendent of Schools William R. White, in his report for 1866 discussed the importance of the

Administration Building, State Normal School, West Liberty

training of teachers for the public schools, and urgently recommended the establishment of Normal Schools for this purpose. At the session of the legislature convened in 1867, provision was made by law for the establishment of State Normal Schools at Huntington, Fairmont, and West Liberty. At the session of the legislature held in 1872, provisions were made for the establishment of Normal Schools at Glenville, Athens and Shepherdstown. Realizing the need of the colored schools of the State, the legislature of 1891 established an institution for the higher education of colored people at Institute, known as the West Virginia Colored Institute, a large part of whose work should be the training of teachers for the colored schools, and in 1895, a second normal training school for colored teachers was established at Bluefield. In 1915, the legislature provided for the support of ten Normal Training high schools, to be located in different parts of the State, and to receive state aid for teacher training. The legislature of 1921 increased the number of state aided normal training high schools to twenty. These various institutions have been established and are supported by the State for the purpose of securing a better qualified and more efficient body of teachers in the public schools. A history of teacher training in the State would not be complete without a recognition of the service rendered by the various denominational and private educational institutions that have provided courses of teacher training similar to those offered by the State Schools. These private institutions have trained many men and women for service in the schools of the State.

The early history of the Normal Schools of West Virginia like the history of most institutions is intimately associated with the personalities of men and women who gave their best services and built up the ideals that have guided the institutions in all of their development. In searching through the records of the first decades of the Normal Schools of the State, and in the traditions as handed down in the different institutions, certain persons stand out in leadership and in influence. The first State Superintendent of Schools, Dr. William R. White, who in his official position had much to do with establishment of the State Normal Schools, was the first principal of the Fairmont State Normal School. Among the outstanding personalities in the early history of the school at Fairmont, were: Dr. J. G. Blair, who became principal in 1872, and continued in this position until his death in 1878. Dr. Blair lives in the traditions of the school as a rare teacher, a ripe scholar, and an inspiring leader. Another personality that lives in the memories of the first generation of students is Miss M. L. Dickey, who was for many years an assistant teacher in the Normal School. As a student she had received instruction under Dr. Edward Brooks in the State Normal School at Millersville, Pennsylvania, where she graduated before coming to Fairmont in 1873.

The first principal of the West Liberty Normal School was Mr. F. H. Crago. He resigned in 1873 and for many years held different educational positions in that part of the State.

The first principal at Glenville was Mr. Lewis Bennett, who held the position but two years, afterwards becoming prominent as a lawyer and business man in the interior part of the State. He was succeeded by T. Marcellus Marshall, who held the position for a term of six years. Mr. Marshall rendered valuable service to the school in its formative years.

The first principal of the Normal School at Athens, was Captain James Harvey French, who received his education at Georgetown, D. C., and at the University of Virginia. He occupied this position from May 10, 1875, until his death on December 11, 1891. His life and services form a large part of the traditions and the history of the institution with which he was so long connected. His body lies buried on the school grounds, where a beautiful monument has been erected to the honor of his memory by the Alumni Association of the school.

Mr. Joseph McMurran was the first principal of the Normal School at Shepherdstown, and continued in this position for nine years. His spirit and ideals were stamped upon the institution, and he is affectionately remembered by all who came under his instruction.

The outstanding personalities in the early history of the State Normal School at Huntington were: A. D. Chesterman, who was principal from 1874 to 1881 (one of the most profitable periods of the institution) and Mr. A. L. Purinton, who was for a number of years assistant principal, and was later Superintendent of Schools of the City of Parkersburg. Among the more conspicuous leaders in the later development of these institutions were Dr. Thomas E. Hodges, who served for ten years as principal of the Marshall College State Normal School, and of Mr. L. J. Corbly, who occupied the same position for a period of nineteen years; T. J. Woofter, A. C. Kimler and John G. Knuttie at Shepherdstown; John D. Sweenet at Athens; Robert A. Armstrong, J. N. Deahl and John C. Shaw at West Liberty; Mrs. N. R. C. Morrow and J. Walter Barnes at Fairmont; Miss Verona Maple and William J. Holden at Glenville.

For a period of forty years the Normal Schools of West Virginia, in organization and work, were quite similar to the academies maintained in other parts of the country. There were few or no high schools in the State during this period and the Normal Schools served very largely as preparatory schools for the university and college. The students enrolled in these institutions were adults who had completed such courses of study as were offered in the common schools of their neighborhoods. Many of them had secured teachers' certificates by examination, and

Concord State Normal School, Athens

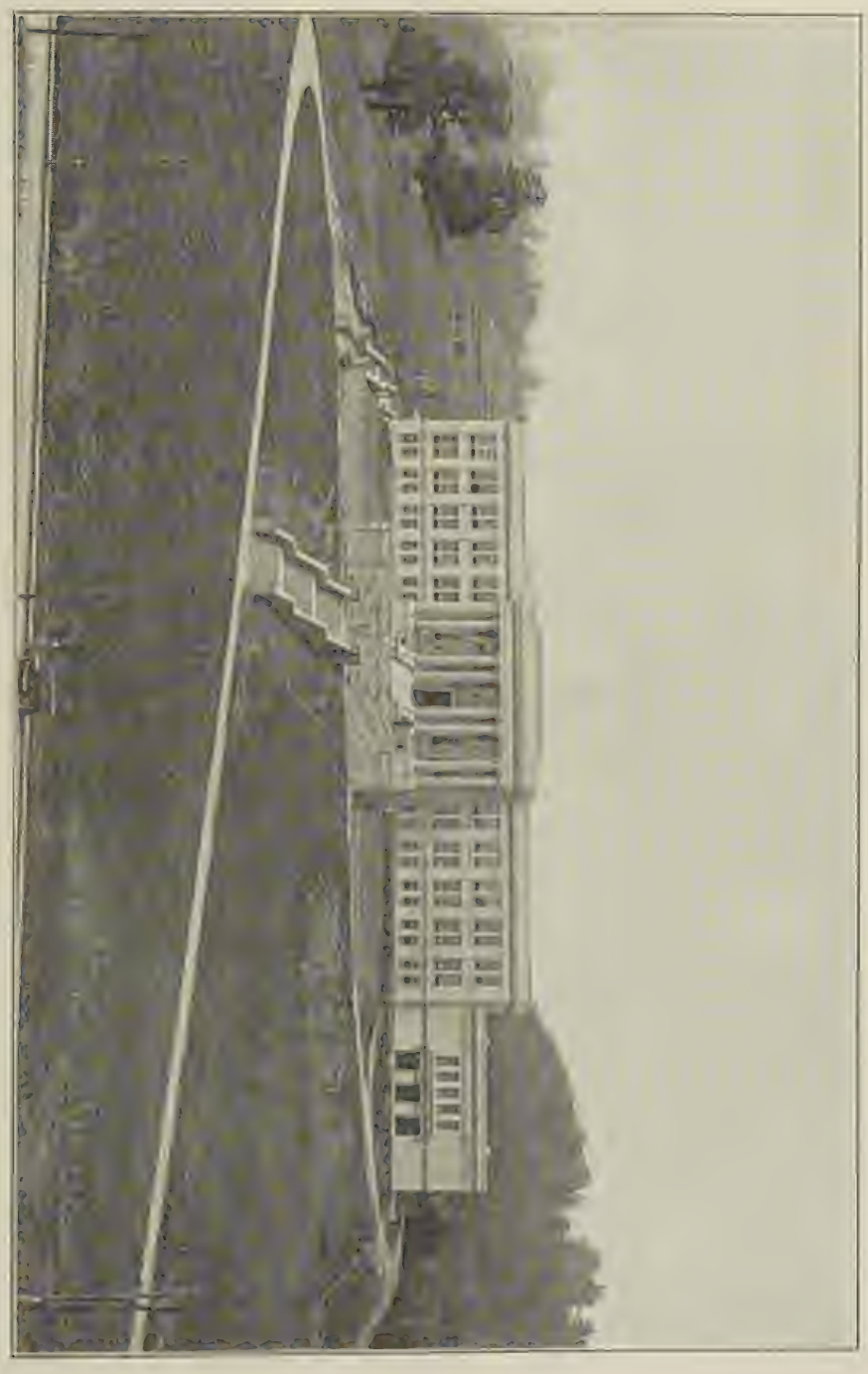
came to the normal school to secure instruction in more advanced academic subjects. For many years these institutions provided two courses of study, one known as the academic course, which was practically a preparatory course, and Normal Course, which, in addition to the subjects prescribed in the academic course, included such subjects as Methods of Teaching, School Management, and Pedagogy. Because these Normal Schools were well distributed over the State, and provided the chief means of instruction for the young men and women of their localities, most of the educational leadership of the State, and much of the leadership in all public affairs was trained in these institutions.

Strange to say, in face of the very evident service which was rendered by the Normal Schools to the young men and women of the State, they had a most precarious existence throughout all of this period. There was a great deal of opposition to the Normal Schools, and this manifested itself in the legislature, where appropriations were opposed. In fact, one or two sessions of the legislature failed to make any appropriations at all for these institutions. The Normal Schools, however, continued to grow in influence and favor and their value in the educational system of the State was gradually recognized by a majority of the people. In recent years their usefulness has been such that legislatures have granted more liberal appropriations for buildings and for the salaries of teachers.

The Normal Schools have been very largely affected in their development by the high school movement which began in the State about 1900. Up to that time, there had been very few public high schools maintained. In a period of twenty years nearly two hundred high schools were established in the State. This development necessarily lead to a reorganization of the state normal schools. With the establishment of high schools in all sections of the State, there ceased to be any need for the preparatory training which had been provided in the State Normal Schools for so many years. Those communities that maintained their own secondary schools by public taxation, grew more insistent in demanding that they should not be taxed by the State for this support of what was practically a public preparatory school. The tendency in the last twenty years has been to minimize or eliminate purely preparatory work from the Normal School courses of study, and to increase the number of courses having a direct bearing upon preparation for teaching.

The evolution of the teaching vocation in the State has been a most interesting one. In the early days of the free school system there were few persons qualified to teach in these schools. A system of certificating teachers was provided at the time the free school system was created. Owing to the meagre educational advantages of that day the requirements for teachers' certificates were very simple. For many years simple examinations were conducted by the county superintendents in the different counties, and certificates were issued to teachers by this official, without any supervision. Later, a county board of examiners was created which held more formal examinations for applicants to teach, and issued such certificates. These certificates were usually issued for a term of one year. The unsatisfactory standards for teaching were such that there was agitation throughout the State for a different plan of teacher certification. As a result of this agitation, the State Legislature, in February, 1903, passed a law providing for uniform examinations for the teachers of West Virginia. This may probably be regarded as the close of the first period of educational development in the State, as far as it was affected by the standards of teaching. During this first period, preparation for teaching depended upon the ability of the applicant to pass examinations.

The academic and professional requirements were quite moderate and the examinations were conducted and the certificates issued by local authority. By the act of 1903, the examination of all applicants for teaching was removed from local authorities and placed in the hands of the State Department of Schools, which prepared the examina-



FAIRMONT STATE NORMAL SCHOOL

tion questions for teachers, inspected and graded the manuscripts, and issued these certificates. This change was accepted with misgivings in many sections of the State, because it was felt that it would lead to excessive centralization of power over the certification of teachers. The system, however, gradually won its way, and has overcome the opposition which at first existed. There is no doubt that the enactment of this law brought about a distinct advancement in the teaching profession of the State.

The history of the State Normal Schools is necessarily connected with the development of the teaching profession. For a brief period in the eighties, a law was enforced providing for the issuance of certificates to teach to those persons who had completed courses of training in the Normal School. The sentiment in favor of certificating teachers by means of examinations was so strong that the legislature was compelled to repeal this provision, and it was not until 1908 that the legislature of the State, as a result of the educational advancement which had been made, enacted a law providing for the recognition of the Normal Schools through the granting of teachers' certificates to those who have completed conscribed courses of training. While this concession to the Normal School graduates was considered a special privilege in some localities, the law has gradually been accepted and the right of those, who take special courses in preparation for teaching, to certificates without examination has been quite generally accepted. In the qualification of teachers, we have passed from the simple examination and certification of the early days to the county board of examiners, with its more formal examination, to the provisions for a State uniform system examination and certification of all teachers. This is now being followed by the substitution and acceptance of special courses of training, as a basis for certification. Since the full recognition of teacher training courses for certification was provided for in 1908, the number of persons securing certificates by examination has gradually decreased, and the number receiving such certificates by the completion of Normal courses of study has rapidly increased. There are still those who believe that the chief qualification of the teacher is the ability to pass a set examination, but the great majority of the people are beginning to realize that the preparation for the vocation of teaching in the future must be in the direction of broader education and special training for teaching.

The evolution in the standards of teaching have brought about a reorganization in the work of the State Normal Schools. All of these institutions now maintain what is known throughout the country as the standard normal course, which includes two years of special instruction and training in preparation for teaching beyond the four year high school course. By a recent order of the State Board of Education, all of the Normal Schools will eliminate their secondary courses of study, so that their entire time and resources may be given to the advanced courses of study for the training of teachers. In 1919 the State Board of Education authorized the Marshall College State Normal School, at Huntington, to offer a four year course of training for teachers and to grant degrees to those who complete this course. At a recent meeting of representatives of all the teacher training institutions in the State, held in Fairmont, a resolution was passed asking the State Board of Education to increase the courses in all of the State Normal Schools to four years, and to give all of these institutions the power to grant degrees, as soon as the State Boards and the heads of the institutions consider such action advisable. This is in line with the development of the teacher training institutions in many other states.

In this brief review, it is seen that the Normal Schools have shared in the hardships and the successes of all of the State's educational institutions. In a little more than fifty years, the people of our State have built up an educational system that compares favorably in efficiency and scope of work with that of other states. In this development, the State Normal Schools have rendered distinct service. A majority of

Northcott Science Hall, Marshall College

the men and women who have exerted a formative influence in the development of the State school system have either been graduates of the Normal Schools or have taken partial courses in these institutions. The feeling of antagonism to the Normal Schools in the teaching ranks, among the people, and in the legislature, has been overcome and there is now a disposition to place a premium upon professional preparation for teaching, and to give the State Normal Schools such equipment and such financial support as will enable them to offer the most thorough kind of training for the teachers of the children of the State.

3. Historical Sketch of West Virginia University

(By J. M. Callahan)

Foundation.—West Virginia University originated from the national land grant act of July 2, 1862, and the subsequent action of the State legislature in accepting and carrying out the provisions of the act, and the foundations of an educational institution which had already been laid at Morgantown for half a century.

To each State the act of 1862 granted lands or land scrip (in proportion to the number senators and representatives in congress) the proceeds of the sale of which were to be invested in safe stocks yielding not less than five per cent upon the par value of the stocks, and this interest inviolably appropriated, by each State which may take and claim the benefit of this act, to the endowment, support and maintenance of at least one college where the leading objects shall be, without excluding other scientific and classical studies, and including military tactics, to teach such branches of learning as are related to agriculture and mechanic arts, in such manner as the legislatures of the states may respectively prescribe, in order to promote the liberal and practical education of the industrial classes in the several pursuits and professions of life.

On October 3, 1863, the West Virginia legislature, empowered by the constitution to foster education and organize institutions of learning, in the interest of the people of the State accepted the conditions of the act of Congress and appropriated $500.00 to defray the expenses of procuring and selling the land scrip and of investing the proceeds. Congress by act of April 14, 1864, extended the preceding act to West Virginia, and the latter received land scrip for 150,000 acres. By joint resolution of January 24, 1867, the legislature submitted to Congress strong reasons for an additional appropriation, but the appeal was without success. Meantime, steps were soon taken to select a location for the college. Several towns—Point Pleasant, Bethany, Frankford, Greenwood, Harrisville and Morgantown—made substantial offers to secure it. Morgantown was already the seat of Monongalia Academy, Woodburn Female Seminary and Morgantown Female Academy.

Monongalia Academy, after Bethany College, had been the leading educational institution in western Virginia for several years. It had been incorporated by the Virginia legislature November 29, 1814, and endowed with one-sixth of the fees received by the surveyor of Monongalia county. Its first building, completed in 1816 on the site of the residence later owned by Thomas R. Evans, could no longer accommodate its students a dozen years later, and was sold in 1828. A new building was then constructed on the grounds at present occupied by the Morgantown School building. To increase the endowment fund the legislature of Virginia authorized the trustees to raise $20,000 by a lottery the drawings of which were conducted on January 26, 1832.

In 1850 an unsuccessful attempt was made to merge the Academy into a college. At that time, it was prepared to give instruction in all branches usually taught in a college; but soon thereafter steps were taken to extend the course of study and to elevate the standard of scholarship. After 1852, when Rev. J. R. Moore, a graduate of Washington College,[1] was placed in charge, the school entered

[1] James Robertson Moore was born in Columbiana county, Ohio, August 20, 1823. He received his early education at Grove Academy, Steubenville, Ohio. At Washington College, he graduated in the class with James G. Blaine. He entered Princeton Theological Seminary in 1849 but was obliged to give up the idea of studying for the ministry. He taught in the Lindsly Institute at Wheeling for a brief time before he was called to Morgantown.

upon a new era, and Morgantown became widely known as an educational center to which students came from several states, including even distant Louisiana. In one year, 176 students representing 14 states were in attendance. Among the most prominent who attended were two sons of Jeremiah Black of Pennsylvania. Mr. Moore (ably assisted by A. W. Lorentz and others) remained principal of the school until 1864 and was succeeded by Dr. John W. Scott who remained in charge until the property of the school was donated for the foundation of the State University.

On March 23, 1831, the Virginia legislature passed an act authorizing the trustees of Monongalia Academy to establish a school for females. In the following September a site was chosen where Henry S. Hayes later lived. The building (begun in 1832) was completed in 1833 and opened for instruction at once. On January 30, 1839, the school was incorporated as the "Morgantown Female Academy" by the legislature. (W. T. Willey was one of the first trustees.) In 1852, after the school had had twelve years of varying success, the trustees, at a cost of $3,500 erected a new building at the corner of High and Foundry streets. Six years later they constructed an addition. The school had more than local support. There were four graduates in 1861, ten in 1862, four in 1863 and eight in 1864.

In the spring of 1869 the property was sold for $5,000 to Mrs. E. I. Moore who made considerable outlay for repairs and devoted herself to the growth and success of the school. In 1872-3, the catalogue showed an attendance of eighty-one and a faculty of a principal and eight assistants. From that date until the destruction of the building by fire, in May, 1889, about twenty-five young ladies were graduated from the school, but the yearly decrease in attendance indicated that the normal schools and the public schools were supplanting the private seminaries. The building had already been suggested as a suitable place for the accommodation of girls whenever the university should open its doors to them, but it was destroyed one month before coeducation was established in the collegiate department of the university.

The Woodburn Female Seminary, founded by several gentlemen of commendable liberality, and incorporated by the legislature on January 4, 1858, was the generous rival of the Morgantown Female Academy for several years. The property and improvements cost about $21,000. The school, located where Woodburn Hall now stands [2] was conducted by Rev. J. R. Moore (superintendent), Mrs. E. I. Moore (principal) and three or four lady teachers. During its short career of eight years, it graduated thirty-five young ladies, and gave instruction to several hundred. The attendance was 85 in 1861 and 1862, and 68 in 1864. Supt. Moore, at his death in 1864, was succeeded by Dr. John W. Scott who remained in charge until 1866, when the property was donated to aid the foundation of the State University. (The seminary buildings were burned in 1873.)

On January 9, 1866, board of trustees of the Monongalia Academy tendered to the legislature for the use of the college all its property (including Woodburn Female Seminary), estimated at $51,000, on condition that the college should be located at Morgantown. On January 30, 1867, the legislature, by vote of 17 to 5 in the senate, and 32 to 21 in the house, accepted, and on February 7 passed an act permanently establishing the "Agricultural College of West Virginia," and authorizing the Governor to appoint eleven suitable persons (one from each senatorial district) to constitute a board of visitors whose powers and duties were clearly defined by the act (and were largely the same as the subsequent powers and duties of the regents, except that the board of visitors was a close corporation filling any vacancies produced by death of members of the board and each year electing two new members to fill the places made vacant by lot).

The eleven visitors were soon appointed and on April 3, 1867, held their first meeting at Woodburn Seminary. After the election of a president, they proceeded to discuss what style and character the college should assume—whether it should be for the exclusive purpose of training farmers and soldiers, or whether it should offer instruction in all the subjects that were generally understood to belong to the curriculum of a "college," comprising every essential department of education from the foundation upwards. They decided upon the latter; and, in addition to the preparatory department at the academy building, they established "three distinct and separate departments of instruction in the college building: (1) collegiate; (2) scientific, and (3) agricultural. They also provided for instruction in military tactics. They primarily intended to establish a college that would meet the needs of

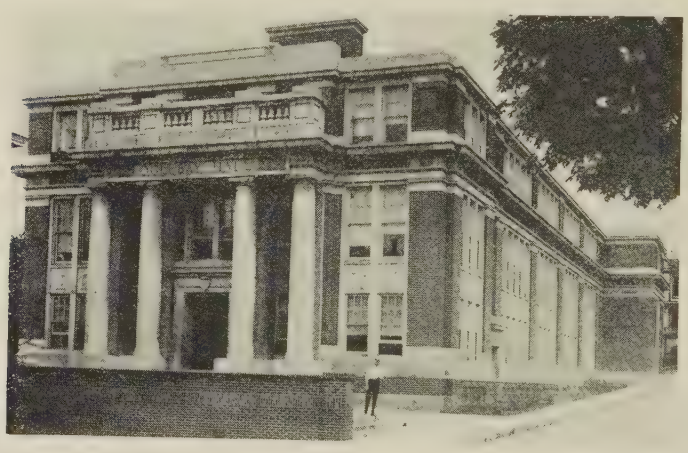
[2] The location was known as "Beech Hill" which was purchased from Hon. Thomas P. Reay. The school was opened in the original mansion house of Mr. Reay, to which an addition was promptly built.

general education in West Virginia and eventually by expansion be able to educate liberally young men in all the professions and pursuits of life." It was not their purpose to give any preference to any extensive operations in experimental farming nor to emphasize the department of agriculture while there were other things more desirable to meet the educational needs of the State.

In his inaugural address, on June 27, 1867, President Martin, in justification of this policy, said: "In West Virginia the cultivation of the soil is certainly, as everywhere, a commanding interest; but so also are its grazing, mineral and manufacturing interests; while the greatest of all—the proper education of its youth, and the means and appliances thereto—is perhaps the most backward of all.

"Notwithstanding past experience and contributions of long ages," said he, "it is the humiliating truth that unhappy and liberal legislatures across the mountains have left us here in West Virginia—an inheritance of hundreds and thousands and tens of thousands of our fellow citizens in such a state of brutish and besotted ignorance as to be absolutely unable either to read or write their names or read God's word.

"Until this reproach is wiped out it would be folly to restrict the course of instruction in the state college to the cultivation of the earth, or the profession of arms—especially as both the congressional and state acts relating thereto contemplate more than this."



Oglebay Hall, West Virginia University, Morgantown

By an act of March 3, 1868, the legislature appropriated $6,000 for the general use of the college (to be spent as the board might direct), and $10,000 to supplement the permanent endowment. A subsequent act (June 25, 1868), in order to provide better facilities, authorized the sale of Monongalia Academy and dwelling and the application of the proceeds to the construction of another building on the main college grounds. In the following July the academy building was sold to the board of education of Morgantown for $13,500, and later the adjoining house and lot was sold for $1,500. Soon thereafter, in the presence of a large assemblage, the corner stone of Martin Hall was laid.

Salaries of the faculty were small, judged by the standards of a half century later. The salary of President Martin was $1,600, and the salary of Vice-President Scott and other professors was $1,200 or $1,000 for ten months.

Dwellings for the president and professors were authorized by the original act, but were not erected because of a lack of funds.

In 1886, the board asked the legislature for an appropriation sufficient for this purpose, and also contemplated the erection of a cadet dormitory, whose rentals were expected to be a source of revenue.

Beginnings were slow and feeble. In the first term, of the forty who reported for instruction only six were qualified for regular college studies. In the second year, of the 100 who presented themselves, only fourteen were qualified; but the number increased to forty-three in the third year and to sixty-two in 1872-73. Among the obstacles and

hindrances of this period were charges of undue denominational influence and control, objections to the preparatory department.

The Government.—By the act of December 4, 1868, which changed the name of the college to "West Virginia University," the name of the "board of visitors" was changed to the "board of regents" with duties and powers defined, and provision was made that vacancies in the board should be filled by the Governor.

On April 12, 1873, an act amending the school law contained a provision that the board of regents should consist of one person from each judicial circuit (of which there were nine), but by an act of February 17, 1877, the power of appointment was conferred upon the Governor with the advice and consent of the senate. By act of March 2, 1877, it was provided that the board should consist of one person from each senatorial district, to be appointed by the Governor as provided by law; and that the board should be changed regularly by the retirement of two members each year (after June 30, 1877). Vacancies on the board were to be filled by the Governor as before. From 1877 to 1882, under this law, there were twelve regents. From 1883 to June 1, 1895, there were thirteen.[3]

The new board of nine members (the first bipartisan board) which began its term on June 1, 1895, and its successor whose term began June 1, 1897, was divided into three groups, one of which was replaced every second year.

The act of 1901 provided for the appointment of a new board of nine members, "who shall be residents and voters of the State," and "who shall be divided into two classes, consisting of four and five regents respectively." The term of office of the first class continued for two years, and the term of the second class for four years; and thereafter the term of office of each class was to be four years (and until their successors are appointed and qualified). It was also provided that not more than six regents shall be of the same political party and that "not more than one shall be appointed from the same senatorial district or county." From 1909 to 1921 the board consisted of five members: the state superintendent of free schools, elected by the people; and four other members appointed by the Governor and responsible to him for the proper conduct of their duties and receiving a salary of $1,000 per year for their services. Under the act of 1909, the financial and purely business affairs of the university (and all other state educational institutions) are controlled by a state board of control consisting of three members appointed by the Governor.

Under an act of 1919 the control of all educational affairs of the State, from the lowest school to the normal schools and the university was vested in a state board of education composed of the state superintendent (as executive officer) and six members appointed by the Governor. This board also has an advisory council of three colored citizens.

From 1867 to 1896 there was a standing executive committee which assisted in the administration of the university and reported to the board. Until 1886 its membership was local, and did not include the president except from 1868 till 1873. After 1886 its members were also members of the board of regents, except in 1894-5, when the secretary of the committee was a professor in the university. The number of members varied. From five in 1867 it increased to six and then (1873-4) to eight (including the superintendent of buildings and grounds and the janitor). It was reduced to five in 1875 and to four in 1877. It was increased to eight in 1878 and to nine in 1880, but was again decreased to five in 1882 and to four in 1883. It was raised to five again in 1884 and to six in 1894, but it was reduced to three in 1895-6.

[3] For many years the Board seldom met more than once each year. The trip to Morgantown was a long one. The meetings were often long and tedious. On June 8, 1882, the Board directed the janitor to purchase one-half dozen spittoons for use during the session of the Board. At some meetings a considerable sum was spent for carriages which were provided by the secretary of the Board for the use of members during the time of the meeting.

The university has had nine presidents. Before the close of the year 1874-5 Dr. Alexander Martin, who had directed the solid foundations of the university, laid down the cares of the office to accept a position at Indiana Asbury (DePauw). In August, 1875, John W. Scott was made acting president. John Rhey Thompson was elected president on January 12, 1877, and relieved Scott at the opening of the following spring term. Four years later he resigned, March 12, 1881, to accept the pastorate of a church in Jersey City. After more than a year, during which D. B. Purinton was acting president, the board, in June, 1882, chose for the presidency Wm. L. Wilson, who was elected to congress a few weeks later, but did not entirely sever his relation with the university until the following June. Then for two years the Virginia plan was tested with R. C. Berkeley as chairman of the faculty. In June, 1885, the presidency was restored. E. M. Turner, who was elected president at that time, continued for eight years to give direction for the future growth of the university, and to suggest the plans from which the future development and better administration of the university have proceeded. Under him, and under Professor P. B. Reynolds, who was acting president from July, 1893, to June, 1895, many features of the modern university were emerging. James L. Goodknight was president from June, 1895, to June, 1897. He was succeeded by Dr. Jerome Hall Raymond who served until 1901. After Dr. Raymond resigned President D. B. Purinton was called from Denison to fill the vacancy. He was the first president selected from the alumni of the institution. In 1911 he was succeeded by Professor Thomas E. Hodges, the predecessor of President Frank Butler, who served as acting president in 1914-16 and was elected president in 1916.

The office of vice-president was held by J. W. Scott (1867-8), F. S. Lyon (1868-70), S. G. Stevens (1870-73), J. W. Scott (1873-77), F. S. Lyon (1877-80), D. B. Purinton (1880-83 and 1885-90), P. B. Reynolds (1890-96) and Robert A. Armstrong (1897-9). The office was abolished August 15, 1899. In 1897, the office of assistant to the president was established. Professor Barbe was elected to the place and held it until 1910.

The principalship of the preparatory department was held by Lyon (1867-70), McMechan (1870), Solomon (1870-73), Lyon (1873-77), Lorentz (1877-82 and 1883-93), Miller (1893-1901) and Hare (1901-1912).

The position of superintendent of buildings and grounds was filled by Geo. M. Hagans (1867-73), E. Shisler (1873-79), W. O. Ison (1879-80), J. McM. Lee (1880-84), Lieutenant Wilson (1884-88), A. W. Lorentz (1888-89), Jno. A. Myers (1889-1897), F. L. Emory (1901-1911), and C. L. Brooks (1917-).

The powers and responsibilities of the president have been greatly increased in recent years. The administrative duties, at first shared by the faculty and the local committee, and after 1899 by twenty-three or more efficient but inharmonious committees, was in 1901 wisely and satisfactorily unified and placed under the control of the president acting with the aid of a council of advisors, several standing committees, and heads of departments, a registrar, and a financial officer. In 1911, the powers of internal administration previously exercised by the council were distributed, partly to a smaller council consisting of the president and the five deans representing the four colleges and the medical school and partly to the faculty acting as a legislative body. The president and council, aided by standing committees, appointed by the president and responsible to him, have charge of all matters of a purely administrative or executive nature.

The President of the University has so much to do in recent years that one finds it difficult to enumerate all his duties in detail. He has more numerous duties than any other member of the faculty, and in number of hours devoted to daily office work he has few close competitors and possibly no equal except the Registrar. He gives unusual attention to detail and is unusually accessible to students.

His chief duties may be summarized as follows:

1. General direction of University administration and policies including adjustments of entrance requirements, changes in curriculum, standards of work, regulation and control of examinations and instructors reports of work and grades, management of discipline, and presentation of the needs and problems of the University to state boards—the Board of Education, the Board of Control.
2. Examination and approval of all expenditures of the various colleges and

departments, including approval of appropriations for various agricultural projects conducted by the experiment station staff.

3. Chairman of the Entrance Committee and *ex officio* of all other committees.
4. Judge or arbiter in cases arising between the colleges or departments.
5. Representative of the University at educational meetings and in educational relations with high schools, normal schools and other institutions within the state—and also representative of the University in maintenance of friendly relations with higher institutions of neighboring states, and in conferences with them upon questions of mutual interests.

Among his important executive duties is his work of general management to secure co-operation and co-ordination of the various colleges and departments. He is a sort of balance wheel to keep movement steady. One of the most important duties, perhaps, is to keep in touch with the advances in higher education elsewhere and to keep the University well equipped in faculty and tools to enable it to do efficiently the work for which it was created by the state.

For the decade before 1910, the President's labors were considerably lessened by an "Assistant to the President" in addition to secretarial help. In the decade since 1910, he has directed the work of the office without any assistant (except the secretary), and in the same period his work has increased both in amount and in scope as a result of the increased attendance and the enlargement of University departments.

It seems strange that the University once adopted for a year the old Virginia idea of a University without a president, substituting for him a chairman of the faculty who was subject only to duties which might be delegated to him by the various independent and sovereign departments.

The faculty is the general legislative body. It fixes the requirements for entrance and for graduation, and assists in directing the general educational policy of the university. In practice it approves the orders of the Council of Administration. It also approves or disapproves recommendations and other acts of the faculties of the various colleges. Any motion to change the established policy of the university in any respect must be submitted to the faculty in writing at a regular or special meeting and must lie over for not less than three weeks for consideration at a subsequent meeting, a copy of the proposed change being furnished to each member of the faculty.

The faculty, as a legislative body, includes the president, the deans of colleges, professors, associate professors, assistant professors, the dean of women, the commandant of cadets, the director of the School of Music and the librarian.

The Council of Administration is now composed of the president, the deans of the four colleges (Arts and Sciences, Engineering, Law and Agriculture), and the dean of the School of Medicine.

A committee on students' courses (varying in size) in each college considers all cases of proposed changes, substitutions or applications for irregular work.

The committee of classification and grades (of six members) is the most important committee. It receives, approves or disapproves, and records the action of the "committee on course of study" of each college. In addition, it has a large amount of routine work, the nature of which is indicated by the name of the committee.

Discipline is in the hands of the president. But his decisions are made after advising with the dean of the college and the head of the department in which the student has his major work, and he may also call in any professor or instructor to whom the offense may have a relation.

The story of the evolution of administrative plans and policies is interesting and instructive. The strict rules and discipline of the earlier years became unnecessary as the embryo-college expanded from the local and traditional conditions and developed a more efficient and less clumsy system of administration and co-operation. The strict curriculum of the earlier years, and the loose separate school elective system (Virginia plan) which replaced it in June, 1882, both gave way to a partially elastic system in which, since 1895, the choice of studies by the student is under the oversight and direction of a "class officer" whose duty it is to require that prescribed courses shall be taken in order and to supervise the selection of elective courses (both as to kind and sequence).

The control of the entrance requirements, of advanced standing, and

of the character and amount of the student's work, as developed by experience, is based upon the best interests of the whole student body, and is efficient enough to maintain a high standard without causing unnecessary hardship to any student.

The budget is in part determined by the recommendations of the heads of departments and deans of the colleges submitted in writing to the President, who thus obtains the data for his own recommendations which he presents to the Board of Control, through the Board of Education, for its approval.

Evolution of College Departments.—After the original college (Arts and Sciences), other colleges and schools were established as follows: the College of Law, 1878; the College of Engineering, 1887; the Agricultural Experiment Station, 1888, and the College of Agriculture, 1897; the School of Music, 1897; the School of Medicine, 1902. The five departments of the original college increased to more than twenty-five by 1907. From the chair of mental and moral philosophy, of which President Martin was the first professor, four departments have developed; philosophy, history and political science, education, and economics and sociology. The two departments of history begun under F. W. Sanders and R. E. Fast in 1897

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were united under J. M. Callahan in 1902-03. The department of economics and sociology was established in 1897 and its work has been conducted successfully, by President Raymond (1897-1901), P. B. Reynolds (1901-1910), and E. H. Vickers (since 1910). The school of pedagogy, organized under T. C. Miller in 1895, became the department of education under J. N. Deahl in 1902. The original department of languages developed into four departments. In 1871 it bifurcated into the departments of ancient languages and literatures and of modern languages and literatures. In 1897, by another bifurcation, the department of ancient languages became the two departments of Greek and of Latin (under R. W. Douthat and A. J. Hare). E. E. Bishop succeeded to the Greek in 1911, and C. B. Cannaday to the head of the Latin department after 1916. At the same time the department of modern languages was divided into the two departments of Germanic languages (under F. W. Truscott) and Romance languages and literatures (under J. I. Harvey). Madison Stathers became head of the latter department in 1910. From the department of English literature successively under eleven heads from F. S. Lyon to R. A. Armstrong, a new department of public speaking was formed in 1910 under C. E. Neil (succeeded in 1919 by W. J. Kay). Of the original departments or "chairs" none has undergone more differentiation than that of "natural sciences." In 1868 the physiology and hygiene were detached, and in 1869 chemistry and natural history, to which was added the agriculture under Wm. M. Fontaine in 1872. The physics, which with astronomy went begging in 1875-76, was also transferred to Fontaine in 1877. At the same time the natural history was transferred to I. C. White whose chair became "geology and natural history" in 1881, and simply "geology" in 1887 when the natural history was transferred to J. W. Hartigan. Dr. White resigned in 1893 and was succeeded by S. B. Brown. Fontaine's subjects, after distribution among the faculty in 1879-80, were taken in 1880 by Woodville Latham, Jr., who was succeeded by A. R. Whitehill in 1885. Later the chair was divided into three departments by the assignment of the agriculture to T. C. Atkeson in 1891, and physics to T. E. Hodges in 1896. In 1909, Hodges was succeeded by C. W. Waggoner. Whitehill was succeeded by F. E. Clark in 1919.

In 1897 the agriculture was reorganized with Atkeson as dean, and soon a new series of differentiations were begun.

The department of biology had its origin in 1888 in the reorganization of the chair of "anatomy, physiology and hygiene" which had been established under H. W. Brock in 1878 and was held by J. W. Hartigan after 1887. Its creation was due to the criticism of the anomalous status of the school of anatomy. In 1899 it was divided into the two departments of zoology (under J. B. Johnson) and botany (under E. B. Copeland) which, after reunion for the year 1901-02, became permanently separate in 1902. In 1907 the botany was merged with the department of bacteriology under J. L. Sheldon, who in 1920 was succeeded by H. H. York. At the same time J. B. Johnson resigned from the department of zoology and was succeeded by A. M. Reese.

The professorship of mathematics was held by the commandant of cadets from 1867 to 1879, and again from 1884 to 1891, after which the position was held by J. S. Stewart who was succeeded by J. A. Eiesland in 1907.

Buildings and Equipment.—The problem of securing suitable buildings to meet the needs of expansion has been a continuous one. The supply has never exceeded the demand. The following buildings have been constructed: Martin Hall, 1870; central part of Experiment Station (the first armory), 1873-74; the south wing of the Experiment Station, 1889, and the north wing, 1890; central part of Woodburn Hall, 1874-76 (to replace Woodburn Seminary building which burned in February, 1873), north wing of Woodburn, 1898-1900, and the south wing, 1910-11; Commencement Hall (with basement Gymnasium), 1889-92; old Mechanical building, 1892 and 1894 (burned 1899); Science Hall, 1893; Astronomical Observatory, 1900; Armory, 1902; new Mechanical Hall, 1900-02; Library, 1902; President's House, 1905; Central Heating Plant, 1906-07; Medical Building, 1915-16; Mechanical Annex, 1915-16; Oglebay Hall, 1917-18; Woman's Hall, begun in 1917 and completed in 1919.

The University needs some good modern buildings constructed with a view to permanent use. Appropriations for buildings have never been adequate.

The total cost of all University buildings constructed between 1867 and 1894, including also their equipment, was only $250,000—considerably less than the cost of one high school building recently constructed at Huntington. In three of these buildings, each of which is partly occupied by general administrative offices of the University and one shared by the College of Law, the College of Arts and Sciences is still housed. One of these, Martin Hall, constructed in 1870, is now occupied by a single department, Physics. Another, Science Hall, constructed in 1893, is occupied by another single department, Chemistry. A third, Woodburn Hall, constructed in 1874-76, and enlarged by an inexpensive wing in 1910, contains ten departments of this college in addition to the entire College of Law, the Pharmacy department of the School of Medicine, the Woman's Parlor, the President's offices, the Registrar's office and three or four other offices, and also two stock rooms and a carpenter shop. Since the completion of the latest of these buildings (Science Hall), in 1893, every college or school, except the College of Arts and Sciences, has had an appropriation for a new building. New buildings were constructed for the College of Engineering in 1900-02 and 1915-16, for the School of Medicine in 1915-16, and for Agriculture in 1917-18. An appropriation of 1918 provided for a building for the College of Law. The Music School, in 1919, was moved into a private building which had been rented previously for the Extension division of the College of Agriculture. An appropriation of 1921 provided for modern Chemistry building and a new Gymnasium.

The state can afford to build for its highest educational institution several modern buildings equal to the best high school buildings of its chief cities. For the satisfactory development of the University, the question of the construction of new buildings deserves most serious consideration.

Equipment, which in the earlier years was scarce and poor, in recent years has been provided more liberally. Laboratories are now well provided for conducting modern scientific work.

Evolution of the Library.—It was only in recent years that the library became properly organized in suitable quarters and with satisfactory facilities to encourage its use.

By 1872 the estimated number of books was 4,000. By 1878, this was increased to 5,000 where it remained until after 1892. In 1896-7 the catalogue also announced that there were special libraries in most of the departments. In 1897-8, when organization of the library was properly begun, the number of volumes was estimated at 13,000. The number was increased to 17,500 by 1901, to 20,000 by 1902. By 1904 it reached 22,000, with an annual addition of 1,300, and a special law library of 2,000 volumes. The private library of Senator Willey was donated in 1903.

From 1877 to 1893 a deposit of $2.00 or the security of some professor was required of all who used the books. Since 1893 the library has been free to all students.

Until 1889 the librarian was always some professor, who opened the library only at such time as suited his own convenience when he was free from his regular duties. The place was held in this way by Col. Weaver (1867-8), Captain Pierce (1868-75), and Harvey (1877-89). By 1885-6, the catalogue announced that the library was open on Friday of each week and in 1887-8, on Tuesdays and Thursdays from 8:30 to 9:00 A. M., and on Friday from 1:30 to 3:00 P. M. Not until

1890, when Margaret E. Morrow became librarian, was the library kept open during the day. Finally, in 1900, it was opened from 7:45 A. M. to 10:00 P. M., and on Sundays from 2:00 to 5:00 P. M.

In 1877-78, complaint was made that there were no shelves and that books were piled on the floor. Under such conditions there could be no classification or proper care of books. In 1886 an attempt was made to get money to rebind old books and to buy new ones, but there was yet no suitable room adapted to library purposes.

In 1888 Turner wrote, "The library is a disgrace to the University." Two years later the books were moved to the larger room in Martin Hall which had formerly been used for chapel. Then Turner urged the need of furniture (chairs, tables, and cases), and wrote "There ought to be a competent librarian so the library can be kept open." In 1890, Miss Clara Hough was engaged to succeed Miss Morrow who had been employed temporarily. In 1897 she was succeeded by Miss Eliza J. Skinner, who organized the library, increased the staff and gave courses in library science. Miss Wiggin succeeded Miss Skinner in 1902, superintended the removal to the new permanent and suitable building, and has continued the policy of enlargement—aided by a library committee (which was first recommended by acting-president Reynolds in 1894).

The library, although not properly organized until 1897, has steadily increased in usefulness, and in satisfactory facilities to encourage its use, in the new home provided for it in 1902, but now needs additional room and additional attendants. The number of books, which was "estimated" at 4,000 in 1872, and 22,000 in 1904, and is now over 60,000, including 8,600 in the law library and 6,400 in the experiment station collection. The usefulness of the library has recently increased in many ways. Each year courses in library methods are offered by Dr. L. D. Arnett, head librarian, in order to qualify students to take charge of high school libraries which have recently developed so rapidly.

Policies and Politics.—For many years the growth of the new institution was very slow and uncertain. This was due to many causes: (1) the partially local foundation; (2) sectional questions which had divided Virginia long before the war, and new sectional jealousies; (3) post-bellum political questions and partisanship; (4) lack of a satisfactory system of secondary schools; (5) divided responsibility and *laissez faire* policy; (6) lack of communication; (7) discrimination against women. Gradually these obstacles to growth were reduced or removed by changing conditions. Industrial progress, stimulating better communication, has been a prominent factor in the transformation of the earlier poorly equipped school into a real college which may now claim to university rank. Recently the university has been greatly aided by the development of better secondary schools.

The early policies in the administration reflected the general educational and political conditions of the post-bellum period, and were largely influenced by the fact that the preparatory department had a larger attendance than the college. Much of the dissension in the university and the opposition from the outside for the first quarter century was probably due to the policy of submitting the details of administration—including even cases of discipline—to general faculty meetings whose proceedings, in the absence of more attractive diversions, furnished one of the chief sources of town topics of conversation.

At the beginning, and for many years thereafter, discipline was very strict. Among the earliest regulations (1868) was one prohibiting any member of the faculty from being connected with any secret college fraternity, and requiring every professor to exert his influence for suppression of such secret organizations, and another enumerating various prohibitions including profanity, betting, the carrying of concealed weapons, and smoking within the college enclosure. All students were required to be present at daily religious exercises and to attend regularly on Sabbath some place of religious worship.

All students on entrance were required to sign an agreement to obey the rules to conduct themselves with propriety, to be respectful to the faculty and to deport themselves as gentlemen. This rule was enforced until finally abrogated by an action of the Board of Regents on June 13, 1893.

The faculty met often and a large part of its deliberations were devoted to investigations and trials of students for disobeying the rules. Some of these trials—reported rather fully by the secretary, Professor Solomon—are full of human interest.

On September 19, 1871, President Martin called a special meeting of the faculty to try the cases of several students who had attended the theatre on the previous evening to hear "East Lynne" and to obtain from them an expression of regret for the past and a promise to obey the rules in the future. Student J. T. Harris and two others who apologized were "discharged from further censure by the faculty." Students W. G. Brown, J. M. Crane and others, who signed a paper of regret and promise drawn up by the president, were reinstated. Students Wm. LeRoy Boughner, D. C. Hoffman, A. E. McLane and Plummer Fitch, who refused to sign, were regarded as "in rebellion against the lawful authority of the faculty" and were promptly suspended by a unanimous vote. McLane, Boughner and Fitch later met the requirements and were readmitted. According to tradition, Philander C. Knox, of later fame, was one of the delinquents who was not reinstated, but his name does not appear on the records of the faculty. Hoffman's father, early in 1872, brought a suit against the Board of Regents for reinstatement of his son.

In his report of June, 1877, President Thompson, after a campaign to remove misapprehensions in regard to the university, reported that the task of removing suspicion, apathy and opposition was a difficult one which would require time and energy. To aid in the success of the university, he suggested that each regent should co-operate in his district in removing ignorance and unfounded prejudices and proposed for the government of students the gradual introduction of personal moral influences instead of methods resembling the regulation for reform schools and inebriate asylums.

Later (in his report of 1880) President Thompson, referring to the emphasis placed by the faculty upon moral character, said: "We dare not scatter fire brands in society by sending forth from these halls young men with trained intellects and depraved hearts. A madman is less dangerous without a sword than with one."

Under Thompson's successor larger emphasis was placed upon scholarship, and discipline was somewhat further diminished. In 1882, immediately preceding the election of W. L. Wilson, the board abolished the prescribed and compulsory curriculum and adopted substitute a department plan of independent and elective schools, the Virginia system. The year 1882-83 was a period of transition resulting in considerable confusion and dissatisfaction. Many students left and some went to colleges elsewhere. The dissatisfaction led to a widespread and bitter attack on the university and a considerable exodus of students, which Wilson explained was greater in the preparatory department. In 1884 the president of the board stated that in 1883 the number of students was reduced from 159 to 97—largely as a result of partisan opposition and of assaults by the partisan press. To induce a larger attendance reductions were made in the tuition, free tuition was proposed and the establishment of a medical school was recommended. In May, 1884, Professor Berkeley as chairman of the faculty, in his report after referring to the smaller number of students, said: "The change that was made two years ago from the old-fashioned curriculum to the new, more progressive and elective system is rapidly producing the good results that were anticipated." Professor Berkeley was greatly troubled over an interpretation of the rule concerning church attendance by which every student was required to obtain his permission before attending any public religious service on Sabbath. The question as to who constituted the faculty, which arose while Professor Berkeley was chairman, remained a question at issue under the administration of President Turner, who was unwilling to restrict voting to members of the faculty above the rank of instructor.

Among the letters discussing the conditions in the institution, which appeared in the *Wheeling Intelligencer* in the summer of 1884, was the following from Dr. S. S. Adams, of Washington, D. C., written June 3, 1884, to James M. Lee, of Morgantown:

Dear Sir:—I am in receipt of a postal card from you notifying me that you had mailed me a pamphlet on Coeducation in the West Virginia University and requesting my vote and opinion on the subject. The pamphlet has been received and carefully examined, and in this letter I propose not only to respond to its main idea, but to offer some comments on the cause which gives rise to its suggestion, the present deplorable state of my *alma mater*. As a graduate and alumnus of the University, who began his studies there the year it was endowed as a University, and continued his attendance for six consecutive years, I am familiar with its early history and subsequent misfortunes, and I therefore claim the right to speak in its defense.

I do not intend to attack individuals as such, but as public servants, supported by public funds and subject to public criticism. Recalling the good days of the venerable Scott and Harmon it is a lamentable sight to see members of a Faculty without a head, asserting that the West Virginia University "is not fulfilling its mission to the State;" that it "never has been the institution it should be," "and that it is not now." The second of these assertions I deny. The first and third are unfortunately at the present time too true.

President Martin's Regime.—Just before I entered the college, the West Virginia College was converted into a University, with Alex. Martin, D.D., as President. He was a thoroughly educated and Christian gentleman, and as well a strict disciplinarian. The Faculty was composed of industrious and educated men, who worked harmoniously for the good of the institution. The Board of Regents consisted of representative gentlemen of the State, whose aim was to elevate the school, and not to use it to subserve party ends. The students were from different States. They were mostly domiciled in "Woodburn," a building dear to the hearts of many alumni. They realized the fact that they must either work or be dismissed. The Executive Committee had the best interests of the institution at heart and were not influenced by party feelings.

What was accomplished during the years 1869 and 1875 inclusive?

First, the building on the south side of the Campus, which fully met the requirements of the day, was constructed. Then came the reorganization of the cadet corps, with the late lamented Captain Pierce at its head. Through his untiring devotion and energy the armory was built, and the corps put upon a better military basis than that of any other State school. Morgantown was made a signal station, and a competent man gave instructions in signaling and telegraphy. The burning of "Woodburn" in 1872, caused grave apprehensions at first, but through the prompt action of the President and the Executive committee the ruins had hardly cooled before steps were taken to make good the loss, which resulted in the handsome structure that now adorns the grounds.

The Discipline.—During this period there were but few changes in the Faculty and these always bore good fruit. I confess that at that time I considered the discipline too strict, but in looking back and comparing it with the consequences of the liberty displayed of late I am inclined to favor strict discipline. In 1873, the Faculty, aiming to raise the standard of education instituted the written examinations, a system severe, exacting and impartial. With this state of affairs everything moved along smoothly, the University prospered, and the number of students and graduates increased annually. The curriculum was as good as that of Harvard or Yale, and students who left our school to attend those institutions afterwards confessed that the examinations at our college were the most severe.

What can be said of her Alumni? Certainly their *alma mater* has no reason to be ashamed of most of them. They are scattered over the country engaged in various professions and employments. Some of them are today holding positions of importance in other educational institutions of the land, while two of them fill important chairs in her own Faculty, and two are among its corps of instructors.

The Wrecking Begun.—In 1873 the political complexion of the State changed and then hot-house politicians who were scarcely known outside of their own town came forward and claimed a share in the management of the institution, thus prostituting what should have been the pride of the State, to the base level of a political machine. Soon the axe of the Board of Regents fell, carrying to the basket the heads of such men as Dr. T. H. Logan, of Wheeling; men whose fault was not that they loved Caesar less, but they loved Rome more, that they thought their first duty was to the cause of education instead of to party.

Well do I remember the pitiable sight which this new Board of Regents presented at its first meeting. They were besieged by local politicians, who were better qualified to kill time on the boxes in front of a town shop, to play poker or to discuss local option than to manage the affairs of an educational institution clamoring for places on the Executive Committee. They had been of great service to their party in spite of the fact that the other party invariably carried the county, and they wanted their reward. They squabbled over positions the salaries of which would not pay for the cloth they wasted in riding store counters and legal chairs.

The Damaging Stroke.—But the damaging stroke was in June, 1875, when the wholesale onslaught was made on the Faculty. This Bourbon Board of Regents had not the courage to dismiss the worthy President, but preferred to seek shelter under a failure to re-elect. This piece of cowardice was promptly met and its force broken by his prompt call to one of the leading institutions in the West as its President, so that today Alexander Martin is at the head of an institution far above the one for which he fought so hard. Thanks to the ingratitude of these

politicians it proved a lucky turning point in Rev. Martin's life, and he can today laugh at this decapitated institution, whose downfall began with his departure. Other changes of doubtful benefit followed. At this time the tenure of office was made one year.

The session of '75 and '76 opened without a President. During the two succeeding years many changes took place. The school decreased in number and general disorder prevailed. Finally the Regents elected Rev. J. R. Thompson President. But instead of letting him fulfil the duties of the office they imposed the additional tax of an educational drummer, requiring him to travel about the State the most of the year hunting for students. They had found a competent man who was familiar with boys and knew what they wanted. He was not so strict a disciplinarian as his predecessor, rather preferring to govern by love than by severe punishments. He was almost worshipped by the students and the school prospered. But alas! he had the misfortune to be a young man, which to the sapient committee was a crime for which he was denounced in spite of his successful administration. Ere long this ill-feeling became unbearable and the genial and cultivated Thompson was forced to resign rather than submit to the vituperations of gamblers, horse jockeys and shysters.

Again the school was headless. Competent men were unwilling to accept an office without some guarantee of a reasonably permanent tenure. A man was at hand, though young, who could have managed the school in a becoming manner,

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but through jealousies he was decorated with the empty honor of Acting President. If D. B. Purinton had been put in power when Thompson resigned I venture to assert that there would have been no necessity for this memorial. He had been teaching in the institution since its beginning and was fully acquainted with its wants.

Another Change.—But another change was wrought and Mr. Wilson of the eastern part of the State was elected President. He was reported to be a qualified man and his success was predicted. His reform seems to have been as much of a fizzle as Mahoneism in Virginia. He was at the time of the election a candidate for Congress, and soon resigned the Presidency to fulfil the onerous duties of that "Cave of the Winds," to which he was presently elected. He seems to have been ruled by two or three ambitious members of the Faculty and the most unmitigated and dastardly strokes the University ever received were dealt while he was at its head. A curriculum second to none in the land were abolished and schools after the pattern of the University of Virginia were established, a system antiquated and impracticable in these pushing days. Discipline was disregarded and the boys were allowed to run riot over the town. What was the effect?

The first term of this man's rule fifty students were taken home because no supervision was exercised over their moral education. They were allowed to gamble, drink and absent themselves from recitations, and the older members of the Faculty were powerless. The end was inevitable, and today the once prosperous college is clamoring for co-education as a means of rehabilitation, while there is scarcely more than a baker's dozen of students to greet their friends at the coming meeting.

Co-education.—At present there are too many other and more vital points requiring the attention of the Regents to justify them in undertaking to solve the problem of co-education.

"We think the institution demands prompt, vigorous and courageous treatment," say the Faculty. So do I. But are experiments in education of this class? I do not think so.

The Wants of the Institution.—What then do we want?

1. Let the Regents cut loose from politics and reorganize the personnel of the University for its good, on an efficient educational basis.

2. Reorganize the Executive Committee by appointing upon it educated men whose aim will be for the elevation of the institution and not merely to benefit themselves. If they are of different political convictions, what matters it, so long as they discharge their duties without fear or favor?

3. Restore the former curriculum, and give young men the hope of receiving a thorough collegiate education in at least six years.

4. Look to the moral education of the youth.

5. Offer salaries commensurate with the duties and thus attract successful professors of talent from other schools.

6. Abolish the impracticable method of re-electing the professors annually. Competent men cannot be attracted to an institution with a tenure of office dependent upon caprice and favor.

7. Elect a President and let him look after the interests at home. If he is young and competent so much the better. Do not despise him on account of his age. There are men among the alumni acknowledged to be competent. Why not give one of them a chance? But above all, stand by him, whoever he may be, and do not let the ignorant and disgruntled politicians rule or ruin as has been their wont.

8. Thoroughly overhaul the Faculty. Here is where the greatest trouble lies. As to each member consider and act upon the one point: Is he the best man that can be had to fill the chair? If not, ask him to step down and out and put in his place a man selected for the qualifications he lacks. Drunkards and men of bad morals should be promptly removed. There are such in the Faculty, as is well known, and if self respect does not force them to retire other means should be taken to make them do so. When an alumnus is found competent retain him. If other alumni of capacity and promise can be found to seek places give them a chance. Select no man because he taught "befo de war." This is no guarantee that he is competent now, but on the contrary, "quite the reverse."

9. Make attendance at recitations and divine service obligatory.

Some causes of the trouble at the University may be inferred from the following extract from a letter addressed to Professor W. P. Willey (who was then secretary of the Faculty) and written at Wheeling on February 20, 1885, by a distinguished member of the Board of Regents who was at that time attending the sessions of the legislature:

Your letter in regard to the professional school was read by me (without names) to the Committee on Education, and it had the effect to squelch completely poor Dean [4] in that branch of his reorganization. I only wish you had co-operated as thoroughly upon his other contemplated reforms. There is something wrong about Dean, but I am not just able to define it. How did he get out of the Faculty of Alleghany College and how did he get into this legislature? The truth is his whole ardor upon co-education is only explicable upon the hypothesis of a desire to create an opening into which an ex-professor of Alleghany may become a professor in our University. And so, when sifted to the bottom, the enthusiasm on this subject has generally a very practical incentive and solution. I received a number of the Educational Journal, which is an admirable paper. Mr. Morgan, being indebted to the Democratic party for his position, should respect its voice upon topics which have taken a *political* turn—or at all events he should present both sides. We desire some exposition for the sentiments of the large *tax-paying* regions which support our free schools, and to whose efforts alone, or nearly so, Mr. Morgan owes his position.

I hope you and Prof. Brooke will be able to increase the law class largely next session. Mr. Edwards of Marshall (a wolf in sheep's clothing) moved in Committee to drop *two* professors aiming at law and medicine. I stated the case thus: 13 students at $25 each = $325 each in tuition fees; $400x13 equals $5,200 in money retained in state; deduct salaries of two professors, $3,200, leaves net balance of $2,325. When the vote was taken his proposition commanded two votes in a committee of 12—10 being in negative and so voting. I hope when the Board meets we shall have a quiet and harmonious meeting without being vexed by any factional questions. "Let us have peace."

If any more wars on professors are inaugurated it will tend to injure the institution. Mr. F——, I am told has married Prof. L——'s daughter. I hope he has learned to *attend to his own business* and I think it would be well to intimate that if any more assaults are made on the professors, there will be several vacancies created in the Faculty before we adjourn. I have made up my mind to this and I hope you concur in the propriety of such action. Wishing you great success in your classes, especially in the law, I am

Yrs. truly,

DAN'L B. LUCAS.

I have several letters from Prof. Berkeley which I have not time to answer, as we are having three sessions a day. Please show him this and it will do for replies to him.

Yrs.,

L.

[4] J. S. W. Dean, a member of the legislature.

The administration of President Turner, which began in 1885 and brought to the university new men such as Dr. P. B. Reynolds and Dr. A. R. Whitehill, introduced a period of larger development and prepared the way for better organization and better plans for administration. At the close of the first year of his administration the board announced a considerable increase in attendance—especially from the southern part of the State—and reported a cessation of unfavorable criticism in regard to the unit management. President Turner, with the insight and foresight of a real executive, was prompt in recommending a number of changes in *laissez faire* policies and customs. He believed that the time had come to adopt some settled policy in the affairs of the university, looking toward the growth and development of the institution as well as to its immediate needs. "All educational institutions are a matter of growth," said he; "and they can grow only by adopting and acting upon some line of policy carefully matured and suited to the conditions of their environment." In order to remove several causes of friction he proposed (1) to abolish the senior vacations (of the last four weeks of the year) which has originated under the old curriculum plan; (2) to abolish the *laissez-faire* lack of system in examinations, which had interfered with recitations and adopt a system of examinations held at a definite time to be determined by the entire faculty (thus reducing the independent sovereignty of each individual instructor); (3) to remedy certain anomalous situations arising from the fact that students in the preparatory school were allowed to take studies in the university departments.

He recommended facilities for enlargement of the work of the institution, preparation for the creation of new departments needed in science, the abolition or complete reorganization and change of location of the medical department. He believed that the establishment of the medical department in 1879 was a mistake.

President Turner "set his face like flint" against intemperance of students. He was furious in dealing promptly and summarily with such cases.

In 1887 in accord with his recommendation a legislative bill was proposed, prohibiting the sale of spirituous liquors to university students.

By June, 1887, the President was able to report that there was little need of discipline except in individual cases. The most serious trouble was an incipient rebellion arising in the spring of 1887 from a spirit of insubordination among a number of students following an investigation of cheating on examinations and a suspension of students who were found guilty. The general sentiment of the students, however, was in accord with the action of the faculty. The President wisely settled minor cases of disorder by private admonition, believing that action by the faculty in cases of discipline should be the last resort.

In 1887 the faculty proposed to modify the rule requiring each candidate for a degree to deliver two orations and two essays in chapel so that each candidate could chose between an oration or an essay for chapel but would be required to prepare either an oration or an essay for commencement.

Confronted by new problems resulting from increase of students and addition of new features he urged the need of a better library and a competent librarian, better equipment, better business methods in the university, new departments, new buildings planned and constructed for definite purposes and a suitably planned experiment farm, and station with scientific work probably co-ordinated and correlated. Among other needs, he proposed (in 1890) a "chair of pedagogics" in order to establish a closer relation with other schools and especially to aid in the encouragement of high schools upon which the university should largely depend for its supply of students. After trying the independent department-election system for three years, he favored a return to the curriculum system, at least for the first two years of the college

course. By 1890, embarrassed by differences of opinion in the faculty, he accepted responsibility in a final determination which could not satisfactorily be distributed, and arranged a plan of a four-year course to which he proposed to adhere thereafter as far as practicable. At the same time he suggested that the board should clearly define his powers and duties to enable him properly to plan and execute in adjusting the problems of a growing institution under changing conditions.

Two years later he reported that the work of revising the course of study was not completed because several members of the faculty could not agree upon the adjustment of subjects required for degrees. Apparently some members insisted that all work offered in their departments should be required of every candidate for the degree.

On June 10, 1891, following a report of a special investigating committee upon the organization and discords of the faculty, the board by a formal vote recognized the President as the executive head whose authority should be recognized by his subordinates, indicated its expectation that all subordinates would show proper respect and courtesy to the President and to each other, and intimated that further discord and contention would be remedied by more vigorous measures.

By a resolution of June 10, 1892, it disapproved violations of the rule requiring that all discussions and proceedings of the faculty should be secret and confidential, declared removal from the faculty as the penalty for any future violation and ordered that this resolution and the rule should be read in full faculty meeting. The order was promptly obeyed on June 11, the rule and the resolution being read to the faculty by the secretary, W. P. Willey.

Regent Smith offered the following motion: "The board learns with regret that Professor Atkeson has declined to teach the class in English Grammar assigned him by President Turner under the direction of the Executive Committee; and the board insisting that said work must be done, it is ordered that Professor Atkeson be informed that he is expected to teach said class, and if he still declines the board will expect his resignation as Professor of Agriculture." The motion, amended by omission of the resignation clause, was approved.

In the earlier years, instructors frequently taught some branch (such as astronomy), which did not belong to their department. In 1875-76, while Scott was acting president, nearly every professor taught subjects outside his own department.

Dr. Turner urged that the policy of the board in promoting to professorship instructors who had served only a year or two should be radically changed considering the unequal distribution of work which caused some dissatisfaction in the faculty, he recommended fewer teachers and better salaries. In urging the necessity of a change in the board's method of conducting the business management of the university he suggested that the board which met only once each year should leave some discretion to the officers of the administration. Having been insulted by an "unsatisfactory and disobedient" janitor, who by appointment of the board had held the position since the early seventies and whom under the law he could not dismiss, he especially concurred with the superintendent of grounds in urging that the janitor should not be appointed by the board.

By 1893 the President felt that the difficulties and disagreements in the faculty—which had their origin in the period before the beginning of his administration and which were largely the result of antagonistic notions and views of organization and government—threatened to break down all authority and subordination, and could terminate only by changing the personnel of the faculty. "The faculty must be reorganized," he wrote in his report, "and only such men allowed to remain in it as are willing to give a cheerful, loyal and hearty support to the administration, no matter who is President, and no matter whether they agree with his policy or not. Under no other condition can any man make the institution what it ought to be."

In June, 1893, he submitted statements indicating the unfitness of

several members of the faculty—one of whom had treated with contempt the President's request for a report of his department (as required by a rule of the board).

On July 21, Regent J. H. Stewart, in view of the unhappy feeling in the faculty resulting in trials and investigations, with a view to harmonizing all differences in a reorganization proposed to request the immediate resignation of every employee of the university except the janitor who after the adoption of the resolution was directed to serve it upon each member of the faculty. The janitor doubtless took especial delight in delivering the message to several who had sought to increase his labors and to change his habits. According to tradition he met the president on the steps in front of his office and said with mock courtesy: "Mr. President it is my pleasure to present to you your walkin' papers and may the Lord have mercy on your soul."

The janitor who boasted that he had "seen presidents come and go" retained his connection with the university practically until his death in June, 1902.

Dr. P. B. Reynolds, as acting president, repeated and elaborated Dr. Turner's recommendations of a better organization of the University and a better business system. He proposed that in order to secure coordination and co-operation the different schools or departments previously under control of the faculty should be subject only to the supervision and approval of the president and the state school systems should be unified. Among the leading features of this reorganization he recommended (1) a business assistant to the president; (2) a committee (the president, professors from each of three groups) to determine such questions as the scope of work for each chair, curriculum, admission requirements and schedules of recitations and examination; (3) a clear statement of the special duties of professors in admitting students to their classes, in making reports; in conforming to schedules etc.; (4) a clear statement of the president's duties; (5) abolition of useless junior and sophomore public performances; (6) appointment of a library committee. He also recommended the abridgement of rules, the abolition of all money prizes and diplomas printed in English.

In the disappointing administration of President J. L. Goodknight, these recommendations were largely ignored.[5] The continued increase in attendance, however, emphasized the necessity for some early reorganization both for convenience and efficiency.

In 1896, following a year of phenomenal increase of attendance, the treasurer of the Board announced that the University required more room and especially needed the M. E. graveyard (upon which the new library was later built).

The Board, recognized the need of a stronger executive for the new problems of the growing institution. After requesting the resignation of President J. L. Goodknight, on June 10, 1897, Regent Brown made a motion to elect Dr. Turner as his successor but the motion was laid on the table by a vote of 7 to 2. On the following day, the office of president was declared vacant, effective after sixty days, and Professor R. A. Armstrong was elected vice-president for one year. On August 6th, after a series of ballots Dr. Jerome H. Raymond was elected president, and on the same day President Goodknight and John A. Myers, director of the Experiment Station, were directed to surrender and vacate the rooms occupied by them.

Under Raymond's active administration, several steps were taken in reorganization especially with a view to increased efficiency. On June 2, 1898, Regent Brown proposed that the faculty should consist only of

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[5] On June 14, 1894, on recommendation of the president, the Board requested each professor to make to the president a weekly report of absences from his classes.

On June 13, 1895, the new board recognized the power of the president as executive of the University to suspend any member of the Faculty subject to final action of the Board and to suspend other employees of the Board subject to final action of the executive committee.

the president and the professors, and that assistant professors and instructors, although allowed to attend open meetings, could not vote, but the motion was lost by a vote of 4 to 4. At the same meeting the official faculty was defined to consist of professors and assistant professors. On August 10, 1899, the faculty after considerable discussion adopted the proposal of President Raymond "to grant A. B. to all who satisfies entrance, satisfactorily completes 42 courses, of which at least 9 are in some department selected by the student as his major" and the remainder to include such minor subjects in other departments as the professor of the major subject might consider necessary or advisable as collateral work. On August 14, 1899, the president was authorized to appoint annually three standing committees each of which were given power to act in his own field and in other matters referred to it by the president or faculty of the University.

Unfortunately, the energetic president, with increasing enthusiasm for further change, soon stimulated an opposition which terminated his possibilities for usefulness. He induced the Board to abolish the office

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of vice-president (on August 15, 1899). On April 6, 1900, following the decision of the board by a vote of 7 to 5 to postpone further consideration of his recommendations for the removal of five professors for gross deficiency either in morals or in scholarship or in co-operation, he submitted through the president of the board his resignation, asking to be relieved of his responsibility on June 21. By a vote of 6 to 2 the Board laid the resignation on the table, and proceeded to dismiss from the University a student named Thomas R. Horner who had written and published articles reflecting on the management of the University and had circulated among the students certain petitions asking for the removal of the president. Later, on June 22, President Raymond, withdrawing his earlier letter of resignation, submitted a new one, brief in form, asking to be relieved on October 1, but the Board by a vote of 5 to 4 requested him to withdraw it and proceeded by a vote of 7 to 1 to censure professors and students who had been guilty of conduct regarded as disloyal to properly constituted authority and to declare its determination to terminate such conduct in the future by summary dismissal of the guilty parties.

President Raymond's opportunity for further usefulness was probably terminated by his activity against Professor Armstrong whom the Board on December 18, 1900, at a meeting at Parkersburg, on motion of Mr. Sturgiss, by a vote of 6 to 2, removed from his position on grounds of frequent absences from his work (to speak at teacher's institutes, etc.).[6] This action, resented by Professor Armstrong's many friends

[6] Professor Armstrong was given a short leave of absence which was later extended by the new Board to enable him to pursue graduate studies. He returned to the University in 1903.

created a feeling in the legislature which threatened to withhold appropriations for the University (by a rider on the appropriation bill preventing the use of any of the appropriation until the Board had accepted President Raymond's resignation). On March 20, 1901, President Sturgiss presented to the Board President Raymond's fourth letter of resignation (dated January 1, 1901) stating that he had from another University an attractive offer which he could not properly refuse, and expressing a desire for an early acceptance. This resignation was properly accepted, effective at the close of the spring quarter, and with a leave of absence from the end of the winter term. The board by unanimous vote expressed its "high appreciation of the zealous, tireless industry, and great ability that have characterized President Raymond's administration of his office."

Dr. P. B. Reynolds was appointed as acting president with powers and duties of the president to be exercised by him only in the absence of the president, and subject to the approval of the Regents at their next meeting—which proved to be a meeting of a new board (in May, 1901).[7]

President D. B. Purinton who was elected president in the summer of 1901, promptly obtained (September 5), from the Board authority "to make such changes in the internal government and control of the University" as he considered proper. On December 1, he put into effect a new system of administration designed to secure unity, harmony and consistency. The faculty ceased to be a legislative or administrative body but might be called together by the president for conference, exchange of views, discussions, and might also pass resolutions. A smaller body—a council of seven members appointed by the president—one from each of seven groups of departments (English, foreign languages, natural sciences, philosophy-pedagogy-economics, law-history-politics, engineering, mathematics and agriculture)—was the new legislative body with well defined powers but restricted in its action by the president's veto. It proved an excellent feature of the new system, but was not regarded as entirely representative. The work of administration was facilitated by five standing committees: Classification and grades; ways and means (to arrange schedules, examinations, etc.); publication; athletics; and library.

Under President Hodges an attempt was made to revive the activity of the faculty in the initiation of policies, but the attempt proved unsatisfactory under the new conditions and was soon abandoned. The smaller council of deans, which supplanted the older University council was found more convenient.

Under the changed methods of administration and with the widening of interests and the increase of real college work the dissensions and antagonisms largely disappeared and the University greatly multiplied its usefulness to the state.

Co-education.—The most remarkable increase in the attendance of the University was coincident with the admission of women. The story of their knockings for admission, and of the conservative opposition that so long delayed it, forms one of the most interesting and dramatic chapters in the history of the University. The irresistible tide of college co-education, after spreading over the West and pushing eastward from Texas across the South finally reached West Virginia.

Co-education in America is largely a contribution of the young and growing West. It won by struggle against the traditions of the older and more conservative East. Two fortunate and almost accidental factors determined the higher education of American women. (1) In the sparsely settled West there were not enough pupils for separate schools. Girls were admitted to the free elementary and secondary schools; and later, during the great school revival of 1830-45 and thereafter they were admitted to colleges of the West. The reorganization of education after 1865 introduced the system of co-education of the sexes into the South. (2) The occurrence of the Civil war at the formative period of the American public

[7] One of the first actions of the new Board was to authorize dancing under supervision of the commandant of cadets (May 22, 1901)—Regents Babb and Trotter voting in the negative.

schools put elementary and secondary education into the hands of women teachers, and this arrangement became permanent. Thus it became necessary that women should have the opportunities for higher education, even if only for the sake of the boys whom they taught.

Co-education was regarded as an innovation in the East where the colleges (there were no state universities in the East) had developed before the question of higher education for women had been agitated. The traditions of the West were different. There, where girls were already admitted to the high schools, it did not seem any great innovation to admit them to the new, undeveloped state universities, most of which were really little more than preparatory schools.

It was natural that co-education (and the college education of women) should begin in Ohio. Oberlin Collegiate Institute, opened to both sexes on the same terms in 1833, was the first institution where large bodies of women and men were educated together. The testimony of the faculty favored a continuation of the system. The example was followed by Antioch College in 1853. New western universities adopted the system from the beginning: Utah, 1850; Iowa, 1856; Washington, 1862; Kansas, 1856; Minnesota, 1868; and Nebraska in 1871. In 1868, Indiana University extended its privilege to women. The University of Michigan, which has grown to an institution of high college grade, admitted women in 1870—against the will of the faculty and in harmony with public sentiment and the requests of the legislature. This example was quickly followed by all the other western state universities: Illinois and California, 1870; Ohio, 1873; and Wisconsin (which had received the entering wedge in 1860), 1874. The University of Maine, the single eastern state university north of Virginia, opened its doors to women in 1870; and two years later Cornell led the way for co-education in the private institutions of the conservative East. All western state universities founded after 1871 admitted women from the beginning.

From the West, college co-education pushed eastward across the South from 1870 to 1897, until in all Southern state universities except three (Virginia, Georgia and Louisiana) women were admitted: Missouri, 1870; Texas, 1883; Mississippi, 1882; Kentucky, 1889; Alabama, 1893; South Carolina, 1894; and North Carolina, 1897.

Finally, in 1897, West Virginia, balanced on the border of North and South, the belated child of the storm and long held by traditional strings to the conservative Virginia-East, but with face toward the West, was reached by the rising, spreading tide and opened wide to women the university doors which had been partially opened in 1889 in response to long repeated knockings.

A fitting introduction to the story is found in the report of Acting-President J. W. Scott to the board of regents, dated June 20, 1876, in which he said:

"I am so thoroughly convinced of the propriety and justice of opening the doors of the state university to the daughters as well as to the sons of the state, that I trust you will excuse a reference to the subject in the close of this report. It is believed by many that this measure is only a question of time. It is not intended to argue the question here, but simply to ask you to consider it now in the light of its own merits, and not in the darkness of prejudices supposed to exist against it. I am convinced that such prejudices are neither so decided nor so extended as many imagine. During the year one parent applied for the admission of a daughter. I had to inform him that our doors are closed against one-half of the youth of the state at present, but that I had good hope for the future.

The subject of the co-education of the sexes in our colleges and universities demands the profoundest consideration of all who have the control of such institutions. The question runs too deep for arbitrary or superficial treatment. It requires the study of the different stages of civilization from the savage upward, and the employments required of both men and women in these different stages. It will be found that the highest type of civilization upon which the advanced nations of the world are now entering requires more than the mere fine lady with her elegant, but superficial accomplishments. The great social changes, brought about in the progress of society both indoors and out, by the division of labor and the invention of labor saving machinery, require a readjustment of 'woman's sphere,' and corresponding changes in our systems of education. This has been seen and put into practice by the enterprising young states of the West, whose state universities are now imparting their advantages to the youth of both sexes alike. Might not the still younger state of West Virginia safely and economically follow their successful example? After all, is it not strange that any argument is required to show that God's method of education, as seen in the family, is the best?"

The resignation of President Martin, who had recently been called to Indiana Asbury, had left the school in a declining condition. It was evident that something was needed to revive it. In January, 1877, there were only forty-two students in actual attendance and fifty-one on the roll. J. R. Thompson, who soon succeeded to the presidency, favored co-education, but he saw that his first duty was to increase the male attendance. By June, 1878, his strenuous efforts raised the attendance to one hundred and eighteen. Then, in order to compete with

other schools, he recommended the encouragement of boarding clubs to reduce the expenses of the students, the abolition of tuition fees for West Virginia students, and the employment of the newspapers for a liberal system of advertising, and the establishment of departments of law and medicine. Crowded out by these and other problems, co-education found no place in President Thompson's reports, but it appears that a proposition in its favor was presented to the board of regents as early as 1880 by Professor J. S. W. Dean, who later became its champion in the legislature.

Though a bill for co-education at the university was defeated in the legislature in the session of 1881, the subject was more and more agitated in the course of subsequent events. The attendance, which had increased as a result of the activities of President Thompson, and continued to increase under the adminstration of Acting-President Purinton, again began to decline after June, 1882, when the regents at the request of the faculty abolished the prescribed curriculum and adopted the separate-schools plan of the University of Virginia. The confusion which arose from the change of system caused much opposition to the university. In the year 1882-3, while William L. Wilson was nominally at the head of the institution, the number of students fell from one hundred and seventy-seven to one hundred and fifty-nine.

After the resignation of Congressman Wilson, the regents who favored the admission of women and voted for Professor William T. Willey for president, were in the minority by one vote. The majority decided to postpone the election of a president, and chose for chairman of the faculty Professor Robert C. Berkeley, the most conservative member of the faculty and a strong opponent of co-education. At the beginning of the fall term of 1883, the Virginia members of the faculty resolved to take a firm stand against the agitation for the admission of women. On September sixth, the following resolution was presented to the faculty and adopted:

> "Resolved, that the admission of young ladies to the several classes of the West Virginia University is contrary to the intention of the West Virginia legislature, as shown by the defeat, at the session of 1881, of the bill to allow co-education of the sexes in this institution;
>
> "Resolved, that this faculty has not the right, whatever may be its wishes, to allow that which is contrary to the intention of the legislature; and co-education is contrary to the intention of the legislature."

"In spite of this solemn resolution, three or four Morgantown girls firmly resolved to continue the agitation by the most effective method—by actually entering the university. (In one or two instances the daughters of professors already had been allowed to attend classes.) They were admitted to Professor Willey's class in history. As they passed Martin Hall they were greeted by the boys with a song entitled, "Baby Mine." The boys were furious, called them "parrots" because they recited the lesson so well. "You will fail on examination," they said. "You cannot retain 'it.'" The boys were surprised at the end of the term—for, on the oral examination, the girls were able to recite chapter after chapter of Anderson's History of the United States! Professor Willey was denounced by resolutions of the faculty for violating the law. He was also reported to Governor Jackson, who proceeded to demand why he had admitted the girls to his classes. (Governor Jackson, before the close of his term, however, favored co-education.)

In 1884 the agitation increased, and the administration of the university was severely criticized in the newspapers. In the spring an effort was made to ascertain the sentiment of the alumni. One case deserves special mention. Major James M. Lee sent to Doctor S. S. Adams a pamphlet on coeducation and asked his vote and opinion on the subject. Adams in his reply of June 5, 1884, traced somewhat in detail the causes of decline of his alma mater and proceeded to describe the means of cure. It seemed to him that there were too many other and more vital points requiring the attention of the regents to justify them in undertaking to solve the problem of coeducation. "There are

as many objections to the system," said he, "as there are arguments in favor of it. * * * Until the university is thoroughly reorganized I am of the opinion that it will prove only another experiment of which we have had enough."

It was proposed that, in case co-education should be established, the university should "buy the Morgantown Female Seminary building and place Mrs. Moore at its portals as matron." Referring to this subject, Doctor Adams wrote. "Why relegate this intelligent lady to the post of watchdog? By years of hard work she has fitted herself to fill the place which she holds among the educators of high rank. Why not then put her in the faculty? Why attempt to subordinate her to men, her inferiors in intellectual ability as well as in the ranks of educators?" As a result of the publication of Doctor Adams' letter in the *Wheeling Intelligencer,* Major Lee lost his position—though he protested that he had not furnished the copy for the publication.

In the meantime the attendance of students continued to decrease. For the year 1883-84 it fell from one hundred and fifty-nine to ninety-six. It was seen that the uncertainty of appropriations would become more uncertain. The board, believing that the university ought to have an attendance of five hundred, took prompt action to induce young men to attend and to prevent them from leaving the State to attend other schools. In June, 1884, it ordered charges for tuition to be abolished, and recommended the extension of the number of cadets. Mr. J. A. Robinson, in the biennial report of 1884, after referring to the fact that young men were not availing themselves of the educational privileges and advantages offered to them within their own State, significantly added:

"It is also a question which has seriously occupied the regents whether the young ladies of the State should not also be invited to come in—a question that will receive the attention of the next meeting of the board."

Early in 1885, the agitation for co-education which had been waxing warmer in the newspapers, resulted in the preparation of a bill in the legislature at Wheeling, for amending and re-enacting section 79, chapter 45, of the code concerning education so that it should read as follows: "The board of regents shall from time to time establish * * * departments * * *, but there shall be no discrimination on account of sex in the admission or instruction of students, and every department of the university, except that of military tactics, shall hereafter be open to females upon the same terms and in the same manner as to males." On January 15, this bill was introduced in the Senate by Mr. N. B. Scott and referred to the committee on education. On January 21 it was favorably reported by the committee, and on January 31 it passed the Senate by a vote of fourteen to twelve.

On January 30, the House committee on education reported favorably on the bill. There was also a minority report signed by Daniel B. Lucas, H. B. Gilkeson and Ira C. Post (House Journal 1885, p. 133), who gave the following reasons for their opposition:

(1) At present there has been no provision made for a dormitory or dormitories for reception of young ladies, and for the employment of a matron.

(2) No appropriation has been made to effect and carry out this organic change in the laws of the institution, and it is doubtful if one can be obtained at the present session.

(3) The matter is now under the consideration of the board of regents, and they have appointed a committee to see what sum and changes will be necessary to obtain dormitories and a matron for the ladies' department.

H. B. Gilkeson and D. B. Lucas then signed the following additional statement: "The undersigned are opposed to co-education under any circumstances." (Ib. p. 134).

The bill was ably defended by J. S. W. Dean, and as strongly opposed by Lucas at every step. On motion of Dean (February 17),

it was made a special order for February 19. Oxley moved to strike out, "except that of military tactics." Lucas moved, as an amendment to Oxley's amendment, to strike out all the clause beginning with "but there shall be no discrimination." The debate continued through the day and was resumed in the evening. On the next morning a motion to limit speeches to twenty minutes was rejected. In the afternoon, after a brief time for considering a report on reducing the number of hours for convict labor and the needed enlargement of the penitentiary to accommodate the increasing number of convicts, the discussion of the co-education bill was again resumed. In the meantime the committee on judiciary had been asked to report whether the co-educational bill, if enacted, would not "violate the faith of the State and endanger the endowment fund of the university." Mr. Haymond now reported that his committee had referred the question to a sub-committee composed of Lucas, Gilkeson and McWhorter, and had adopted the majority report of Lucas and Gilkeson, which was as follows:

"We think the act did not contemplate the education of females, because it says that the leading purpose is to give a practical education in agriculture and the mechanic arts, and strictly enjoins the teaching of military tactics. For this state to change and amend the act of the legislature by which she accepted the gift, in such a manner as to divert a portion of the interest to the education of a class of persons who are not to be instructed in agriculture and mechanics, and who by the very terms of the proposed amendment are prohibited from learning, or being taught, military tactics, is clearly in violation of the spirit of the act of Congress."

The minority report of McWhorter was as follows:

"The act of Congress contemplates education of females. * * * Section 2 provides for and requires the teaching of 'such branches of learning as are related to agriculture and the mechanic arts.' * * * The industrial classes include all industrial classes of the country; and if the act of the legislature of West Virginia accepting the grant be so construed as to *exclude* any one of the industrial classes, then it violates the terms of the grant." * * *

After these reports were read, Oxley accepted the amendment of Lucas. The roll was called, but on motion of Stapleton, the announcement of the yeas and nays was postponed till the following day. On February 21, Gilkeson was called to preside as speaker *pro tempore,* in place of Speaker Dennis who was excused from attendance on account of illness. At eleven o'clock the vote on the Lucas amendment was announced: Yeas, thirty-three; nays, thirty. On motion of Mr. Haymond, the bill was then laid on the table. Mr. Lucas immediately telegraphed the result to Professor Berkeley, chairman of the university faculty, with whom he had been in correspondence.

A letter written by Lucas at that time is full of psychological interest. The following is an extract from a copy that has been preserved:

"House of Delegates,
Wheeling, February 20th, 1885.

"Dear Sir:

We today defeated the co-education bill after a severe fight. Mr. Dean looks quite disconsolate. He came here with a plan to reorganize the whole educational system of the state, after the German plan, forgetting (as all such specialists do) that we can only have the German system when we have also the empire. So likewise in regard to co-education; when we are prepared to substitute the half-civilization of the north-west for the culture of the Atlantic seaboard, we shall be prepared for co-education. I hope that its advocates, having now been defeated twice in the legislature, will give us a rest. If they do not, I have made up my mind what to do. I will get up a memorial to establish a college east of the Alleghanies and petition the legislature that one-half the endowment and the annual appropriations may be accorded us. The Third District will support me in it, and I think such a proposition could have been carried this session without difficulty. The Democratic party, by an overwhelming and almost unanimous vote, have declared against co-education, and the continued local agitation of the subject will render it well nigh impossible to get out appropriations. The finance committee cut us down seven thousand dollars below our estimates, and only by dint of personal and unrelenting work did I with Colonel Robinson's aid get them to restore four thousand dollars of the amount estimated for. When the appropriation bill comes into the House, the attempt will be made to reduce our estimated allowance. If I find that I need assistance in this matter, I may telegraph you to come on here, but I will not do so unless it is conceded that the co-education business is to be kept in abeyance. So far as I am concerned, I am determined that our state

university shall not clothe herself in the cast off rags of north-western civilization. The Democratic party supports the institution and their voice should control its organization. If it is to be Republicanized, then I for one will demand a division of funds for a *democratic college,* either in the Second District or the Third.''

Though co-education was defeated, the university in 1885-86 entered upon a new era. Definite policies for its future were taking shape. It was ceasing to be a local institution. Railway communication was opened between Fairmont and Morgantown in 1886. From 1884-5 there was a steady increase in the attendance at the university, which, with the exception of one year, has continued until the present.

The faculty, by changes and additions, was becoming more and more in favor of co-education. Doctor Turner was elected president in June, 1885. Professor Whitehill was elected to the position which had been held by Professor Latham. Though Professor Lyon resigned, he was succeeded by Professor Reynolds.

The campaign for co-education was resumed. The State had made an appropriation for Storer College where a boarding hall for colored girls had been dedicated in May, 1876. Why should not the State provide higher education for its white girls?

The college societies joined in the discussion. In April, 1886, Thomas G. Rector, Robert A. Armstrong, and others of the Parthenon Society publicly delivered orations for a gold medal offered by Doctor Henshaw of Martinsburg. Rector's subject was: ''Out of Ruins; Decay of Old Institutions and the Growth of New.'' Armstrong spoke in favor of ''Co-education in West Virginia.'' He produced good, logical argument based on statistics and expediency, and closed with a fine peroration that won the applause of the large audience. By the unanimous decision of the judges he was awarded a gold medal which bore the inscription (in Greek) ''The orator is the guardian of liberty.'' After that oration the settlement of the question in favor of the women was only a matter of time; and he wore the medal until the time came. Young Samuel B. Brown, not yet married, was another champion on the forum. From 1885 to 1889 he spoke at teacher's institutes in fifteen or twenty counties. Several professors enlisted in the new sort of extension work. Professor Willey with his lecture, ''There's a woman in it,'' emphasized the statement that woman has stood at the beginning of every great advance of civilization from the days of Eve till the day on which he spoke. One of his arguments was that the non-admission of women to the university was unjust to the man whose children were all girls.

In view of the continued discussion of higher education for women President Turner suggested to the board that it was necessary to consider the relation of the university to the question. He saw that the State should make some provision for the education of women equal to that for men, and that it would do it. In view of the hostile attitude of a large part of the population toward co-education, he proposed (in his report of June 8, 1889) that the regents should determine upon some conservative policy that would not excite the active hostility of any considerable number of people. In view of the fact that it would be necessary to erect a dormitory, employ a matron, and arrange for other matters of detail, and that the subject would certainly be agitated in the next legislature, he suggested that a committee should be appointed to investigate the question in all its aspects, and to make a full report so that any future action might be based upon a knowledge of the facts. a matriculation fee—in order to avoid the tendency to make things too (At the same time he recommended that all students should be charged cheap.)

At the meeting of the board of regents in June, 1889, the collegiate department of the university was opened to female students. In order that those desiring to avail themselves of this action might be properly advised as to the conditions of admission, the faculty adopted the following order:

''Any young woman who presents evidence of having completed, in other schools, the studies required in the preparatory department of the

university or their equivalent shall be allowed to enter the collegiate classes upon passing the required examinations. If not presenting such testimonials and passing such examinations in all these studies, she shall be admitted to such college classes as she may be prepared to enter; *provided* there are at least two such classes occupying in the aggregate not less than ten recitation hours per week; and provided further, that she shall be *conditioned* to pass examinations in all preparatory studies (including Latin) of the *first* preparatory year within *two* years from the date of entrance. But if such applicant is a candidate for a degree, she shall, upon entrance, pass successfully the examination in a *majority* of the studies required for admission to the collegiate department.

"Under these regulations the following collegiate classes are open to young women who are not prepared to enter the collegiate classes in Latin, Greek or mathematics, namely, history, physics, chemistry, junior English, anatomy, zoology; and in the spring term, field botany.

"But, in order to enter the class in history, the applicant must have sufficient age and general culture to pursue the study profitably. To enter the class in physics or chemistry, the applicant must have completed arithmetic, including the metric system of weights and measures, and elementary algebra; and in physics, also three books of geometry; provided, that if the applicant has not studied geometry, she may enter the class in physics by taking up the study of geometry at the same time. To enter the class in junior English, the applicant must have completed the English studies of the preparatory department or *their equivalent.*"

In 1889-90, in a total attendance of two hundred and eight, there were ten women; three in the regular A. B. course and three prospective A. B. students, two preparing to teach, and one who withdrew before the end of the term. Of the ten, there were seven who lived in Morgantown, and three who had been Professor Brown's Glenville Normal students, one of whom became his wife. It was believed that the attendance of women could not be large until special boarding house accommodations could be prepared for them. Nevertheless, President Turner (in his report of June 4, 1890) wrote: "The admission of ladies seems to be a successful experiment as far as it has gone. * * * They have demonstrated their ability to do as thorough work as the young men. Their influence has been wholesome on the young men. I see no reason for making any change in the present regulations."

In 1890-91, in a total attendance of two hundred and five, there were only six women (one of whom had not attended the year before), but President Turner again said: "They have maintained their ability to cope with the young men in the same classes and there is no reason for change in the present status. One is a member of the graduating class."

The catalogue of 1892-93 shows that fourteen women were admitted to the collegiate department on the same terms and regulations as men. In 1893-94 (when the old traditional pledge to obey the rules was omitted and the catalogue began to assume its present aspect) there were twenty women. In 1894-95 there were twenty again. In 1895-96 there were thirty-five. The catalogue of 1895-96 contained a full page cut entitled "A Bevy of Coeds." It also announced that ladies were admitted to the law school on the same terms as gentlemen.

Coincident with the increase in the number of women students there was a remarkable increase in the total attendance for each year as indicated by the following:

244 in 1893-94.	398 in 1895-96.
283 in 1894-95.	465 in 1896-97.

The phenomenal increase for 1895-96 was largely due to the personal work of Professor Barbe who was selected to fill the newly-created office of field-agent of the university.

In the meantime, though opposition to co-education was decreasing, a few members of the board stood firmly by their conservative prin-

ciples. James F. Brown was violently opposed to the system and fought it at every meeting of the board; but he belonged to a minority that grew smaller with each yearly vote upon the subject. On June 10, 1897, still unconvinced by arguments either of experience and expediency or of nature and principles, he offered to the board his last resolution, as follows:

"Resolved, that co-education be discontinued at the university after June 15, 1898, save and except that all the young ladies now in attendance at the university and all who may matriculate through the coming school year be permitted to complete their respective courses of study.

All resolutions and orders of the board in any wise in conflict herewith are hereby repealed."

On roll call his motion was lost by a vote of three ayes and six nays.

When Doctor Raymond was elected to the presidency he proposed that co-education should be extended to the preparatory school. His proposal was favorably received by the board, which proceeded to place on its record book (October 13, 1897) an order "that the preparatory school, and the schools of music and fine arts be opened to all students without distinction as to sex." On October 14, when, in his inaugural address, he announced that all the bars of sex had been removed, the audience stood and shouted. The long strife was ended. "Time had brought its revenge." Again could women freely study on the site of the old "Woodburn Seminary," from which the girls had gone as exiles over thirty years before when their building had passed into the hands of the West Virginia College to which boys only were admitted.

They quickly took advantage of their new opportunity. The enrollment of women students for 1897-98 reached one hundred and twelve, and since that year it has steadily increased.

Many good results followed. In his report of 1898, the president said: "It is gratifying to report that during the year that has elapsed since all discrimination against women in the University has been abolished, no evil results from this action have been manifest, but, on the contrary, the admission of women to all departments of the University has been productive of great good in many ways. The women students have, as a body, maintained a high grade of scholarship; they have stimulated the young men to better scholarship; their presence has been a restraining influence upon the few students who are inclined to be disorderly; and upon the entire student body their mere presence has acted as an elevating and refining influence. On the other hand, the presence of the men has stimulated the young women to better work and greater endeavors. The good influences, therefore, are reciprocal, and both sexes are undoubtedly benefited by the social and intellectual intercourse which co-education provides."

Many who were reared under the old regime have been surprised that co-education has been so successful. It is generally believed, where it has been tried, that all the arguments against it have been met and answered by experience, the best of teachers:

1. It has not lowered the standard of scholarship. Unanimous experience shows that the average standing of women is slightly higher than that of men.

2. The health of the women has been kept as well as that of men under the same tests.

3. The question of conduct has been satisfactorily answered. None of the difficulties or dangers feared have ever arisen.

4. The women have been satisfied with the system wherever it has been tried. The number of co-educational institutions has been increasing, and in them the increase of the number of women has been relatively greater than the increase in the number of men. From 1890 to 1898, while the number of men increased seventy per cent, the number of women increased one hundred and five per cent. It is reasonable to believe that this increase will continue. At West Virginia University the increase would have been far greater if comfortable and suitably matroned girls' homes had been provided by the State.

5. Statistics prove that the men do not prefer separate education where co-education has been tried. The number of men has increased more rapidly in co-educational institutions than in colleges for men

only. It is only in the East that any preference for separate education is shown by either sex.

The struggles for social advance are never-ending. The solution of one problem often creates another. Though the women were at last admitted to the institution which had been erected on the picturesque grounds of old "Woodburn Seminary," the girls' "home-school" building was no longer there. It had burned in 1873, and no dormitory had been built to replace it. With the admission of women to all departments of the University, the need of a woman's home under the control of a refined, cultured matron was felt at once. To encourage the feeling of unity among the girls, and to supply in part the social attractions which were not furnished in home-like halls, the Woman's League was organized in November, 1897. At the end of the year, the president recommended that strong efforts should be made to induce the legislature to appropriate money for a dormitory so that the girls could be provided with home comforts and have a cultivated woman to direct and advise them, provide proper social diversion, and exercise a judicious restraint over their work and their pleasures. "With proper accommodations for young lady students," said he, "and a cultured and able dean of women, to have oversight of them, there is no reason why we should not have as many lady students as men in the University. We could double the attendance at the university within two years if a woman's hall and a dean of women were secured. If we are to be a co-educational institution, as we seem destined to be, we ought to make a success of co-education, and do thoroughly and well what we attempt to do. Even those who oppose co-education will agree in saying that if we are to have co-education, we should do everything possible to make proper provision for the young lady students. It would be difficult to name a co-educational institution, the size of ours, where there is so slight provision made for young women. * * * The state has never made anything like proper provision for the education of women. It is now time that this provision should be made. Fifty thousand dollars would build and equip a hall that would be complete in every way, and that would attract women from every part of West Virginia to our state university."

Though the regents soon chose a dean of women (in 1901-02), their recommendation to the legislature did not bear any appropriation fruit for over a decade. In June, 1903, the regents leased a building for use as a woman's hall until an appropriation could be secured for a larger building which after various delays was begun in 1917.

Chapel Exercises.—Perhaps no other feature of the University has had such a unique interesting history as that of the chapel exercises.

Until the years 1895-6, attendance at chapel exercises was compulsory. Those who were students during that period take pleasure in relating the many pleasant happenings and unpleasant hardships which characterized the exercises at that time. Nothing clings more tenaciously to the memory of an alumnus who attended school during that period nor pictures to him more vividly his college life than the familiar roll-call each morning at chapel, the "Presents" as they resounded from various parts of the room, and the deafening yells which burst forth from the students assembled in the expression of their fervent college spirit, that adjunct to college life so perceptibly absent in these days.

In the early days, the roll was called at the chapel exercises. On Mondays, the students answered either "At Church," or "Not at Church." On the other school days of the week, they answered "Present." The students were then required to attend church at least once on Sunday, and the responses on Monday indicated not only their presence at chapel exercises on that morning but also their absence from church services or presence at church services on the previous day. The absentees were reported regularly to the president, but seldom was any action taken. Later, the calling of the roll was abandoned and each student was assigned to a seat which was numbered. At the end of each row of seats a censor was stationed whose duty it was to note any absentees in his row of seats and report them to the secretary of the faculty. Each censor was designated by a letter of the alphabet and, when his letter was called by the secretary he arose and reported the numbers of the seats of those absent. This system was not as satisfactory as the calling of the roll, but it saved a great deal of time.

The order of the services at that time was singing, scripture reading, prayer, and sometimes a short talk by the president, the chaplain, or some member of the faculty. The services were held at eight o'clock or earlier and were very brief, rarely consuming more than fifteen or twenty minutes.

Although students had participated in the services as required, they did not do so very cheerfully and some did not regard them with much favor. In 1895 a great agitation arose, especially among the law students, against compulsory chapel. It was claimed, and Judge Johnson, who was Dean of the Law School at that time, upheld the contention, that, constitutionally, a student could not be required to attend. The Board of Regents in April, 1896, acting on a petition of the students, modified the services by requiring all students to attend assembly at 10 o'clock at which the roll was called, announcements were made, etc., after which any student who desired to withdraw was permitted to do so quietly. For some time practically no one withdrew. Later, however, on a certain occasion when a student had been disciplined by the faculty for disorder in chapel, the entire student body, with but

few exceptions, availed themselves of the privilege of marching out after the announcements had been made, leaving the astonished faculty and about six students to participate in the devotional exercises. The occurrence hastened the necessity of a change.

With the coming of President Raymond in 1897, chapel was made an entirely voluntary exercise, and as was to be expected, its attendance was not as large as in the days of the roll call. President Raymond, in order to stimulate attendance, introduced what he called a "Special Feature," consisting of musical numbers, elocutionary exercises, addresses, etc. But this kind of service soon became tiresome to the students, and the "Monticola" for the following year chronicled in caricature the burial of the "Special Feature" in front of Commencement Hall.

In 1898, at the suggestion of Chaplain P. B. Reynolds, a new system was inaugurated. It provided for voluntary chapel exercises each morning beginning promptly at eight o'clock and concluding at eight thirty o'clock. These services were conducted by Doctor Reynolds and consisted of singing, scripture reading, prayer and a series of brief lectures upon subjects of interest to Bible students. A credit of one-third course was given to students who submitted to the Chaplain satisfactory notes of the lectures.

At first, these services were fairly well attended and much good was derived from them, but, as the years passed, the attendance grew smaller and smaller until barely a "corporal's guard" remained. Indeed, less than four per cent of the student body attended chapel. This alarming condition demonstrated to those in charge that the services were falling short of their purpose and that it was necessary to make some change that would stimulate a greater interest.

Accordingly, the faculty of the University, after discussing the problem, recommended to the University Council that a weekly chapel service be substituted for the daily chapel services; that the chapel begin at eight-fifteen on Tuesday morning and continue for thirty minutes; and that the service consist of singing, prayer, responsive reading, special music by the University School of Music, and perhaps a short address; that the series of short academic lectures be discontinued; and that no credit be allowed for attendance.

At a subsequent meeting of the University Council, the recommendation of the faculty was presented and adopted and on January 22, 1910, the new plan became effective. Later, the hour was changed to ten o'clock on Wednesdays with satisfactory results. The service gained in popularity and proved useful in unifying the student body and in producing a better *esprit de corps*.

Recent Conditions and Extension of Service

The university passed through the earlier experiences which have been common to most state universities. Even in its most difficult and critical periods, as in all its history, noble and scholarly men were connected with its faculty and did efficient work notwithstanding inadequate facilities. Finally it overcame the obstacles and opposition of its time of trial, outgrew political and sectional influences and established itself in the confidence and affections of the people. In the last decade it has had phenomenal growth and is worthy of recognition as one of the leading state institutions, much in advance of many older institutions which had a wide reputation before West Virginia University had passed beyond the Monongalia Academy stage. Fifty years ago its students numbered only 124. In 1916-17 the total enrollment, including 1,609 enrolled in the "schools," was 2,788 of whom 1,150 were candidates for degrees. The total enrollment in the year 1918-1919 in the Colleges and School of Medicine (and excluding the School of Music and various short courses) was 1,305 of which 1,281 were candidates for degrees and 379 were women. The total enrollment in the College of Arts and Sciences was 681 of which 314 were women. That of the College of Engineering was 428; of the College of Agriculture, 130 (of which 59 were women); of the College of Law, 21, and of the School of Medicine, 45 (5 women). In 1919-20 the total collegiate enrollment at the university was 1,596, and the total enrollment exclusive of short courses was 1,992. In 1867 the faculty numbered five. In 1919-20 the total number of the faculty (exclusive of 25 assistants, 5 library staff, 23 experiment station staff, and 19 extension department) was 136, of whom 56 were full professors, 17 associate professors, 27 assistant professors and 41 instructors.

Throughout the earlier decades few professors had training beyond that required for the ordinary degree of A. B. Now there are few who have not had research or other graduate work in the best equipped universities—usually for at least two years, and in some cases for four or five years.

In the instructional staff of the College of Arts and Sciences, numbering 81 members (exclusive of 11 student assistants), of those above the rank of instructors who have obtained higher degrees for graduate work done in residence at higher institutions equipped for such work, 34 have the degree of Ph. D. and 20 the degree of A. M. Of the instructors who have studied for advanced degrees, 2 have the doctorate and 13 have the degree of A. M. Several members of the faculty are widely known through their publications based on research.

From the primitive high school stage the university has grown to be a real college which may rightly lay claim to university rank. Some of its alumni are found in all the useful vocations of life and in many states and countries. Supported by a liberal minded and progressive people it will continue its useful development, heeding the experience and free from the difficulties of the past.

In recent years the curriculum and many of the courses have been readjusted to the new needs resulting from rapidly changing conditions of life. Entrance requirements are fifteen units (four years of high school work); seven of these units are elective. The time required for graduation is four years. Ancient language requirements for graduation in the A. B. course were recently abolished. By a combination of academic and professional work a student may earn the regular university degree and the professional degree in six years.

Each college maintains a high standard of scholarship and is in live touch with recent progressive movements and methods in higher education. Since 1900 and especially in the last decade there has been a higher standard of professional and technical education in accord with the development of public opinion. Since 1913 the College of Law has greatly increased the requirements for graduation, raised the standards of work and improved the methods of instruction; and in 1914, after thorough inspection and investigation, it was admitted to membership in the Association of American Law Colleges. The number of candidates for the law degree increased from seventeen in 1907-08 to sixty (one-third of whom were college graduates) in 1916-17.

The type of instruction in the law school after 1913 was the case system. Instruction and class discussion are based upon selected adjudicated cases which are made available to the students in the form of carefully prepared casebooks. This system is a really scientific method of treatment since it takes the student through substantially the same process of analysis and reasoning by which the courts have arrived at their conclusions. The instructors are men who have themselves been trained in the leading law schools of the country and who give their full time to the work. This also is in accord with the practice of the better law schools, it being now recognized that the task of training law students is one which demands the entire time and interest of the teacher. Dean H. C. Jones, under whose skillful management the case method and other high standards were established, was succeeded by Joseph Warren Madden in 1921. A requirement of two years of college credit (chiefly in English, history and economics) for admission to the College of Law was approved by the faculty in December, 1921, effective in September, 1922. The completion of the new law building will add considerably to the efficiency of the school in permitting the library materials to be made more available and in avoiding the confusion inevitably caused by the housing of a professional school along with students who are pursuing non-professional college work.

The School of Medicine has been standardized. In 1916, after official inspection, it was given classification "A" and obtained membership in the Association of American Medical Colleges. The College of Agriculture shows remarkable improvement both in quality and quantity of work done, and its increased standards for entrance and for graduation have resulted in a steady increase of students, checked only by the war.

Research is encouraged and is steadily developing in all the colleges. Increased attention will be given to the development of graduate in-

struction to meet the needs of the state as soon as necessary facilities of equipment and additional instructors are provided.

The recent official reports of the university show a marked widening of the work of the institution and an increasing practical activity in co-operative efforts to solve the social, industrial and financial problems of the state. Various extension departments have been organized to carry the work of practical instruction to the people in their home communities and to co-operate in public service by bringing expert knowledge to bear productively upon many state enterprises.

The College of Agriculture, besides the work of teaching, conducts various experimental projects in research and the results are published in a series of bulletins which are distributed to the farmers of the state. It is co-operating with county courts and local organizations in a wide range of activities. Recently it has successfully reached the people of the state by various forms of extension. The short course in agriculture has had much influence in aiding farmers and in winning public confidence and support. The agriculture extension division, organized in 1912, has charge of all itinerant educational work in agriculture and directs the work of county agricultural agents. Under the division there are now twenty administrative officers and specialists, thirty-nine agricultural agents and fifteen assistants, thirty district club agents, thirteen regular (and fifteen emergency) home demonstration agents and ten clerks and stenographers. Extension work in home economics is conducted through farmer's institutes, extension schools, farm women's clubs, publications and correspondence concerning courses in rural schools.

The College of Engineering co-operates with the State Road Commission and the State Department of Mines. The mining department of the College of Engineering conducts well organized extension work.

The School of Medicine through its close relation to the State Hygienic Laboratory at the university has extended its services to the people of the state in the interest of public health.

Members of the faculty of the College of Arts and Sciences in addition to their regular class room duties render active service to the state in various ways. University extension work begun in education courses in 1916-17 was continued in history and economics in 1917-20.

A special feature since 1902—the summer school under the immediate direction of Waitman Barbe—is meeting the needs of many students who cannot attend during the regular semester. The educational conference, first suggested by Professor J. H. Cox, and held at the university each summer beginning with 1903, serves as a valuable means of further proper co-operation of different educational institutions of the state in solving problems in which all have a common interest.

It is gratifying that the university is extending the sphere of its usefulness (or service) through a variety of practical services rendered by its staff to the people of the state. Notable among these activities are extension courses, assistance in promoting the organization and effectiveness of the State Conference of Charities and Correction, the preparation of a summary of state laws concerning child welfare, contribution of articles to professional and other publications, preparation of references and lists of books for high schools or in response to requests from various other sources, response to calls for public addresses and for counsel concerning educational or industrial or other public questions, and co-operation and assistance in several kinds of voluntary unpaid service in connection with the problems of the war.

The recent increase in the attendance indicates a continued increase which will necessitate the employment of additional instructors, provision for additional space for class rooms and additional facilities in laboratories and library. New buildings are much needed to secure unity and proper co-ordination of work in related departments which have sometimes suffered from isolation. Money should be available for increasing the salaries of men as fast as they increase in effectiveness. With the increase in the cost of living, the rise of salaries in other

occupations, and the increased prosperity of other institutions, the university will be subjected to serious embarrassment in securing or retaining the kind of men that the institution needs most in order to serve its purpose. The need of larger permanent development in the work of various university departments is one of the most important lessons of the present war. To accomplish the larger and more effective university work demanded by this age of industrial and social development, with its many new problems, requires better equipment and facilities for investigation and larger appropriations.

Many interesting points in the growth of the university may be obtained by a study of the following tables:

1. WEST VIRGINIA STUDENT REGISTRATION BY COUNTIES, 1912-20

	1912-13	1913-14	1916-17	1917-18	1918-19	Nov. 1919	Nov. 1920	Summer 1917	Summer 1918	Summer 1919	1921-22
Barbour	12	15	10	15	22	20	25	9	6	7	43
Berkeley	12	11	12	20	16	18	24	9	2	9	22
Boone	1	.....	1	.....	.....	2	2	.....	.....	1	3
Braxton	10	16	17	24	19	18	33	11	9	10	42
Brooke	14	7	10	20	8	13	16	5	1	4	30
Cabell	16	28	23	11	24	26	1	6	8	9	39
Calhoun	2	.....	.....	1	2	1	1	.....	.....	.....	2
Clay	.....	2	4	6	6	4	6	1	.....	2	3
Doddridge	5	3	6	7	5	11	11	1	2	1	17
Fayette	7	11	.....	18	23	21	27	5	6	6	48
Gilmer	13	7	3	6	4	7	7	5	2	3	8
Grant	1	1	2	6	1	6	10	1	.....	4	5
Greenbrier	14	15	16	14	7	20	32	7	3	12	43
Hampshire	3	4	2	6	5	8	11	1	4	3	17
Hancock	6	8	8	6	8	7	16	6	3	9	34
Hardy	.....	3	3	4	6	6	8	3	.....	2	10
Harrison	28	36	50	69	105	89	106	17	7	25	147
Jackson	10	11	.....	28	19	32	33	11	8	8	27
Jefferson	9	14	11	8	12	8	18	5	5	10	19
Kanawha	41	54	38	47	59	55	74	18	11	19	119
Lewis	23	22	25	23	33	31	40	8	7	11	51
Lincoln	1	2	.....	.....	4	2	6	.....	1	4	3
Logan	1	1	.....	1	1	5	7	1	.....	1	12
McDowell	1	1	8	7	5	15	18	4	.....	4	29
Marion	52	51	59	69	110	110	139	21	16	35	150
Marshall	43	36	29	32	36	35	50	9	5	19	60
Mason	5	5	2	4	4	15	17	2	.....	1	23
Mercer	9	23	35	31	23	37	40	10	5	8	31
Mineral	14	13	25	18	32	21	32	4	6	10	36
Mingo	1	1	6	2	8	12	13	.....	.....	.....	9
Monongalia	242	269	307	330	286	295	384	113	100	150	481
Monroe	8	7	6	8	4	6	16	6	3	12	25
Morgan	5	4	5	5	5	5	12	.....	2	5	9
Nicholas	14	15	12	13	14	20	37	13	11	26	46
Ohio	41	33	47	46	51	57	76	11	17	20	125
Pendleton	2	1	3	9	4	6	6	3	1	2	8
Pleasants	5	10	7	7	4	10	14	4	2	4	20
Pocahontas	14	5	5	10	2	10	14	3	4	4	21
Preston	45	42	22	50	43	37	56	23	11	20	87
Putnam	1	1	2	2	.....	1	3	2	1	1	1
Raleigh	3	5	5	8	4	8	10	2	5	2	16
Randolph	6	13	15	23	21	25	33	6	3	7	39
Ritchie	15	23	13	22	19	17	26	9	9	7	37
Roane	7	15	17	26	13	15	23	4	9	7	24
Summers	.....	10	6	9	11	15	19	2	5	3	11
Taylor	27	31	32	39	39	29	36	9	5	9	46
Tucker	10	21	17	17	25	26	35	4	7	12	31
Tyler	21	27	18	22	27	23	36	8	2	14	34
Upshur	9	13	3	19	5	9	12	10	5	2	22
Wayne	3	2	1	2	4	1	1	2	.....	.....	5
Webster	4	4	8	11	10	6	12	2	4	8	26
Wetzel	19	27	17	22	32	27	36	8	9	9	51
Wirt	2	2	.....	2	1	1	1	1	5	.....	2
Wood	31	44	24	45	30	33	41	9	11	14	57
Wyoming	.....	2	2	2	.....	1	2	1	.....	1	7

2. SUMMARY OF UNIVERSITY ENROLLMENT 1867-1906

Date	Total Attendance at Morgantown	Total of Women at Morgantown	Preparatory at Morgantown	Liberal Arts and Sciences: Total	Graduates	Seniors	Juniors	Sophomores	Freshmen	Special	Other Colleges or Schools: Law	Medicine (Anatomy)	Engineering	Agriculture	Commerce	Distribution of Attendance: Counties Represented	From Monongalia	From West Virginia	Faculty: Professors, including Associate and Assistant Professors	Instructors and Tutors	Experiment Station Staff
1867-68	124	.....	118	.....	.....	.....	.....	2	4	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	17	66	.....	6	.....	.....
1868-69	154	.....	140	.....	.....	.....	1	3	7	3	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	23	55	.....	7?	.....	.....
1869-70	161	.....	94 + 24	.....	.....	1	4	4	24	10 + 24	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	25	60	.....	6	2	.....
1870-71	166	.....	97 + 25	.....	.....	2	12	8	25	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	25	81	.....	7	2+2	.....
1871-72	159	.....	81 + 27	.....	.....	4	14	10	23	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	22	70	.....	8	1	.....
1872-73	144	.....	82 + 32	.....	.....	13	6	11	32	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	21	51	.....	9	2+1	.....
1873-74	138	.....	73 + 24	.....	.....	7	7	18	33	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	30	48	.....	9	2+1	.....
1874-75	125	.....	73	.....	.....	7	11	16	18	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	27	49	.....	8	2+1	.....
1875-76	96	.....	57	.....	.....	9	11	9	10	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	16	52	.....	6	3+1	.....
1876-77	93	.....	56	.....	.....	9	6	6	16	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	15	54	.....	1+7	3+1	.....
1877-78	118	.....	76	.....	.....	6	2	12	22	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	15	73	.....	7	2+1	.....
1878-79	135	.....	85	.....	.....	3	7	6	20	8	1	18 (−13)	.....	.....	.....	19	79	122	10	2+1	.....
1879-80	132	.....	70	.....	.....	5	4	13	30	4	5	8 (− 7)	.....	.....	.....	24	49[5](50?)	113	8	3+1	.....
1880-81	162	.....	97	.....	.....	3	8	16	19	12	11	9 (−13)	.....	.....	.....	28	56	143	9	3+1	.....
1881-82	177	.....	84 + 19	.....	.....	9	12	12	10	22	9	19 (− 9)	.....	.....	.....	30	59	159	8	3+1	.....
1882-83	159	.....	45 + 38	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	13	11	.....	.....	.....	33	51	146	10	2+1	.....
1883-84	96	.....	28 + 21	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	13	5	.....	.....	.....	23	30	88	9	3	.....
1884-85	107	.....	32 + 63	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	14	5	.....	.....	.....	28	41	99	11	2	.....
1885-86	136	.....	34 + 90	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	14	10	.....	.....	.....	30	50	124	11	2	.....
1886-87	169	.....	32 +103	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	17	28?	.....	.....	.....	32	59	163	11	2	.....
1887-88	189	.....	68 + 54	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	20	10?	.....	.....	.....	34	54	187	11	3	.....
1888-89	195	.....	79 + 48	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	19	13?	14	.....	.....	36	59	188	13	3+3	1
1889-90	208	10	78	59	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	47	10	.....	10+4	.....	.....	34	66	193	12+1	2	4
1890-91	205	6	79	55	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	29	25	.....	14+3	.....	.....	36	46	185	11+1	7	5+1
1891-92	224	11	80	70	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	36	26	.....	12	.....	.....	41	55	199	16	6	5+1
1892-93	228	14	108	40	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	34	22	.....	15	2	.....	48	57	206	16	2	5+1
1893-94	244	20	101	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	41	.....	57	.....	23	38	85	230	15	2	5+1
1894-95	283	20	99	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	62	.....	58	.....	25	38	90	249	15	1	7+1
1895-96	398	35	145	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	89	.....	82[3]	.....	128?	46	129?	367	19	6	5+2
1896-97	465	38	151	74	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	85+18	.....	92[4]	.....	41	49	54	407	1+19	6+1	7+2
1897-98	644+100 +130	112	184	.....	9	23	19	33	77	40	93	28	44[6]	10	109	.....	.....	565	27[7]	19	7+2
1898-99	815	188	204	.....	31	29	43	43	67	86	114	32	54[6]	21	133	.....	.....	728	29[8]	16+9	8+2
1899-1900	885	240	239	.....	41	54	42	36	35	119	121	10	52[5]	32	188	.....	.....	759	37	18+9	7+2
1900-01	882	249	239	.....	52	53	35	39	43	100	110	15	41[5]	36	155	.....	.....	766	35	14+9	8+2
1901-02	825	186	222	.....	26	29	28	31	31	62	117	.....	79[6]	37	122	.....	.....	668	33	24	9+1
1902-03	935	247	268	.....	28	31	25	22	34	137	104	2	59[5]	9	57+67	.....	.....	826	35	34	11+3
1903-04	991	322	233 + 25	225	10	29	24	28	31	104	68+47	23	94[5]	5+20	63+70	.....	.....	875	36	38	10+3
1904-05	1105	401	183 + 15	315	7	25	24	27	28	214[1]	122[2]	50	74+17	5+53	47+48	.....	.....	975	38	28	11+3
1905-06	1118	483	197 + 16	112	5	22	31	22	37	97+260	67+40	28+6	85+25	5+7	48	.....	.....	1006	41[9]	24	9+3

[1] Includes summer school.
[2] 43+24+55
[3] 145 Including preparatory.
[4] 153 Including preparatory.
[5] This includes specials.
[6] This does not include specials.
[7] 15 For summer.
[8] 10 For summer.
[9] 32+5+4.

3. SUMMARY OF UNIVERSITY ENROLLMENT, 1906-1921

DATE	Enrollment in Colleges and School of Medicine						Enrollment in Other Departments at Morgantown															Total enrollment at Morgantown	Faculty	
	Arts and Sciences	Engineering	Agriculture	Law	Medicine and Pharmacy	Total	School of Music	School of Fine Arts	Commercial School	Preparatory School	Physical Training	Irregular Summer School	School of Agriculture	Night Class	Winter Short Course in Agriculture	Farmers' Week	Boys and Girls' Prize Winners Course—Agriculture	School of Good Roads	Special Law (Bar and Diploma)	School of S. S. Methods	Total		Professors Including Associate and Assistant Professors	Instructors and Tutors
1906-07	175	120	16	21	31	363	202	17	59	192	57	214	.....	.....	20	.....	.....	.....	79	54	894	1257	39	13
1907-08	207	136	20	26	33	422	170	13	46	160	28	282	.....	.....	82	.....	.....	.....	87	.....	868	1208	48	11 +17
1908-09	250	103	31	25	18	427	136	20	46	172	52	254	.....	.....	81	.....	.....	.....	102	48	911	1338	47	7 +11
1909-10	225	89	27	47	26	414	178	15	48	133	57	302	.....	.....	28	.....	.....	.....	73	47	881	1295	48	16 +12
1910-11	255	81	17	45	17	415	139	17	19	100	65	271	11	15	61	.....	.....	.....	29	39	766	1181	50	15 +13
1911-12	293	87	36	63	.....	479	113	.....	.....	62	.....	283	22	25	35	40	.....	.....	.....	19	614	1093	55	13 +16
1912-13	352	102	43	61	.....	558	107	.....	.....	.....	.....	261	30	4	.....	31	.....	.....	.....	48	497	1055	58	19 +14
1913-14	436	118	68	54	20	696	123	.....	.....	.....	.....	294	21	8	.....	104	.....	146	.....	.....	696	1392	67	27 +19
1914-15	473	134	102	54	25	796	120	.....	.....	.....	.....	295	.....	21	22	263	.....	134	.....	.....	855	1651	63	28 +19
1915-16	547	131	131	62	29	892	107	.....	.....	.....	.....	270	.....	8	15	807	99	150	.....	.....	1441	2333	67	28 +19
1916-17	682	175	186	54	66	1179	105	.....	.....	.....	.....	437	.....	10	23	761	153	120	.....	.....	1609	2788	72	38 +17
1917-18	573	168	160	70	53	986	85	.....	.....	.....	.....	272	.....	11	5	714	214	83	.....	.....	1384	2370	.....	.....
1918-19	681	428	130	32	45	1305	125	.....	.....	.....	.....	176	.....	7	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	308	1613	88	35 +24
1919-20	807	330	322	21	83	1596	141	.....	.....	.....	.....	235	.....	20	.....	634	416	.....	.....	.....	1204	2800	100	41 +25
1920-21	858	350	347	60	110	1725	247	.....	.....	.....	.....	137	.....	4	.....	500	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	109	50 +25

4. SUMMARY OF ENROLLMENT IN COLLEGE OF ARTS AND SCIENCES, 1906-1921

DATE	Candidates for Degrees								Special Students			Irregular Students			Total		
	Graduates	Seniors	Juniors	Sophomores	Freshmen	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total
1906-07	4	27	22	34	31	73	46	119	23	22	45	1	10	11	97	78	175
1907-08	16	32	27	34	37	91	55	146	25	27	52	.....	9	9	116	91	207
1908-09	32	39	35	43	65	124	90	214	15	21	36	.....	.....	.....	139	111	250
1909-10	17	33	38	44	64	111	88	199	3	2	5	2	19	21	116	109	225
1910-11	18	39	45	45	97	149	95	244	6	5	11	.....	.....	.....	155	100	255
1911-12	16	45	36	56	126	177	102	279	10	4	14	.....	.....	.....	187	106	293
1912-13	17	37	40	66	183	213	130	343	3	6	9	.....	.....	.....	216	136	352
1913-14	28	47	49	81	213	271	147	418	4	14	18	.....	.....	.....	275	161	436
1914-15	33	52	56	85	233	272	187	459	6	8	14	.....	.....	.....	278	195	473
1915-16	45	60	64	114	248	316	215	513	6	10	16	.....	.....	.....	322	225	547
1916-17	46	64	76	142	332	387	273	660	10	12	22	.....	.....	.....	397	285	682
1917-18	34	41	67	139	273	290	272	562	4	7	11	.....	.....	.....	294	279	573
1918-19	19	63	67	166	382	361	306	667	6	8	14	.....	.....	.....	367	314	681
1919-20	32	195	109	191	371	412	386	698	4	5	9	.....	.....	.....	416	391	807
1920-21	35	112	97	200	396	443	397	840	6	12	18	.....	.....	.....	449	409	858

5. SUMMARY OF ATTENDANCE OF WOMEN AT MORGANTOWN, 1906-1921

DATE	Enrollment in Colleges and School of Medicine								Enrollment in Other Departments													Grand Total
	Degree						Special or Irregular Total															
	Arts and Sciences	Engineering	Agriculture	Law	Medicine and Pharmacy	Total			School of Music	School of Fine Arts	Commercial School	Preparatory School	Physical Training	Irregular, Summer School	School of Agriculture	Night Class	Winter Short Course in Agriculture	Farmers' Week	Boys' and Girls' Prize Winners	Sunday School Methods	Total	
1906-07	46	.....	.....	.....	.....	46	33	79	168	16	22	23	56	193	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	478	557
1907-08	55	.....	.....	.....	.....	55	27	92	143	13	16	21	28	182	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	403	495
1908-09	90	.....	.....	.....	.....	90	23	113	116	20	24	27	52	191	.....	.....	2	.....	.....	25	457	570
1909-10	88	.....	.....	.....	.....	88	21	109	151	15	27	24	57	213	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	23	510	619
1910-11	95	.....	.....	.....	.....	95	5	100	124	17	18	21	65	204	.....	11	7	.....	.....	19	486	586
1911-12	102	.....	.....	.....	.....	102	4	106	107	14	.....	14	.....	206	3	13	35	.....	.....	16	408	514
1912-13	130	.....	.....	2	.....	132	6	138	95	16	.....	.....	.....	216	3	4	.....	.....	.....	32	366	504
1913-14	147	.....	.....	1	3	151	14	165	109	.....	.....	.....	.....	227	.....	.....	.....	4	.....	.....	340	505
1914-15	187	.....	.....	.....	3	190	8	198	107	.....	.....	.....	.....	222	.....	18	.....	.....	.....	.....	347	545
1915-16	215	.....	22	.....	.....	237	10	247	99	.....	.....	.....	.....	201	.....	8	.....	49	28	.....	385	632
1916-17	273	.....	44	.....	3	320	13	333	90	.....	.....	.....	.....	315	.....	10	11	110	48	.....	584	917
1917-18	272	.....	47	.....	5	324	9	333	76	.....	.....	.....	.....	228	.....	9	.....	118	61	.....	492	825
1918-19	306	1	58	.....	5	370	9	379	110	.....	.....	.....	.....	161	.....	7	.....	.....	.....	.....	278	657
1919-20	386	1	128	2	4	521	13	534	128	.....	.....	.....	.....	199	.....	6	.....	108	.....	.....	441	975
1920-21	397	1	132	2	7	539	17	556	207	.....	.....	.....	.....	124	.....	3	.....	96	208	.....	638	1194

6. SUMMARY OF ENROLLMENT IN THE COLLEGE OF AGRICULTURE, 1907-1921

Year	College Courses B. S. Agriculture							
	Freshmen	Sophomore	Junior	Senior	Graduate	Special	Totals	Farmers' Week
1907-08....	3	2	.....	.....	2	.....	7	39
1908-09....	5	2	1	1	.....	2	11	52
1909-10....	4	4	2	2	1	.....	13	28
1910-11....	4	4	4	3	.....	2	17	61
1911-12....	15	8	5	6	2	.....	36	40
1912-13....	16	13	7	7	.....	.....	43	31
1913-14....	29	11	11	13	.....	5	68	78
1914-15....	45	23	12	11	2	9	102	263
1915-16....	53	37	18	12	5	6	131	807
1916-17....	47	30	30	18	1	4	129	914
1917-18....	56	40	21	32	6	5	160	714
1918-19....	61	22	21	21	3	2	130	.....
1919-20....	123	55	37	35	4	68	322	634
1920-21....	109	93	37	39	4	65	347	500

UNIVERSITY APPROPRIATIONS FOR 1920-21

	1920	1921
For salaries of officers, teachers and employes	$200,000	$210,000
For current general expenses	80,000	80,000
For repairs and improvements	40,000	25,000
For agricultural, horticultural and home economic extension work	60,000	65,000
For expenses of athletic board	5,000	5,000
For mining and industrial extension work	10,000	10,000
For building and land, (law building)	62,500	62,500
To purchase for the University the I. C. White property at Morgantown	65,000	65,000

AGRICULTURAL EXPERIMENT STATION APPROPRIATIONS, 1920-21

	1920	1921
For current general expenses	$45,000	$45,000
For farm buildings and improvements	15,000	15,000
For buildings on farm known as the "Reyman Farm"	7,500	7,500

The work of higher education has been aided by several denominational and private institutions. The oldest denominational institution is Bethany College founded by Alexander Campbell in 1841 and recently improved in equipment for better work. West Virginia Wesleyan College, which was first founded as the West Virginia Conference Seminary and was opened for work in September, 1890, was raised to a college grade in June, 1903, and graduated its first college class in 1905. The number of students in October, 1921, was 410. Davis and Elkins College was opened at Elkins in a suitable building constructed in 1903. Salem Morris-Harvey College, incorporated as Barboursville Seminary in 1888, College was incorporated as a Seventh Day Baptist institution in 1889. gradually improved the character of its work after 1901. Of these five institutions, Wesleyan and Bethany rank highest, although they still maintain a preparatory department. Broaddus Scientific and Classical Institute removed from Winchester to Clarksburg in 1876, and about thirty years later removed from Clarksburg to Philippi, is largely a preparatory school for entrance to college, but also undertakes to give beginning college courses.

CHAPTER XXXVII

WEST VIRGINIA LITERATURE AND LITERARY WRITERS [1]

By Mary Meek Atkeson, Ph. D.

The state of West Virginia has not been generally recognized as a center of literature of a distinctive quality—as have Virginia, Indiana, and some other states in the Union—largely because so few writers of popular novels have lived within its borders. To the general reading public West Virginia is still almost an unknown land, classed roughly with eastern Virginia, with the Kentucky and Tennessee mountain regions, or with the coal mining regions of western Pennsylvania. Only those who have followed the development of letters in the state realize that it has produced a considerable body of literature which is both creditable and distinctive.

The people of the state differ from those of the commonwealths around them, both in the admixture of races and in the environment under which they have developed. The first settlers were chiefly eastern Virginians of English descent, Welsh, Irish, Scotch-Irish and French, with a few Germans from Pennsylvania along the northern border, and a few descendants of the Pilgrims along the Ohio. As the rich plains of the great West opened up, the narrow valleys of the hill country held few charms for the later emigrants and they passed them by to settle farther westward. Thus, most of the natives of the state can trace their ancestry back to that early and very hardy stock which crossed the ocean before the Revolution.

In environment the citizens of the state have been peculiarly fortunate. The two natural gaps through the mountains—one to the north and the other to the south—provided two great thoroughfares for travel to the West, and the people who lived near were touched by the full current of the western movement of immigration. Later these natural entrances gave passageway to the two great railway systems which serve the state—the Baltimore and Ohio on the north and the Chesapeake and Ohio on the south. The varying topography of the state tends to bring into contact many different kinds of people. The wildest mountain lands frequently ajoin fertile glades on which agriculture flourishes, in the limestone sections the rich bluegrass pastures lead the cattlemen and horsemen into the very heart of the hills, and the orchardist sets his thousands of trees along all the slopes and ridges. Other wild lands are pierced by the fertile valleys of the numerous streams, and a love of beauty and picturesque surroundings as well as the well-known medicinal power of the mountain springs lead many citizens to carry all the comfort and culture of the cities into fastnesses that would otherwise be given up to the lumberman and the moonshiner. New fields opening up for coal or oil or gas production bring many new people among the hills—not all desirable citizens, it is true—and encourage the building of short-line railroads which serve the local people as well as transport the coal from the mines.

Thus the mountain people of West Virginia have never become so isolated as have those of Kentucky and Tennessee and the chance visitor is often surprised to find real culture among those he had formerly thought of as "ignorant mountaineers." Books and papers are held

[1] This account of West Virginia literature includes only the writers of fiction, essays, popular historical tales, plays and verse.

in high esteem and everywhere among the mountains and hills there are writers of local reputation trying to set down life as they know it in West Virginia.

Early Writers, 1820-1861

Prose

After the very early journals of travelers, which were written, naturally, by non-residents, the first literature to be produced west of the mountains was the local history of Indian warfare. The Great Wilderness just beyond the Alleghanies was the western emigrant's first experience with the real wilds. Along the fertile valleys the early settlers built their cabins long before the military outposts were sufficiently strong to give them protection, and there marauding bands of Indians fell upon them, burned the cabins, carried off women and children into captivity, and massacred whole families, times without number. Probably in no other section of the country was the Indian warfare so brutal or so bloody as in this small territory between the mountains and the Ohio river.

The settlers were the vanguard of the western movement and the Indian tribes were quick to resent their penetration into the wilds beyond the mountains which had so long proved an effective barrier against the white men. Although there were few permanent Indian settlements within the state, many tribes used it as a favorite hunting ground and especially secured their winter's supply of bear-meat—much prized because of its juicy fatness—among the mountains. Thus it was impossible for the white settlers to secure peace by treaties because the territory was not held by any one tribe. The attacking parties were usually small bands of hunters passing through the valleys and the settlers never knew at what moment they might be set upon for plunder and murder. For this reason the Indian warfare stories of this region are particularly poignant because the attacks were usually against helpless women and children.

No doubt the stories of these local raids were the chief theme of conversation around the firesides in those early years. They were told and retold to the eager, though horrified, listeners, and many a backwoods raconteur could tell them by hundreds. So great was the local interests in these tales that as the years went by the people began to realize that they would have a literary value if they were set down in books. Collections of the tales were made and published and were widely popular. Indeed it is a remarkable fact that the most authentic and complete collections of such tales in all the border were made within the territory which is now West Virginia. To these early collections the historians still turn for information concerning the westward movement and the manners and customs of the backwoods people.

The first and best of these books was "Notes on the Settlement and Indian Wars of the Western Parts of Virginia and Pennsylvania," published in 1824 by Dr. Joseph Doddridge, an Episcopal minister and physician, who gathered his material from the local people. Theodore Roosevelt said of this collection, "It is the most valuable book we have on old-time frontier ways and customs." Another comprehensive collection, "Chronicles of Border Warfare," was published by Alexander Scott Withers in 1831. Later and less important volumes were Foote's "Sketches of Virginia" and the "History of Early Settlements and Indian Wars of Western Virginia," by Wills De Hass.

Naturally enough, since these folk-tales had secured such a firm hold upon the imagination of the western Virginians, their first attempts at fiction and the drama used the same materials. Volumes began to be written

> "Of Boone and Kenton and the pioneers,
> Of Pontiac and Ellinipsico,
> Of Logan, the heart-broken chief, of bold
> Tecumseh and the Prophet."

Dr. Joseph Doddridge sought to immortalize a heroic Indian character in "Logan, the Last of the Race of Shikellemus, Chief of the Cayuga Nation" (1823), a drama in which Captain Furioso, Captain Pacificus, and other classic figures rubbed shoulders with wild Indians. In the preface he expresses a fear that the dialogue may seem "rough and uncouth—perhaps even objectionable"—a fear not well founded, however, as in fact both Indians and backwoodsmen speak excellent English! The play is of special interest because in the dialogue various types of backwoodsmen are set forth with their varying views of the Indian question as they knew it. Thus the reader learns much of the temper of the times. Needless to say the climax of the drama is Logan's famous speech which was popular with all the pioneers.

A typical novel of the time is "New Hope, or the Rescue: A Tale of the Great Kanawha" (1845?)—sometimes known as "Young Kate, or The Rescue," and "The Allens." This tale is little more than a running together of the folk tales and anecdotes current among the Great Kanawha settlers. It is full of picturesquely contrasting characters of the backwoods, of the dangers by Indians, floods and rattlesnakes, interspersed with humorous anecdotes and folk stories.

Another early writer, who did not, however, use local material, was Anne (Newport) Royall, who lived near Sweet Springs, Monroe county, for about thirty years—1785 ?-1815 ? Her first book, "The Tennessean," was published in 1827. Later she went to Washington, D. C., where she established the "Washington Paul Pry" and "The Huntress" and was said to be the first woman journalist in the United States. For many years she was a well-known figure about the national Capitol and wrote innumerable pen portraits of prominent men, and sketches of the life and manners of her time.

Just before the Civil War, David Hunter Strother of Martinsburg, following the suggestion of the early travel literature of the state, wrote a delightful series of travels illustrated by pen sketches of unusual merit. These appeared first in Harper's Magazine and were later published in book form under the titles, "The Blackwater Chronicle" (1853) and "Virginia Illustrated" (1871). Like nearly all the other writing of this region these stories are full of unusual characters, quaint bits of humor, folk-lore tales, and elaborate descriptions of the scenery along the way. The hardships which the gay travelers encountered may be judged by the following "bill of necessities" which was prepared by a member of the party. "I would recommend to you to procure the following equipments: a water-proof knapsack, fishing tackle and a gun; a belt with pistols—a revolver would be preferable in case of a conflict with a panther; a hunting knife for general purpose—a good ten-inch blade, sharp and reliable; it will be useful for cleaning fish, dressing game, and may serve you a good turn when a bear gets you down in a laurel-brake. Store your knapsack with an extra pair of shoes, a change of raiment, such as will resist water and dirt to the last extremity, a pair of leggins to guard against rattlesnakes, and the following eatables: one dozen biscuits, one pound of ham, etc."

Verse

The early immigrants coming over the mountains brought with them many folk-songs which had long before been brought across the ocean by their forbears. Everyone sang about the big hearth-fire in the winter nights and nearly every settlement had at least one expert singer of ballads. Probably the singers often composed new songs on local events, Indian outrages and border battles, but only one of these, so far as the writer knows, has been preserved. The local ballad, "The Battle of Point Pleasant," was well-known for many years after the battle, and no doubt is still sung occasionally at mountain firesides. It begins:

Let us mind the tenth day of October,
Seventy-four, which caused woe;
The Indian savages they did cover
The pleasant banks of the Ohio.

The battle beginning in the morning—
Throughout the day it lasted sore,
Till the shades of evening were a-falling
Upon the banks of the Ohio shore.

Even the very early settlers were much impressed with the beauty of the land in which they lived and often "dropped into verse" in an attempt to describe their mountains and rivers adequately. Margaret Agnew Blennerhassett, wife of Harman Blennerhassett of "the unhappy isle," wrote many verses about her home in western Virginia, which were published long afterwards in Montreal as "The Widow of the Rock and Other Poems" (1823). Dr. Joseph Doddridge used backwoods material again in classic form when he wrote an "Elegy on His Family Vault," imitating Gray's "Elegy." He thus describes his pioneer father:

In hunting frock, and Indian sandals trim,
O'er lengthening wastes, with nimble steps he ran
Nor was Apollo's dart more sure in aim;
Than in his skillful hand, the deadly gun.

Think not ye lettered men with all your claims,
Ye rich in all the spoils of fields, and floods,
That solid sense, and virtue's fairest gems,
Dwell not with huntsmen, in their native woods.

Thomas J. Lees, a resident of Wheeling, published in 1831 "Musings of Carol," a group of philosophical poems, many of them celebrating the beauties of the Ohio river and of the country near Wheeling. "Musings on the Ohio" is his best known poem.

Ohio—brightest of Columbia's streams;
Thy crystal waters, in their silent course,
Glide ever beauteous through these valleys green;
Thy winding shores are decked with verdant meads
And proud majestic hills, that lift their heads
With waving forest crowned, and massy rocks
Exalt their awful clifts amid the storms
Of heaven. We ask no flatt'ring fancy here—
No fairy dreams—nor the enchanter's wand,
To fling new lustre on the gaudy scene;
For beauteous nature walks abroad, array'd
In gayest grandeur and sublimity!

* * * * * *

Time was, when sovereign nature held her reign
In wild luxuriance and lonely pride;
While these bright waters rolled on silently,
And swept their tribute to the mighty deep;
When art broke not upon the solitude,
And commerce knew not, heard not of these vast,
These rude and lonely wilds!—Then freely roamed
The surly bear, the nimble footed deer,
The antlered elk, the lordly buffaloe,
The lofty eagle—freedom's favorite bird,
Sat on his native rock; and from the bough
Of hoary sycamore, the red-bird poured
His softest, sweetest note,—

Then changed the scene!
Along the stream the swarthy Indian sped
His fragile bark canoe, or trunk of tree,
Carved out by artist rude, that lightly skimmed
The liquid way, the fairy of the flood;
With cheerful heart he spread the snare—and oft
He drew the finny race for his repast;
His noble soul was light and free as air;
He thirsted not for wealth—nor did he know
The curse of poverty—but on his brow,
Stern independence sat.

Another change—
The sordid sons of Europe came—they brought
Their gew-gaws, wares and merchandise—a thirst
For wealth—new laws—new customs—and new crimes!

They brought their liquid poison, and they bade
The Indian drink; he took the cup, he drank,
It fired his brain—while mutual jealousy
Roused up the stormy passions of the soul;
And many a bosom burned with deadly wrath.
Loud pealed the warnote through the dreary wilds—
They flew to battle; and the crimson flowed—
The fires of death lit up the forest gloom,
While horrid screams rung on the midnight gale,
Which chilled the white men's blood.

Another change.

The Indian's hopes are withered, and he turned
Away—he cursed the day the white man set
His foot upon the shore. With heartfelt grief,
He left his native land, and of the hills,
His grots, his woods and waterfalls he took
A long, a last farewell. Now gentle peace
Waves her mild scepter o'er these happy realms.

Philip Pendleton Cooke, of Martinsburg, published in "Froissart Ballads" (1847) a number of graceful descriptive poems celebrating local scenery. He also wrote a long narrative poem on "The Murder of Cornstalk," using the stories of the early settlers as his material. It is, however, chiefly by the charming lyric poem, "Florence Vane," that this poet is remembered. Another resident, Thomas Dunn English, wrote much verse celebrating Logan county and retelling pioneer stories. During the five years which he lived in the state he wrote, or collected the material for: "Rafting on the Guyandotte," "Gauley River," "The Logan Grazier," "Guyandotte Musings," "Boone Wagoner," "The Fight of John Lewis," "Betty Zane," "The Charge by the Ford" and others later published in his "American Ballads" (1882) and "Boy's Book of Battle Lyrics" (1885). The following stanzas show his easy and careless ballad style:

GAULEY RIVER

The waters of Gauley,
Wild waters and brown,
Through the hill-bounded valley,
Sweep onward and down;
Over rocks, over shallows,
Through shaded ravines,
Where the beautiful hallows
Wild, varying scenes;
Where the tulip tree scatters
Its blossoms in Spring,
And the bank-swallow spatters
With foam its sweet wing;
Where the dun deer is stooping
To drink from the spray,
And the fish-eagle swooping
Bears down on his prey—
Brown waters of Gauley,
That sweep past the shore—
Dark waters of Gauley
That move evermore.

* * *

Brown waters of Gauley,
My fingers I lave
In the foam that lies scattered
Upon your brown wave.
From sunlight to shadow,
To shadow more dark,
'Neath the low-bending birches
I guide my rude barque;
Through the shallows whose brawling
Falls full on my ear,
Through the sharp mossy masses,
My vessel I steer.
What care I for honors,
The world might bestow,
What care I for gold,

With its glare and its glow?
The world and its troubles
I leave on the shore
Of the waters of Gauley
That move evermore.

The Civil War and Reconstruction, 1861-1885

Prose

Just why there should have been so great a virtue in the crossing of a range of mountains the historians have never decided conclusively, but the fact remains that the former residents of the tidewater colonies who had emigrated to the great West soon felt a new spirit stirring within them. It was a strange consequence that people who had willingly submitted to all the old English customs and traditions in eastern Virginia should have had so little regard for such things in the wilds of Augusta county. They felt they had entered upon a new life, with new responsibilities, new dangers, new duties, and new privileges—for which a new code of laws was necessary.

The center of government was far away in Richmond and except for some general laws concerning land grants, its legislation was not much enforced west of the mountains. Little of the soil of the state was suited to the kind of cultivation used in the East—slaves in most parts of the territory were not economically profitable—so that the whole life was upon a different basis. Practically all the early writers recognized this new spirit and made mention of it in their writings, several of them foretelling the separation of the state long before the Civil war excitement brought about that result.

When war was finally declared the state was widely divided upon the question of secession. The northern and western counties were strong for the Union, while the southern and eastern counties were as strongly for secession. Again West Virginia was a border land—between Ohio, solidly Unionist, and Virginia, solidly for secession, and was herself torn between the opposing forces. Indeed the real Mason and Dixon's line of the war ran diagonally across the state.

The real bitterness of the war seemed to be an outgrowth of the old sectional quarrels between the North and the South as represented in the state's population. It was not so much the freeing of the slaves the western Virginians resented as the fact that the Yankees were doing it—and the old feeling ran very high. Needless to say so great a force in the lives of the people had a great influence upon their writing. The change is well illustrated in the life of David Hunter Strother. When war was declared he was no longer the artistic dilettante—but a man of action, at the head of a daring Union regiment. With but few exceptions the writers of this period were in the heat of the conflict, so each gives a one-sided view, yet taken altogether they present a true and vivid picture of the time.

The first story of the war was written by Rebecca Harding (Blaine) Davis, a young resident of Wheeling. Although but a young girl she had already attracted attention by her story, "Life in the Iron Mills," published in the *Atlantic Monthly* in 1861. "David Gaunt," her story of the war, published first in the *Atlantic Monthly* in September and October, 1862, and later in book form, is one of the sanest war stories of all the borderland. It abounds in descriptions of local scenery and in character studies of the people. She says: "I write from the border of the battle-field, and I find in it no theme for shallow argument or flimsy rhymes. The shadow of death has fallen on us; it chills the very heaven. No child laughs in my face as I pass down the street. Men have forgotten to hope, forgotten to pray; only in the bitterness of endurance they say in the morning, 'Would God it were evening!' and in the evening, 'Would God it were morning!' "

She describes the West Virginian small farmer who "sowed the fields and truck patch,"—and "sold the crops down in Wheeling." "You

could see that it need not take Prospero's Ariel forty minutes to put a girdle round this man's world; ten would do it, tie up the farm and the dead and live Scofields and the Democratic party, with an ideal reverence for 'Firginya' under all. As for the Otherwhere, outside of Virginia, he heeded it as much as a Hindoo does the turtle on which the earth rests * * * Yankeedom was a mean-soiled country, whence came clocks, teachers, peddlers, and infidelity." She probably gives a true picture of the division of sentiment over war issues among the small farmers near Wheeling when she makes one of her characters say they are, " 'Bout half on 'em Secesh,—it depends on who burned the barns fust."

"Margaret Howth" (1861), is a realistic picture of life in Wheeling just prior to the war, contrasting the sordid life of the mills with the beauty of the surrounding landscape. The following description of a West Virginia dawn seems worth quoting: "The bars of sunlight fell on the brown earth from the steep hills like pointed swords; the foggy swamp of wet vapour trembled and broke, so touched, rose at last, leaving patches of damp brilliance on the fields, and floated majestically up in radiant victor clouds, led by the conquering wind. Victory! It was in the cold, pure ether filling the heavens, in the solemn gladness of the hills."

The first war-time chronicle was "Nine Months in the Quartermaster's Department: or The Chances for Making a Million" (1862), by Charles Leib, a Union soldier. He wrote in the heat of resentment over the loss of his position, and was chiefly concerned with his accusers, yet he felt himself in the midst of great affairs. He often tells in dialogue the troubles of the Quartermaster, and other first-hand stories of the war.

Two other autobiographical narratives of the war were published some years later; one by a Union soldier and one by a Confederate—"The Flying Gray-Haired Yank" (1888), by Michael Egan of Parkersburg, and "Four Years a Soldier" (1887), by David E. Johnston of Monroe county. Both are readable chronicles of the soldier's life and of the suffering undergone in prison camps, one in the North, the other in the South. "The Gray-Haired Yank" especially has many hair's-breadth escapes from capture—but his ready wit and tongue often save him from embarrassing circumstances, and he never fails to appreciate the humor even of a dangerous situation.

Mary Tucker Magill, a native of Jefferson county, wrote "Women: or Chronicles of the Late War," and several other war stories, but she had long been resident in Virginia, so belongs rather to that state than to West Virginia. Sarah J. Jones, of Buffalo, began writing Sunday school stories in the years following the war. Some of her books are: "Rest or Unrest," "A Story of the Parisian Sabbath in America" (1888), "Words and Ways" (1885), "None Other Name" (1893). They have been very popular in Sunday school libraries.

Verse

The emotional excitement of the war often found an outlet in verse and every corner of the county papers, not required for the publication of war news, was filled with war poems. Every incident of the war in West Virginia was told by somebody in some kind of verse, and every skirmish was thought worthy to be sung "by the poets of the nation for unending ages to come."

Daniel Bedinger Lucas, of Charles Town, was one of the most important of the many war poets of the South. Although living within the present state of West Virginia his heart was with the Old Commonwealth in her struggle, and his verse all goes back to the "old regime." His verse has about it that glamour which always hangs over those who have fought bravely and lost in a cause they loved. His poems have been published in book form in the following volumes: "The Land Where We Were Dreaming" (1865), "The Wreath of

Eglantine, and Other Poems'' (1869),—containing several poems written by his sister, Virginia Bedinger Lucas,—''Ballads and Madrigals'' (1884), ''The Maid of Northumberland, a Dramatic Poem'' (1879), ''The Land Where We Were Dreaming, and Other Poems'' (1913), a complete collection of his shorter verse, and ''Dramatic Works'' (1913), a collection of his poetic dramas.

It is chiefly by the war poem, of which two stanzas are quoted, that Daniel Bedinger Lucas is known to the general public. Probably it expresses, better than any other poem has expressed, the beauty and heroism and tragedy of the Southern cause.

THE LAND WHERE WE WERE DREAMING

Fair were our nation's visions, and as grand
As ever floated out of fancy-land;
Children were we in simple faith,
But god-like children, whom nor death,
Nor threat of danger drove from honor's path—
In the land where we were dreaming!

Proud were our men as pride of birth could render,
As violets our women pure and tender;
And when they spoke, their voices' thrill,
At evening hushed the whip-poor-will,
At morn the mocking-bird was mute and still,
In the land where we were dreaming!

And we had graves that covered more of glory,
Than ever taxed the lips of ancient story;
And in our dream we wove the thread
Of principles for which had bled,
And suffered long our own immortal dead,
In the land where we were dreaming!

''The Maid of Northumberland'' (1879), also by Daniel Bedinger Lucas, is a dramatic poem of the war—probably the first use of such material in the drama. Among the characters are General Henry A. Wise of Virginia and the typical loyal negro servant. Much of the humor arises from the absurd forms of court-martial in vogue during the war. The old sectional spirit is shown in the discussion of Conscience:

Ralph. ''Where did he come from?
From New England?''
Randal. ''Born there they claim, if so,
He emigrated early and for good.''

And again before a battle:

''The odds are such as we're accustomed to.
For on each Southern horse there rides the equal
Of Federal horsemen, three at least, or more!''

The critic, C. F. T. Brooke, says of Judge Lucas's plays, ''The lights they throw are side-lights, discovering isolated groups of men and women whose individual lives and characters are not obscured, but rather the more strikingly silhouetted against the cloud of distant war.''

Another Confederate poet, Col. Beuhring H. Jones, lived at Lewisburg. His verse was written in the Federal prison on Johnson's Island and later published in a collection of soldier poems, ''The Sunny Land: or Prison Prose and Poetry'' (1868). These prison verses are written in a quiet pensive vein, recalling the loved ones at home, and pathetic scenes in battle and camp.

In 1868 William Leighton, Jr., a graduate of Harvard University, moved to Wheeling. He had already written verse for the Boston papers and after coming to the state published a number of volumes of excellent poetry. ''The Sons of Godwin'' (1877), and ''At the Court of King Edwin'' (1878), are dramas of the Shakespearean form. At the time of its publication, ''The Sons of Godwin'' was often compared

to Tennyson's "Harold," a play similar in form and subject, which appeared a few weeks later. At least, according to the American press, the West Virginia poet's production lost little by the comparison. "Shakespeare's Dream" (1881) is a classic masque, written with much of the Elizabethan spirit. "Change: The Whisper of the Sphinx" (1879), an epic poem of nearly three thousand lines, is Mr. Leighton's most ambitious work and was received with great acclaim by the critics of that day. The only poem in which Mr. Leighton makes use of local material is "The Price of the Present Paid by the Past," read at the dedication of the Soldiers Monument at Wheeling in 1881. In this he speaks of the recent war, when the state's people, almost evenly divided upon the great issue, fought valiantly for what they believed the right—when the hills reeled with the sound of cannon, and in Northern and Southern prisons lay brave soldiers dreaming of their West Virginia homes.

Statehood and the Development of Resources, 1885-1921

Prose

In the early days, before the separation of the state, the people west of the mountains had been referred to in the Virginia legislature as the "peasantry of the West," but now the peasants had become rulers in their own right. They began to see that in the people of varied ancestry who had settled among the hills and mountains there was a picturesque variety. Local tales of the Dutchman, the Yankee trader, the Virginia colonel, the Scotch-Irishman, and the Englishman, had always been popular about the firesides even from pioneer days and now these tales led to a new form of literature—stories of types of West Virginians. Moreover the schools of the new state were immediately improved and more young men and women received a higher education. Indeed most of the men and women writing today have been trained in the public schools and colleges established since the formation of the state. While they may be no better writers than those trained in the private schools of Virginia or the colleges of New England, they have usually a broader view of life, wider sympathies and fewer prejudices.

"Among the Moonshiners" (1881) by George W. Atkinson, then a young Internal Revenue agent, but later Governor of the state, is one of the first books dealing with local types. It is composed of sketches of the mountain people, especially of the moonshiners, and gives some interesting glimpses of these hardy folk as they appeared in the local courts or fought in the mountains for their moonshine stills.

Perhaps it was the inequalities of the laws of the new and rapidly developing commonwealth that suggested to Melville Davisson Post of Harrison county the underlying idea of "Strange Schemes of Randolph Mason" (1896). The dominating character is Randolph Mason, "a rather mysterious legal misanthrope, having no sense of moral obligation, but learned in the law, who by virtue of the strange tilt of his mind is pleased to strive with the difficulties of his clients as though they were problems involving no matter of right or equity or common justice." Story after story shows how, "The law, being of human device, is imperfect, and in this fag end of the nineteenth century, the evil genius thrusts through and despoils the citizen, and the robbery is all the more easy because the victim sleeps in a consciousness of perfect security." The stories deal chiefly with courtroom scenes and with officers of the law, yet there is much local color. The coal mines, the stock farms, and oil fields of the state form the background, and local characters are introduced as clients, witnesses and officers. The book became immediately popular because of its new point of view and the clever construction of the stories. Not long after it appeared the Leutgert murder case—closely resembling one of the stories in the book and turning upon the same technical point of law—brought the

stories to the public attention in a very striking way and the young lawyer-author suddenly found himself famous. People were panic stricken when they realized how easily the protection of the law around life and property could be broken down by a clever villain and a great storm of protest rose against the stories. As the author explains, however, in a later volume, "No change in the law can be properly or safely brought about except through the pressure of public sentiment." And it is this public sentiment which he hopes his stories will develop. Later Mr. Post wrote many other stories of similar purpose, published in "The Man of Last Resort" (1897), and "The Corrector of Destinies" (1909), in which, however, the lawyer's skill is used always to save the innocent.

Mr. Post's first long story deals exclusively with his home people. "Dwellers in the Hills" (1902) is a fresh and vigorous tale of the cattle country of Harrison county, interwoven with local traditions. With the cattleman's love for his horse, the author gives as much care to the description of horses as of men, and even the cattle are shown as individuals. The picture of "El Mahdi," the horse "genius," lingers long in the reader's memory: "He was almost seventeen hands high, with deep shoulders, and flat legs trim at the pastern as a woman's ankle, and a coat of dark gray, giving one the idea of good blue steel. He was entirely, I may say he was abominably, indifferent, except when it came into his broad head to wipe out my swaggering arrogance or when he stood as now, staring at the far-off smoky wall of the hills, as though he hoped to find there, some day farther on, a wonderful message awaiting him, or some friend whom he had lost when he swam Lethe, or some ancient enemy." The story turns upon the form of contract common with West Virginia cattle-buyers, requiring that the herds be delivered on a certain day or the contract become null and void. The efforts of the buyer to prevent the carrying out of this contract and the overcoming of all obstacles by the determined cattlemen forms the action of the story.

In another book of short stories, "Uncle Abner" (1918), Mr. Post has taken a West Virginian as the central character and nearly all the scenes and characters of the group of stories are those well known in the state. Uncle Abner is described as "a big broad-shouldered, deep-chested Saxon, with all those marked characteristics of a race living out of doors and hardened by wind and sun. His powerful frame carried no ounce of surplus weight. It was the frame of the empire builder on the frontier of the empire. The face reminded one of Cromwell, the craggy features in repose seemed molded over iron, but the fine gray eyes had a calm serenity, like remote spaces in the summer sky. The man's clothes were plain and somber. And he gave one the impression of things big and vast." Uncle Abner believes firmly in the "ultimate justice behind the moving of events" and that even blind chance is more often on the side of the good than of the bad. Under his acute observation and simple logic even the slight clues left by clever criminals tell a definite story and through this knowledge he secures justice for the living if not vengeance for the dead.

The following picture of a West Virginia twilight will show the author's skill in making local scenes live for the reader: "There is a long twilight in these hills. The sun departs, but the day remains. A sort of weird, elfin day, that dawns at sunset, and envelops and possesses the world. The land is full of light, but it is the light of no heavenly sun. It is a light equal everywhere, as though the earth strove to illumine itself, and succeeded with that labor.

"The stars are not yet out. Now and then a pale moon rides in the sky, but it has no power, and the light is not from it. The wind is usually gone; the air is soft and the fragrance of the fields fills it like a perfume. The noises of the day and of the creatures that go about by day cease, and the noises of the night and the creatures that haunt the night begin. The bat swoops and circles in the maddest action, but

without a sound. The eye sees him, but the ear hears nothing. The whippoorwill begins his plaintive cry, and one hears, but does not see.

"It is a world that we do not understand, for we are creatures of the sun, and we are fearful lest we come upon things at work here, of which we have no experience, and that may be able to justify themselves against our reason. And so a man falls into silence when he travels in the twilight, and he looks and listens with his senses out on guard."

Other books by Mr. Post are "The Nameless Thing" (1912), "The Mystery of Blue Villa" (1919), and "The Sleuth of St. James Square" (1920). Although the scenes of these stories are, for the most part, far removed from the hills of West Virginia, local characters often appear, for the author continually makes use of material from his native state.

Margaret Prescott Montague, of White Sulphur Springs, has made much use of the local material of her native mountains. "The Poet, Miss Kate and I" (1905) is written in journal form—always a favorite form with West Virginia writers. And perhaps it is an indication of the changed temper of the times that a New England man is now the hero of the story! The heroine is a West Virginia girl of delightful personality. The pleasing love story, however, is at times somewhat obscured by descriptions of local scenery and anecdotes of queer characters among the mountain people.

"The Sowing of Alderson Cree" (1907) is another story of the mountains, dealing exclusively with mountain people. Alderson Cree is shot by a "saw-mill hand" and, dying, makes his twelve-year-old son promise to kill the murderer. The influence of this promise upon the boy and upon other characters of the story, makes a compelling character study which is worked out to a natural conclusion. "In Calvert's Valley" (1909) is a similar literary development of a real story of mountaineer life. Both these books show a great advance beyond her earlier work, especially in plot construction.

"Linda" (1912) also shows rapidly developing power. Linda Stillwater, a mountain girl, with a personality of spirit and fire and almost elemental simplicity, is contrasted with the conventional society people of the Back Bay district in Boston. Rugged mountain scenes are also contrasted with city scenes, and the delightful Linda serves to interpret them both to the reader with her simple-hearted freshness of view. In fact the whole book has about it the freshness of a spring morning in the Alleghenies.

Later stories by Miss Montague which tell of the blind and deaf children in the Romney institution, have been published in book form as, "Closed Doors" (1915), and "Home to Him's Muvver" (1916). These have had a wide appeal because of their sympathetic understanding of the blind and deaf children and of their problems.

With the coming of the World War, Miss Montague became intensely interested in the underlying issues and most of her recent work deals more or less directly with these. She is particularly concerned with the establishment of a better order after the war—an entente of good feeling between England and America and a league of nations or other agency which will make peace permanent throughout the world. These ideas are expressed in "Of Water and the Spirit" (1916), "The Great Expectancy" (1918), "England to America" (1920), and "Uncle Sam of Freedom Ridge" (1920). Other books by Miss Montague are, "The Gift" (1919), and "Twenty Minutes of Reality" (1917). A remarkable fact about Miss Montague's work has been her development in power and depth of understanding as well as in skill in construction and in literary style. Each new story has been consistently better than the last, until today she is regarded by many critics as one of the foremost American writers.

Dr. Waitman Barbe's book of short stories, "In the Virginias" (1896), is also full of local color. The stories are brief and poetic in

spirit, at times almost allegorical. The author shows his wide knowledge of West Virginia by stories of the extreme eastern counties, the interior mountain counties, the Ohio River valley, the hills along the Monongahela, and Blennerhassett's Island. A broad human interest is shown in the variety of characters, including little mountain children, a preacher violinist, timber dealers, oil speculators, typical eastern Virginians, and struggling young artists and lawyers.

Granville Davisson Hall, in "The Daughter of the Elm" (1899) writes of life on the West Fork of the Monongahela. The story is founded on facts and tells of the crimes of a band of horse-thieves and robbers, committed just prior to the Civil war. Many of the incidents of the love story take place under an immense elm tree, known through all the countryside as the "Big Elm." Mr. Hall has also written "Old Gold" (1907), a book of sketches, and two books of history, "The Rending of Virginia" (1902), and "The Two Virginias" (1915). Oren F. Morton of Kingwood has written two romantic tales of life in northern West Virginia, "Winning or Losing?" (1901), and "The Land of the Laurel: A Story of the Alleghenies" (1903). The scenes of both stories are in the mountain country near Kingwood, varying to Bruceton, Morgantown, etc. Duncan McRa of Charleston is the author of a naive chronicle of "A Quaint Family of Three" (1902), a Pennsylvania Dutch family who were friends and neighbors of the author on Booth's Creek, a tributary of the Monongahela. The stories are very like those of personal eccentricities which were popular at log-cabin firesides. Hu Maxwell of Tucker county has published a similar group of stories called, "Jonathan Fish and His Neighbors" (1900).

Albert Benjamin Cunningham is the author of two excellent realistic studies of life on Elk river. "The Manse at Barren Rocks" (1918) and "Singing Mountains" (1919). They tell the story of a Baptist minister's family and are probably autobiographic, since the author's father and mother were both ministers in the Baptist church. Although the stories are slight in plot their accurate descriptions of local scenes, their well-told bits of West Virginia folk-lore, and their general truth to life and feeling in the state, render them of very great interest to local readers especially. Mr. Cunningham is also the author of "The Chronicle of an Old Town" (1919).

"The Cross Roads Meetin' House," a play of country community life in the state, dealing with the problems of the country church, was written by Mary Meek Atkeson of Buffalo and Morgantown. The local dialect of the Great Kanawha valley is used throughout. It was first published in 1918 by the Ohio State College of Agriculture, but a revised edition was put out in 1920 by the Interchurch World Movement. This writer has also published "A Study of the Local Literature of the Upper Ohio Valley, 1820-1840" (1921), including the early literature of western Virginia.

Although this period is more concerned with modern phases of life in the state than with its history, there have appeared a number of historical or semi-historical books. "Malinda" (1907), by William W. Wertz of Charleston, is a novel of life in the frontier settlements on the Elk and Great Kanawha rivers. Daniel Boone and Anne Bailey appear as heroic figures, and it shows clearly the influence of Chateaubriand and other sentimental writers on Indian life. Warren Wood of Parkersburg is the author of "The Tragedy of the Deserted Isle" (1909), a readable account of the old days on Blennerhassett's Island, and "When Virginia was Rent in Twain" (1913), a historical novel of the stirring Civil war days in the state. A collection of Indian tales, similar in purpose to the earlier collections of Doddridge and Withers is L. V. McWhorter's "The Border Settlers of Northwestern Virginia from 1768 to 1795" (1915). It includes many incidents of border warfare as handed down by oral tradition, as well as a complete biography of Jesse Hughes, one of the most noted scouts and Indian haters of the frontier. "Moccasin Tracks and Other Imprints" (1915), by W. C. Doddrill of Webster Springs, is also a collection of local

traditions concerning the Indian wars, place names and early settlers of Webster country.

Many of the local tales revert to the days "befo' de wa'." Among these are "Down South in Dixie," by Callie Bruce Oldham of Moundsville, and "A Little Court of Yesterday" (1900), by Minnie Ried French of Bluefield.

Mrs. Alexander McVeigh Miller of Alderson published her first story, "The Bride of the Tomb," in 1881. Her emotional novels, about seventy-five in all, were for many years popular as serials in the current story papers and are still read in book form. Frank Lee Benedict, for several years a resident of St. Albans, is the author of many similar novels. William Perry Brown of Glenville has written many books for boys including "A Sea Island Romance" (1888), "Ralph Granger's Fortunes" (1902), etc. Since the World war he has published a new series, "Our Sammies in the Trenches" (1918), "Our Jackies with the Fleet" (1918), and "Our Pilots in the Air" (1918).

Henry Sydnor Harrison, for several years a resident of Charleston, is a prominent writer of novels, but has used little local material in his work. "Queed" (1911), with its odd story of "the little doctor with big spectacles," and its message of personal development, at once caught the public fancy and brought the writer into prominence. Mr. Harrison's later book, "V. V.'s Eyes" (1913), and "Angela's Business" (1915), are equally strong stories dealing vigorously with social problems. A recent volume, "When I Come Back" (1919), tells the story of a private soldier in the World war.

Other writers, now resident in the state, but not, so far as the writer knows, using local material are Fanny Kemble Johnson (Mrs. Vincent Costello) of Charleston, author of "The Beloved Son" (1916), and Herbert Quick of Berkeley Springs, author of many books dealing with rural social problems, among them "The Brown Mouse" (1915), and "The Fairview Idea" (1919). Frank R. Stockton lived for three years (1899-1902) near Charles Town, and there continued his literary work. The setting for "John Gayther's Garden" (1900), is a description of the garden at "Claymont," his West Virginia home. The scene of "The Captain's Toll-Gate" (1903) is the beautiful turnpike between Charles Town and Harper's Ferry. "Kate Bonnet" (1903) was also written in the state, but makes no use of local material.

Katherine Pearson Woods, once a resident of Wheeling, is the author of several novels, "Metzerott, Shoemaker" (1889), "A Web of Gold" (1890), etc., none of them using local material. Philander Chase Johnson, author of "Senator Sorghum's Primer of Politics" (1906) and several other volumes of prose and verse is also a native of Wheeling.

During the agitation of the Free Silver question William Hope Harvey, a native of Putnam county, began writing the "Coin" series of books on finance. "Coin's Financial School" (1894) had an immense popularity, and was followed immediately by "Coin's Financial School Up-to-Date," "A Tale of Two Nations," and several others. All are written in popular form, but the "Tale of Two Nations" is the only one involving a love story.

Other residents of the state who have written stories published in book form are:

Martin Luther Fearnow, of Berkeley County, "The Modern Crusade" (1899).
Bernice McCally Pollock, of Morgantown, "Hortense" (1902).
Will C. Whisner, of Berkeley County, "Mark Ellis, or Unsolved Problems" (1899).
Virginia Lucas, of Charles Town, "The Captain" (1912).
James Paul Kelly, of Charleston, "The Prince of Izon."
Lena Leota Johnston, of Monroe County, "Nonie: A Novel."
Anna Pierpont Siviter, of Fairmont, "Nehe, A Tale of the Time of Artaxerxes" (1901).
McHenry Jones, of Institute, "Hearts of Gold" (1896).
Henrietta E. Slaughter, of Charleston, "Passion Past" (1888).
Earle Kunst, of Weston, "Justine" (1905).
Hu Maxwell, of Tucker County, "Evans and Sontag" (1891).

Verse

This period, so productive of fiction of all kinds has been scarcely less productive of verse. The hills and mountains had always been appreciated by local writers, but now there was a new feeling of proprietorship toward these natural beauties. The mountains were not only beautiful mountains—they were a part of the estate of the local singer, and as such to be celebrated and warmly defended against any other mountains whatsoever. There are innumerable local poets throughout the state. Almost every county has its group of singers and there is scarce a mountain or river, or creek or waterfall that has not been the subject of some kind of verse. By far the greater part of this local verse lies buried in the files of county newspapers, but an occasional thin volume is issued from local printshops.

There are, however, a few poets who have won real distinction. One of the first to be given general recognition was Danske Dandridge of Shepherdstown. She made her first appearance before the public with the dainty volume, "Joy and Other Poems" (1888), and was well received by the critics. Some of her poems have the freshness and spontaneity of the old English ballads. Two or three of her poems are usually included in collections of the best Southern poetry. Daniel Bedinger Lucas, also a state poet, wrote a tribute to her as the singer of the "golden note."

"From your sweet lyre there seemed to float,
As from the Muses' chorded shell,
The sounds they love so well—
The echoes of that golden note."

Another poet of prominence is Dr. Waitman Barbe, who first called attention to his talent by "The Song of the Century," an occasional poem written in 1885, and later established his reputation by the substantial volume of verse, "Ashes and Incense" (1891). His work has been much praised by the critics in both England and America for its beauty and genuine feeling and classic finish. For many years Dr. Barbe has devoted his entire time to editorial and educational work and has produced little poetry. In 1919, however, he published in pamphlet form "Stars of Gold," in commemoration of the West Virginia University men who gave their lives in the World war. Dr. Barbe has, more nearly than anyone else, expressed the spirit of the state in verse. The poem quoted is chosen for its local interest.

Song of the Monongahela

Hey-ho! I leave my haunts in the woods,
I leave the land of snow;
Hey-ho! I leave my mountain friends
And away to the south I go;
Away to run through the cotton-fields,
Away to swell the orange yields,
Away to be kissed by the sun and breeze,
Away to be mixed with the shoreless seas,
Hey-ho! to the wider world I run,
Hey-ho! to the land o' the sun.
I'll fill the Beautiful River's heart
With joy as free as an elf;
I'll e'en become a very part
Of the Father of Waters himself.
With wider purpose, larger sweep,
My steadfast course I'll run,
Like one whose aims in life reach out
Till all his work is done,
And he at last merged in the sea
Whose farther shore no man
Has ever glimpsed with earth-bound eyes
Since first the world began.
The mighty, pulsing trade I'll serve
And yield to man's behest;
His burdens bear from land to sea
Adown the wondrous west.

And just as lovers sing to me here
When the shade of the hills reach out
Across the waters' crystal bed
And the harvest moon is near,
E'en so beneath the southland shades,
When the mocking bird sings low
And the breeze comes up from the restless sea,
They'll sing to me there I know.
When the air is rich with the odor of May,
Swept in from the distant pines,
They'll sing to me then and vow their love
Is measured by no confines.
But back I'll come to my mountain home
To tell the woodland sprites
How maidens' sighs and thrushes' songs
Fill all the southern nights.
Like one who leaves his childhood home
That's set among the hills,
And oft returns from broader fields
To feel its mystic thrills,
So I shall come from the ocean's sweep
To hear the same old song,
And leap the rocks and kiss the boughs
That have waved for me so long.
Then away to my task for the sons of men,
Away through city and plain;
The voices of comrades bid me stay,
But all their tempting is vain,
Hey-ho, to the wider world I run,
Hey-ho, to the land of the sun."

The lesser poets of the state are very numerous and their verses are so like in subject and spirit that it is difficult to do more than to catalogue the writers and their works. Charles Russell Christian of Logan county, in 1885 published "The Mountain Bard" in an "honest endeavor to sow the seeds of literature in this hitherto barren land." Hu Maxwell, of Tucker county, appeared before the public with a volume of verse, "Idyls of the Golden Shore," in 1887. The verses were written during the writer's travels in California, "frequently in the noise and confusion of a camp full of frontiersmen and Indians with nothing to do but sing and talk." He writes modestly of his work, "The critics were very hostile, and I am now satisfied that they were none too hostile * * * I withdrew it from circulation as soon as I could, and I do not know of a dozen copies in existence now."

Miss Emma Withers of Glenville, a granddaughter of Alexander Scott Withers, published a book of verse, "Wildwood Chimes," in 1891, containing many graceful poems. In 1899 John J. Cornwell, of Romney, published a collection of the poems of his brother, Marshall S. Cornwell, under the title "Wheat and Chaff." Frances Moore Bland, of Weston, published "Twilight Reveries" (1900), of which the title is well suited to the quiet verses. Edward B. Kenna, of Charleston, appeared with a book of lyrical poems of a flowing rhythm, "Lyrics of the Hills" (1902). Since his death all his verses have been collected in a larger volume, "Songs of the Open Air and Other Poems" (1912). Ella Maxwell Haddox, for several years connected with the Charleston Gazette, in which many of her poems were printed, has a small volume of verses showing careful workmanship, "Poems of Sentiment" (1912). Norah Lee Haymond, of Clarksburg, published "Verse and Worse" in 1918. Since that time she has won recognition as a writer of songs and dialogue for burlesques and revues.

Other West Virginians writing verse in this period are:

"The Soul in Silhouette" (1904), Edward Earle Purinton.
"Voices from the Valley" (1918), Warren Wood.
"Brier Blossoms" (1899), Howard Llewellyn Swisher.
"Gettysburg, A Battle Ode Descriptive of the Third Day," Robert William Douthat, a captain in Pickett's brigade.
"Songs of the Age" (1891), Dudley Hughes Davis.
"The Kingdom Gained" (1896), Dudley Hughes Davis.
"Life and Song" (1900), Anna R. Henderson.
"Wayside Thoughts" (1903), Patrick Kenny.

"Potpourri," Franklin P. Jepson.
"The Sculptor and Other Poems" (1903), Anna Pierpont Siviter.
"Songs of Hope" (1906), Anna Pierpont Siviter.
"Rustic Rhymes" (1904), Winfield Scott Garner.
"Random Rhymes" (1904), Robert L. Pemberton.
"Songs in a Merry Mood," Robert L. Pemberton.
"Musings of a Quiet Hour" (1907), John S. Hall.
"Lyrics of the Hills" (1909), Herbert P. McGinnis.
"Chips and Whetstones" (1908), George W. Atkinson.
"Wild Flowers" (1898), Virginia Lucas.
"Mountain State Gleanings" (1911), Ignatius Brennan.
"Gems for the Ladies," Emmet Stockton Dilworth.
"Contest of the Frogs" (1888), Daniel Boardman Purinton.
"The Visions of a Seer" (1894), Noah Coleman.
"A City's Chaplet" (1899), Alice Piersol Cain.
"West Virginia Lyrics" (1902), John G. Gittings.
"Works of David R. Hill in Song, Poetry and Prose" (1905), David R. Hill.
"The Children of Bethlehem," etc., Ida L. Reed.

Conclusion

Among so many and so varied writers of prose and verse it is difficult to form any very definite conclusions. Yet there are a few qualities in all this writing which seem to belong particularly to the state.

One thing which characterizes practically all the writers is an intense love for West Virginia. It is true that writers elsewhere have loved other states, and that very deeply and intensely, and have loved to sing their praises, but anything like the complete unanimity of enthusiasm of almost every writer who has lived within our borders is unknown, so far as the writer has discovered, in any other locality. The writers from the highest to the lowest seem to speak from a common impulse to tell the world at large that life in West Virginia is a beautiful and joyous thing. The average resident of the state seems to feel if his life were set down in a book with the hills as a background it must needs be a great masterpiece.

This attitude toward life leads to one of the chief faults of the West Virginia stories—a general looseness of construction or continual digressions from the story proper. It often seems that the writer is loath to change even the details of life in the state, though he knows that the literary form of the story would be improved thereby, and he continually pauses in the telling of his tale to recount some local anecdote or some local tradition, or to describe at length the hills and mountains about him. If this were true merely of the lesser writers it would have little significance, but even the more skillful seem liable to the same fault, when dealing with local material. Melville Davisson Post, for instance, who has written so many well-knit short stories, becomes digressive in "Dwellers in the Hills." Margaret Prescott Montague, in her first book, "The Poet, Miss Kate and I," and to some extent in her other mountain stories shows the same tendency, as does also A. B. Cunningham in "The Manse at Barren Rocks" and "Singing Mountains." The lesser writers show this tendency very much more clearly. One cannot avoid the conclusion that literary form has often been sacrificed to a love of local scenes and traditions and of life in West Virginia as it is lived from day to day.

The poets are, if possible, even more devoted to the natural beauties of the state. Every state poet vies with every other in singing the praises of the hills. Even before one opens a book of West Virginia poems, one can be fairly certain of the "Table of Contents." It will run somewhat as follows: "The Beautiful —— River," space to be filled by Ohio, Kanawha, Greenbrier, Monongahela, etc., according to locality of the writer. "The Evening Hills."

"—— Rocks," space to be filled according to locality.
"The Hills in Spring."
"To an Indian Arrow-Head."
"The Red Bird."
"My West Virginia Home," etc., etc.

The poets seem to write solely from an impulse to delineate and celebrate the scenes they love, and they feel certain if they can get those beauties upon the page they will have great poetry. Dr. Waitman Barbe once remarked that wherever he went in the state someone was always pointing out some local scene and saying, "Now, won't you make a poem out of that!" and he could never make the speaker understand that it takes much more than beautiful scenery to make a real poem. And yet Dr. Barbe's own work shows him truly West Virginian in his love of the hills and rivers, though he has in addition a depth of feeling and understanding of life which lifts his work to general importance.

Though the local verses are somewhat related in spirit to the work of Wordsworth, Bryant, or of Lanier, there is little close resemblance which would suggest direct imitation, except in Dr. Doddridge's "Elegy on His Family Vault," imitating Gray's "Elegy," some of the poems of Thomas J. Lees, and a few others. Of course conventional figures of speech, worn-out poetic phrases, unmeaning lines, faulty rhymes, and all such faults of the untrained writer, are common enough in all the local poets, but these do not indicate direct imitation. This lack of models seems worth mentioning because in the local verse-writing of Ohio, of which the writer has also made a study, the use of classic models is quite the usual thing. This may be explained partly by the fact that many Ohio poets were trained in New England colleges where the writing of verse was taken seriously, and models held up for imitation. Few of the West Virginia verse writers have been college trained and they do not generally regard verse-making as an art to be studied seriously.

West Virginia poets are a happy folk. Whatever their shortcomings in technique they are rich in the belief that life is a good and gracious thing, they take an almost pagan joy in the manifestations of nature about them, and they seem inclined to believe that heaven can be but a West Virginia glorified. They are simple-hearted mystics who believe devoutly in the potency of beauty in human life. They seldom sermonize and almost never weep. When a moral is pointed at all in a poem it is usually tacked on at the end as by an afterthought, or as a concession to some popular notion. This is in strong contrast to the descendants of the Pilgrims on the Ohio side of the river, who seem to think that the chief end of poets is to preach sermons. There "Lines on a Tomb," "Lines on the Death of ——," etc., are most common, though, except for a few New Englanders along the river, West Virginia writers generally avoid such lachrymose subjects.

A similar attitude is shown toward the Indian mounds—those fascinating, mysterious relics of a vanished race. Ohio verse so abounds in "Lines to an Indian Mound," always for a moral purpose, that one begins to suspect that the subject is so frequently chosen, not because of the beauty of the mounds or even of their mystery, but rather because the moral lesson is so beautifully evident—"as this race has vanished, so will yours also." Lines to mounds are comparatively rare in West Virginia, though there are many relics of the mound-builders in the state and the huge mound at Moundsville is particularly impressive. The state poets usually picture the Indians as living rather than dead. When musing on some Indian arrow-head they try to picture the joy of Indian life as a hunter among the hills—with perhaps a beautiful Indian maiden waiting at the trysting place. One obscure newspaper poet even insists that the huge mound at Moundsville was not a tomb, as generally believed, but a temple of worship from which to hymn the praises of the hills! And since those vanished races were West Virginians, too, in a way, and perhaps like those living now, caught by the potent spell of the hills, it is quite possible that he may have the true interpretation.

These distinctive qualities of our local writing seem to indicate a predominant Celtic element in the people of the state. As has been pointed out before the early settlers had a strong admixture of Welsh, Irish, Scotch-Irish, and French blood and their descendants have main-

tained their racial characteristics. This tendency of the race, as well as the beauty of environment, may explain the general joyousness and the delight in natural beauty in a country in which conditions of life are often particularly hard because of the meager areas for cultivation and the rigorous climate. Their love of the homeland often seems absurd or pathetic to the plain-dwellers of the West, but it is entirely sincere. The poignant homesickness of the native of the hills who is forced by circumstances to live on the plains or in the cities is mentioned by very many of the local writers, and "The West Virginia Hills" is the favorite song at all state gatherings.

However amusing this may be to outsiders it is at least a pleasant view of life and one conducive to literature. We have seen how it has already inspired a considerable body of literature that in many respects is both creditable and distinctive, and has given a few writers a high rank among the writers of the nation. The possibilities for literature in the state are infinite because of the great variety of life and people among the hills and mountains. It is to be hoped that the local writers will continue to present the different phases of our life to the reading public until the world in general comes to know the ever-changing charm and fascination of West Virginia as the hill-dwellers know it and love it.

CHAPTER XXXVIII

WEST VIRGINIA AND THE WORLD WAR

By Dr. O. P. Chitwood

Contribution of the State to the Military Service

The mobilization and training of the man power of the country in the World war was the biggest and probably the most important task before the Federal and State governments. To transform an army numbering a little more than one hundred thousand into an armed force greater than the host led by Xerxes when he invaded Greece was no small undertaking for a country even as large and prosperous as our own. In the achievement of this notable result West Virginia accorded the Federal Government the most hearty and effective co-operation. At the beginning many of our young men showed a willingness to do their part of the actual fighting by offering their services to their country, and before the war was over thousands of them had been enrolled in the army as volunteers. At the time of our entrance into the war West Virginia had two regiments of national guards. These were recruited to full war strength and incorporated into the regular army.

But in West Virginia, as in every other commonwealth, the largest additions to the fighting force were recruited by the elective draft. Before the law providing for the draft had been enacted by Congress, Governor Cornwell, in anticipation of the passage of the measure, had reselected Major George S. Wallace, of Huntington, as the draft executive of the state. This appointment was afterward confirmed by the Provost Marshal, General Enoch H. Crowder. Provision for registering all men of military age was made by the governor and Major Wallace by the creation of two district boards and the selection of registrars in every county. These registrars were as far as possible chosen from those persons who had acted as registrars in the previous election. In making the registration, 3,630 of these election officials were used, usually two to each precinct. About two-thirds of them gave their services without compensation. The registration was supervised by local boards consisting of the sheriff, the county clerk, the county health officer, and two citizens in each county, and the mayor and five citizens for each city of thirty thousand inhabitants. This machinery was organized in a very short time. One week after the selective draft law was passed (May 19, 1917) the registrars had all been sworn and furnished with supplies and were ready to begin work. The first registration was made on June 5, and in three weeks the registration boards had completed their work and turned over their records to the draft boards.

The second registration was made on June 5, 1918. By this time the draft machinery had had time to get into good running order and so the enrollment was carried on with comparative ease. A supplemental registration was made on August 24 to include young men who had reached the military age since the June enrollment. The third registration took place on September 12, 1918, and included all male persons between the ages of eighteen and forty-six. This wholesale enrollment of men and their classification entailed a severe tax on the energy, patience, and wisdom of the local and district boards and other officials. Despite the difficulties, however, the task was very satisfactorily performed.

In the meantime Major Wallace had been called to Washington (September, 1917) by the Federal authorities and had been succeeded by Captain Breckinridge Jones as chief of the Department of Military Census and Enrollment. He in turn was succeeded in June, 1918, by Captain F. N. Alderson.

The total number of men registered in West Virginia was 323,383. Of this number, 45,648 were called into service. Nearly five thousand young men from West Virginia won for themselves a place on the nation's roll of honor. A large proportion of these made the supreme sacrifice in the services of their country, and all the rest, except less than a hundred, were wounded or taken prisoners. Forty-six won their place on the list of fame by heroic action in battle.

There was at first some opposition to the war and especially to the draft in certain sections of the state. While this opposition was not defiant it was strong enough to bring anxiety to those who had been entrusted with the enforcement of the draft law. But after the people were led to understand the situation by public discussions this opposition vanished. All classes were now united in their determination to prosecute the war vigorously, and the draft regulations were carried out successfully without the slightest hitch "Despite bad communication with many interior counties, West Virginia was among the first to complete and report the result of the first registration. Its per capita cost was among the lowest of the states and out of the class of registrants of June 5th, 1918, it developed a higher percentage of fighting men than any other state in the Union, 64.7 per cent, North Dakota coming next with 58.7 per cent, while Connecticut fell to 28.4 per cent."

State Councils of Defense

The Council of National Defense was created by an act of Congress, August, 1916. It was composed of six cabinet members, and was charged with the duty of providing in time of need for "the immediate concentration and utilization of the resources of the nation." Immediately after a state of war had been declared by Congress the several states were asked by the Washington authorities to form State Councils of Defense and co-operate with the National Council. In prompt compliance with this request, Governor Cornwell appointed (April 12) such a Council for West Virginia. This first State Council of Defense was an unofficial body composed of twenty-one representative men, including the six ex-governors. This preliminary council had one meeting with the Governor at Charleston and advised with him as to the best means of mobilizing the resources of the state.

When the legislature met in extra session in May, 1917, it created a State Executive Council of Defense and made provision for an Advisory State Council of Defense. The Board of Public Works was to constitute the membership of the former body. The Advisory Council was to consist of fifteen members chosen by the Governor. In selecting this latter body the Governor named all the members of the preliminary council except the five ex-governors. The Advisory Council was auxiliary to the Executive Council and had only such authority as was delegated to it by that body. It made suggestions, conducted investigations, and performed such other services as were requested by the Executive Council.

The Executive Council of Defense was given large powers and was entrusted with the general management of most of the war measures carried out in the state. It had authority to "subpoena witnesses and require their testimony" and "compel its production of account books" and all other documents that might have a bearing on any investigations that might be conducted. Among their duties as specified by the act may be mentioned the following:

"To adopt, publish and enforce all reasonable rules and regulations governing the operation of railroads, mills, mines, manufacturing plants,

and other industrial works in this state, in so far as such rules and regulations are not in conflict with the rules and regulations adopted by the Council of National Defense.

"To cause to be taken a census and inventory of the resources of the state in men and materials to make investigation and report to the Governor the location and availability of military supplies, and the location and capacity of railroad, automobiles, and all other means of transportation and conveyance within the state, so as to determine their availability for military purposes of the state, and to render possible the expeditions, mobilization and concentration of state troops and supplies at points of defense and military advantage.

"And in general to take such steps as may be, in the opinion of said councils necessary or advisable for the public defense and security, * * * to regulate food and fuel prices; to encourage the military training of the citizens of the state, and such other measures as may be necessary to meet the exigencies of all situations occasioned by war, if not in conflict with any rule promulgated by the National Council of Defense."

The state organization was carried into every country and many communities by the formation of county and community councils. In Wood county there were forty of these community councils. These local councils were not clothed with any legal authority except in so far as it was delegated to them by the State Executive Council. But they proved invaluable and in carrying out in every locality the measures of the State Council. The County Council was later made the clearing-house of all war activities of the county, and the heads of the various organizations engaged in local war work constituted the County Council of Defense, or at least its executive committee.

Provision was also made for extending this organization to the colored population. The Executive Council of Defense, acting on authority given it by the Act of March, 1917, appointed in March, 1918, an Auxiliary Council Advising Council of Defense. This was composed of thirty, later thirty-two, prominent negroes many of whom were representatives of religious and fraternal organizations. The purpose of the Auxiliary Council as given by the resolution creating it was "to cause a complete and thorough organization of the negroes of the state in order that they may be a more potent factor in our national defense in the way of conserving food, buying thrift stamps, war stamps and Liberty Bonds, and in giving their labor in the various occupations so essential to the successful prosecution of the war." Auxiliary county and community councils were promptly organized in thirteen counties. These county councils were to be auxiliary to the county councils of defense and to co-operate with them.

The object of this elaborate organization was to conserve and mobilize the resources of every locality of the state and to arouse its patriotism and enlist the support of all the people in furtherance of the war policy of the government. The work done by the Executive Council and the advisory and subordinate bodies affiliated with it fully justified the creation of so much machinery and the delegation to it of such large powers. Only the first services performed by the Executive Council was the support it gave toward the training of a dozen aviators at Beech Bottom near Wheeling. An appropriation of $10,000 was made by the Council for this purpose. Among the important tasks performed by the Council the following should be mentioned:

A survey was made of the state's public institutions with a view to finding out to what extent these institutions could be employed in caring for tubercular and crippled soldiers. This survey was made under the supervision of Dr. Hastings H. Hart of the Russell Sage Foundation and Mr. Charles L. Stonaker of Newark, New Jersey, in co-operation with the president of the Board of Control, Mr. James S. Lakin. The report of Dr. Hart, based on the work of Mr. Stonaker, was so valuable that it was "printed and circulated in every state of

the Union." Some of the suggestions made in this report have been carried out.

The responsibility of seeing that the law against idleness was enforced was placed on the Executive Council. That this law was carried out so effectively we are indebted in a large measure to the vigilance of the Council.

The first Red Cross drive was initiated and the campaigns for food production and conservation were waged under the auspices of this body.

For the convenience of the soldier a legal booklet was published by the Council giving a digest of the war risk insurance law and other laws relating to service men and their families. More than 30,000 copies of this booklet were distributed among the men in the service.

Arrangements were made whereby all unnecessary building was stopped. The dealers in building material had entered into an agreement with the War Industries Board pledging themselves to sell building supplies only to those who had permits. The Executive Council appointed a general committee to be assisted by a representative in each county and imposed upon them the duty of investigating carefully all sworn applications for building permits and of ruling out those that were unnecessary.

The Councils of Defense in this state were especially able to cooperate effectively with the National Food Administration in its effort to speed up the production of coal, oil and gasoline. West Virginia is rich in these important products and during the war she ranked second among the states in the output of coal. The smokeless coal used on warships and by-products coal so valuable in the manufacture of munitions and explosives are mined extensively in the state. The responsibility imposed on West Virginia by this opportunity was fully realized by the State Council of Defense and every possible effort was made to stimulate the production of coal. Returned American soldiers who had been wounded on the other side and two British officers were sent into the coal fields to impress upon the miners the necessity of large production. Speakers were also sent to several districts for the same purpose by the Emergency Fleet Corporation. An appropriation was made by the State Executive Council to aid in a more rigid enforcement of the regulations regarding the sale of intoxicants, as the blockading of liquor was interfering with the efficiency of the miners. As a result of these various efforts the output of the miners was increased despite the fact that a great many of the workers had gone into military service.

The activities already mentioned represent only a part of the war service performed by the State Council. Much of the war-work herein after discussed was done under the supervision and practically all of it with the co-operation of the councils. The importance of the service performed by them is evidenced by the fact that fifty-nine different bulletins were submitted to the different County Councils for action thereon.

Special attention ought to be called to the good work of the auxiliary councils of the colored people. It ought never to be forgotten that the colored people of the state responded to the calls for subscriptions to war loans and gifts to Y. M. C. A., Red Cross and other philanthropic organizations, with a generosity in comparison to their wealth and numbers, fully equal to that of the white population.

They also did their full share in adding to the food supply by their garden and canning clubs. But it was in the coal industry that their patriotic energy was most important as more of them were engaged in this kind of labor than in any other. They responded willingly to the appeals for increased coal production. Colored miners held the record for output in the Fairmont and Cabin Creek fields. For this good showing on the part of the colored people in our midst we are indebted in a large measure to the efficient efforts of the auxiliary councils, but in still larger measure to the fine spirit of loyalty which the negroes as a class exhibited.

War Legislation

The legislature met in special session on May 14, 1917, and adjourned on May 26. It had been called by the Governor for the double purpose of making the usual appropriations which the regular session and the subsequent special session had failed to vote—and to pass such laws as were necessary to put West Virginia on an effective war-footing. Among the important war-measures enacted by this legislature may be mentioned the following: (1) "An act creating the Executive and Advisory State Councils of Defense."

(2) "An act providing for a direct levy of two cents and an excise corporation tax of one-fourth of one per cent levied on the net earnings of corporations to create a war defense fund."

(3) "An act to punish speculation for the purpose of cornering the market in foodstuffs, fuel, or the necessities of life."

(4) "An act empowering sheriffs and county courts to appoint special deputy police for the protection of the lives and properties of the people of West Virginia." By the provisions of this act each sheriff must nominate and the county court appoint from ten to one hundred persons in each county as special deputy sheriffs. These were to be subject to the call of the Governor for service in any part of the state. The reason for this measure was that the two regiments of national guards, all the state had, had been incorporated in the regular army and the commonwealth was left without adequate military and police protection.

(5) "A law against idleness." This was the most unique piece of legislation enacted by the special session. It was the first measure of the kind that was passed by any of the states and it caused a good deal of comment in the press throughout the county. Seven other states have followed the example of West Virginia by passing similar laws.

The first step toward the enactment of this law was taken when Governor Cornwell ordered a census of idlers to be taken by the police authorities in the cities and towns of the state. This census showed that a large number of people in the towns and cities were idle, although the demand for labor was greatly in excess of the supply. In his message to the legislature the Governor took the position that idleness under such conditions was unpatriotic and should be penalized. In the meantime the Governor had summoned to Charleston a few of the leaders of the legislature before the special session was convened. He asked these leaders to draft suitable war measures to be acted upon by the legislature. One of these conferees, Delegate W. S. John, of Monongalia county felt that as idleness was a moral crime it ought to be made a legal crime. In acting on the suggestion of Governor Cornwell he drafted a bill requiring every able bodied man to work at least thirty-six hours a week. The bill received the enthusiastic support of his colleagues and was passed.

The law was not merely a protest against industrial slackers, but it had teeth in it. It is evident from the report of the secretary of the Council of Defense which body assumed responsibility for its enforcement that the law was carried out in real earnest. The newspaper, in compliance with a request from the Governor, agitated strongly in favor of the enforcement of the measure. The Council of Defense sent out letters to every peace officer and every member of the county councils of defense urging the importance of prohibiting idleness. According to a ruling of the attorney-general it was the duty of "all peace officers, such as mayors and justices of the peace, to enforce this statute without waiting for citizens to initiate complaints." Another ruling of the attorney-general placed the burden of proving his innocence on the person suspected of idleness. These rulings made it easy to convict a real loafer. In July, 1918, a resolution was adopted by the State Council of Defense requiring all employers to report to that body the names of their employees who failed to work the requisite thirty-six hours a week. The secretary reports that 3,500 such persons were re-

ported to him, to each of whom he required a statement giving the reason for the apparent delinquency. Many of these were able to make satisfactory explanations, while others, of course, had only framed-up excuses. Idlers to the number of 811 were arrested and 2,705 more were frightened into employment by the possibility of arrest. The secretary of the Council thinks that a larger number, at least 5,000, became industrious because of the law, and that they added by their earnings $2,500,000 to the wealth of the state in one year. In his correspondence with the various municipal authorities the secretary asked an expression of opinion from the mayors of towns and cities as to the merits of the law. They were conscientious in considering it a wise and important war measure.

Liberty Loan Drives

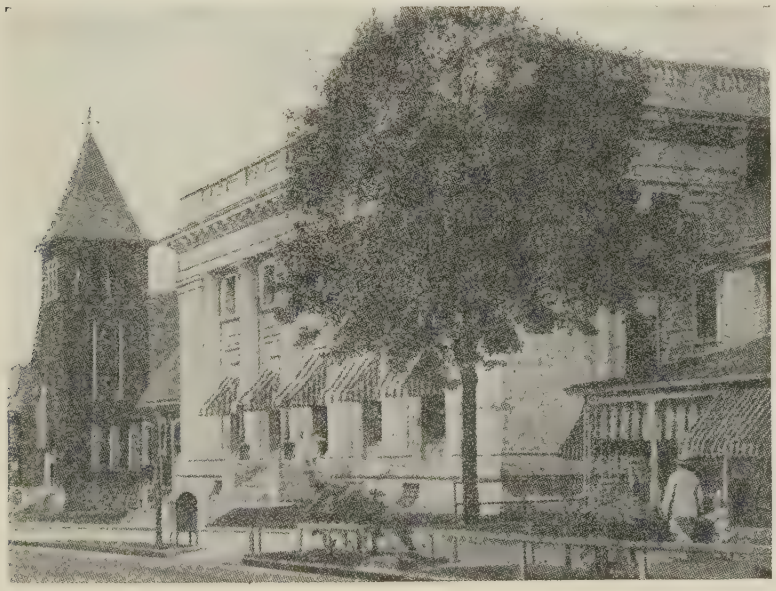
All of West Virginia, except six counties in the northwest, including the city of Wheeling, is in the Federal Reserve District of Richmond; the remaining six counties are in the Cleveland District. After the law had been passed by Congress authorizing the Liberty Loans, the bankers belonging to the Richmond jurisdiction in West Virginia met at Charleston and chose Ex-Governor William A. MacCorkle as chairman of the State Liberty Loan Committee. The organization was extended by the selection by the State Chairman of six group chairmen and a chairman for each county. There were also local committees, one for each county and usually one for each district and precinct. All the counties except five were well organized.

The State Council of Defense, the County Councils of Defense, and the various other organizations lent their enthusiastic assistance in making the campaigns a success. The banks were especially obliging and gave invaluable aid. An immense amount of clerical work was done by them, all without compensation, although it made heavy demands upon the time of their employees. The women, under the leadership of Mrs. Lydia Simpson Poffenbarger, played a very important part in raising the third, fourth and fifth loans. In the third campaign, although only forty-two counties were organized by the women, they succeeded in raising more than $10,000,000, which was forty-eight per cent of the state's quota. This remarkable success placed West Virginia in the fourth place in the proportion of women subscriptions. This vast total of subscriptions was secured at an expense of $733.00 making the former record of economy in the United States. In the former campaign the women secured subscriptions amounting to more than eighteen million dollars, being forty per cent of the state's quota.

Elaborate plans were made for the fourth campaign. A convention was held at Charleston on September 17 and 18, composed of the Liberty Loan chairman, the chairmen of the County Councils of Defense, the chairmen of the Four Minute Men, and the chairmen of the Women's Liberty Loan Committee of each county. The object of the meeting was to make such arrangements as would enable all the various agencies to act energetically in harmony with a general plan. It was planned to have community meetings, and three or four meetings at every schoolhouse in the state. The chairman brought into the state to assist in the speaking campaign four allied officers and sixteen American soldiers who had been wounded in the service. These elaborate plans for speech making had to be cancelled owing to the influenza epidemic and a house-to-house canvass was substituted for it. The success of this campaign was due in large measure to the support of the churches. By October 12 only one-fourth of the state's quota had been subscribed, and the outlook for success was gloomy. On that date the state chairman met a delegation of leading clergymen at Charleston representing all religious denominations—Catholic, Protestant and Jewish—and revealed the discouraging situation to them. With unanimity and enthusiasm they agreed to ask the clergy and laymen of their respective denominations to give the next week to the loan campaign. They sent out 4,500

telegrams and by other means stirred up their parishioners with wonderful results. The state chairman thinks that the Fourth Liberty Loan would have failed but for this timely assistance. As it was, West Virginia exceeded her quota in this loan as she did in all the rest. Charleston had an especially high per capita rate of subscription, one of the highest in the country.

The campaign for the Victory Loan came at a time when subscriptions were most difficult to secure. The people had been and were still being asked to give to Belgium and Armenian relief and benevolent organizations and many felt that the limit for making money pledges had been reached. Besides, there was a feeling that, the war now being over, there was no necessity for further sacrifices. Undismayed by those unfavorable signs, Ex-Governor MacCorkle and his subordinates went ahead with the determination to uphold the fine reputation that



Postoffice, Morgantown

West Virginia had already made. The organization was keyed up, the newspapers, the Four Minute Men and other publicity agencies were set to work, and fifty returned wounded soldiers were used as speakers in the campaign. Again the women came to the rescue, and under the tactful and brilliant leadership of Mrs. Poffenbarger, they lent invaluable assistance. It is needless to say that our quota was subscribed.

The Production and Conservation of Food

When the United States entered the war it was felt that one of the most important services we could perform would be to furnish in as large amounts as possible the food supplies for our allies. To do this we would have to speed up the production and curtail the wasteful consumption of food. In order to carry out these purposes the National Food Administration was organized in August, 1917, and Herbert Hoover was appointed National Food Administrator. He was assisted by an administrator for each state. The position of State Food Administrator was one of great responsibility and called for a man of ability who was conversant with farming and business conditions in the commonwealth. Mr. Hoover thought he had found just such a man for West Virginia in Mr. Earl W. Oglebay. His large experience as iron manufacturer and his recent experience as a scientific farmer qualified him especially for this work. Mr. Oglebay at first hesitated

to assume the responsibility, but finally accepted it after having been urged to do so by a convention of men representing the various occupations and professions held at Waddington Farm, the home of Mr. Oglebay.

The machinery for carrying on the work was perfected by the selection of a food director for each county, twenty-five price-interpreting committees, and a staff of executive, advisory and clerical assistants, with headquarters at Wheeling. Every county in the state was organized as a result of the effective efforts of Mr. William Hill, director of organization, with the assistance of Mr. J. F. Marsh, Secretary of the State Board of Regents, and Mr. C. R. Titlow, of the Agricultural Extension Department of the University.

The campaign for increasing the production of food in West Virginia had started before either a State or Federal Food Administrator had been appointed. The leaders in this campaign were the governor, commissioner of agriculture, the College of Agriculture and the Agricultural Extension Department of the University. The slogan of the movement was, "Help West Virginia feed herself." Mr. C. R. Titlow met with wonderful success in his efforts to stimulate the production of food throughout the state. In most sections of the state boys and girls were organized into farming clubs and were furnished with plans and instructions by the Agricultural Extension Department of the University. About 27,000 young people followed these instructions and produced food in one year to the value of about $300,000. Mr. Titlow's work has also been a great aid to the regular farmer, by inducing him to farm more intensively and to use more scientific principles in the cultivation of his crops. The amount of food was considerably increased by the use of vacant town lots for war-gardens which were universal in West Virginia. It is gratifying to know that as a result of these and other efforts the amount of food produced increased in spite of the fact that a great many farmers had gone into service and war industries. In 1917 the increase in acreage for potatoes was 9,000 acres; for wheat, 63,000 acres; and for corn 235,000 acres.

The problem of food conservation had two aspects; one was the prevention of waste and the other was the substitution of other substances for wheat, fats and other concentrated food. The people of Europe had not been accustomed to corn bread and they did not know how to make as good a use of meal as we do. Besides, wheat is better adapted to transportation than corn. For these reasons our people were urged to use as little wheat flour and as much corn meal and other substitutes as possible. The reasons for this self-denial were not always clear to the American housewife, and it was deemed advisable by the National Food Administration to conduct a campaign of education for the purpose of winning her assent to the plan. The first campaign in West Virginia in favor of food conservation was conducted by the State Council of Defense before the State Food Administrator was appointed. In this effort to co-operate with the authorities at Washington the Council of Defense was ably supported by the Women's defense organization, led by Mrs. Joseph G. Cochran. Eighty thousand information and pledge cards were distributed by the women in this campaign. The signers of these cards pledged themselves to observe the rules and regulations of the Federal Food Administration as to the conservation of food. Thousands of these cards were signed and sent to Washington. In the second campaign conducted in November, the efforts were more successful. The women were the main agents in this campaign also. Mrs. Cochran's fine service was performed without compensation, even for expenses incurred.

The schools were a most important agency in spreading the doctrine of food conservation. Courses dealing with the principles of food conservation were given in a large number of the high schools, in the colleges, and in the University. A plan of co-operation was worked out by the State Food Administration and the University whereby demonstrations in the use of wheat flour were given to groups of women

(including colored and foreign women), such as women's clubs, church societies, parents' and teachers' associations, and lumber and mining camps. "These meetings were held in forty-two counties and 21,135 homes were represented. The results show a reduction of flour consumption from thirty pounds per week per family attending those special meetings to fourteen pounds per family."

An important part of the work of the State Food Administration was the distribution of food, the consumption of which was limited, and the prevention of profiteering on the part of wholesale and retail grocers. The rules governing this service were made by the Federal Food Administration, but the interpretation and adaptation of them to local conditions was left to the state administration. This part of the work was entrusted to the State Food Distributor, Dr. J. R. Trotter, Professor of Law in the University. Lists of prices, wholesale and retail, were published weekly in the local papers by the price interpreting committees. In this way both buyers and sellers were kept informed as to what were fair prices. The administration had full authority to enforce obedience to price and other regulations. All wholesale grocers whose sales amounted to $1,000,000 a year were licensed and were under the direct control of the administration. Retailers were under indirect control. If they violated the regulations they were punished by having the wholesalers withdraw their supplies. A wholesaler could be punished by the suspension of his license or the imposition of a fine. For hoarding, a retailer or consumer could be fined or imprisoned. Inspectors were appointed and charged with the duty of looking out for hoarding. They were given authority to impose light penalties, but more serious offenses were referred to state headquarters at Wheeling for trial. In cases involving as penalty the suspension of license appeal could be had to the authorities at Washington. Sugar and flour were two products the distribution of which was especially hedged about with restrictions.

Fuel Administration

The same law that gave the President through his subordinates such large control over food placed the management of the country's fuel supply in his hands. This great authority was delegated to Dr. H. A. Garfield as National Fuel Administrator. The states were then organized for the conservation of fuel very much as they were for the discharge of other war activities. Mr. J. Walter Barnes, of Fairmont, was appointed State Fuel Director (October, 1917) and chairmen and committees were appointed by him for all the counties. Those officials, like most of the war workers, gave their services without compensation.

It was the business of the state administration to carry out the measures of the Federal administration in its effort to conserve the fuel supply and distribute it at "the lowest possible price to the consumer consistent with a reasonable profit to the operator." One plan carried out by the State administration for economizing coal was the observance of the celebration of "Tag the Shovel." The aim of the movement was to get every family to save a shovelful of coal a day. From January 21 to March 25, 1918, "Weather Days" were observed. On these days, which were usually Mondays of each week, all business houses were closed. As West Virginia is a great coal-producing state the task of looking after the distribution of fuel to consumers was not so great as it was in some other sections of the country. But owing to poor means of transportation and communication it was difficult in certain sections to provide for the domestic supply. This was done, however, so effectively that none of our people suffered any considerable hardship for lack of fuel.

The State administration had no power to control or regulate the production of coal as that authority was retained by the Federal administration. The State administration was able, however, to give valuable assistance to the Federal authorities by furnishing them with

such information as would enable them to keep in knowing touch with mining conditions during the war period.

The Schools and the War

Our school system comes into closer relation with all the people than does any other institution or group of institutions. It is natural, therefore, that it should have been used extensively in linking up the people with the numerous and important war activities launched by the government. Our schools measured up completely to this fine opportunity. As Mr. Marsh well says, "they did not wait to be drafted, but from the beginning of the war volunteered their services." As has already been shown, the schools were used by nearly all the other war agencies in the prosecution of their plans. "The first food pledge campaign was directed by a member of the State Department of Schools (Mr. J. F. Marsh, Secretary to the State Board of Regents) and carried on almost entirely through the teachers and pupils of the state." The schools were important centers for campaigns for raising funds for the Y. M. C. A., Y. W. C. A., Salvation Army, Red Cross, and other benevolent societies; for the formation of war savings societies, Junior Red Cross, and other patriotic organizations. The schools were used by the fuel administration in the "Tag the Shovel" movement and other efforts to conserve coal. Both pupils and teachers bought freely thrift stamps, war saving stamps, and Liberty Bonds. They also subscribed generously to the Y. M. C. A., Red Cross, and other religious and benevolent organizations. Nearly every teacher at one time owned a Liberty Bond. In the Fourth Liberty Loan campaign a day "was set apart for the schools on which a special program sent to all teachers by the State Superintendent was rendered with the schoolhouse as the center of a rally that brought the loan to the attention of all citizens."

The schools were also especially active in the effort to increase the production of food. Nearly all of them had school gardens and boys and girls of school age added no little to the increased output of agricultural products.

A few of the larger high schools gave night courses in mechanics to draftees. This kind of work, however, was done mainly by the University and the colleges. During the year 1917-18 the College of Engineering, assisted by the Department of Physics of the University, gave training in war mechanics and science to 167 draftees. In the fall of 1918, the University virtually became a military camp where more than 1,500 members of the students army training corps were given instruction in college or vocational subjects along with their military training. A student army training corps was also stationed at each of the following colleges, Bethany, Davis and Elkins, and West Virginia Wesleyan.

The main service performed by the school, however, was their contribution to the morale of the people. The teachers were universally loyal and were able to create in all our schools a fine patriotic atmosphere. The subjects of the daily curriculum were also related to the war wherever possible in a way to kindle the enthusiasm of the pupils. Members of the students army training corps were required to take a course of study or lectures on war aims in the University and the courses, especially those in history and the social services, were linked up closely with the war.

But the educational activity of the school was not confined to the school-room. The school had a large share in the propaganda of patriotism that was so necessary carried on in all parts of the state. The speech-making campaigns that ushered in each of the numerous drives were participated in very largely by teachers, principals and superintendents of the schools and by professors and executive officials of the normal schools, colleges, and the University. In West Virginia, as everywhere else in the country, the young men in the institutions of higher learning had imbibed such high ideals of patriotism that a large

proportion of those of military age enlisted in the service of their country. Many of them made the supreme sacrifice on the soil of France.

In one particular the school system allowed its patriotic zeal to run ahead of its wisdom. Naturally the German language became an unpopular study with our pupils from the beginning of the war and nearly all the high school students failed to elect it during the first school year after our entrance into the conflict. This attitude on the part of the pupils was followed by official action on the part of the school authorities and for a while the study of German was eliminated entirely from the curriculum of our school system. "Thus in 1917-18 no pupil from the kindergarten to the University was studying the language of our enemy." This was unfortunate because it was allowing national feeling to run too far into hatred of the enemy and if this policy of ignorance had been persisted in for a long time it would have handicapped us in our efforts to maintain the position in world commerce and international politics to which destiny has called us. Some one has said that ignorance is no cure for anything. Certainly no nation ever strengthens itself even in a military way by bringing up its children in ignorance of the language and culture of a possible enemy. Happily this tinge of narrowness to our patriotism has vanished and German has returned to our schools.

The Four Minute Men

The people of West Virginia are not accustomed to act blindly and usually demand reasons when urged to participate in any great movement. When they were called on to give up their ease, their means, and their sons to aid in the prosecution of a war thousands of miles from their borders, they naturally wanted to be convinced that the sacrifices were necessary. Of course a great many of our people were well posted and understood the meaning of the war from the beginning. Numbers of others, however, had to be informed as to the state of world affairs before they were willing to give the movement their wholehearted support. As like conditions obtained in other states it was necessary for the Federal government to keep going continuously, one after the other, campaigns of education throughout the entire country. Every effort to raise money for religious and benevolent purposes, or to sell war savings stamps and Liberty Bonds, or to enlist the people in movements for food and fuel conservation was preceded and accompanied by a campaign of enlightenment directed by the Committee of Public Information at Washington. The aim was to keep up a propaganda of patriotism that would reach every community in the country. The publicity agencies in West Virginia gave most effective assistance toward the attainment of this goal. To see that the war messages of the Federal government reached every man, woman and child in West Virginia was the work assumed by the publicity agencies of our state.

In the beginning of the war, before the Four Minute Men and other publicity agencies organized, Governor Cornwell carried on a speaking campaign throughout the state explaining to the people the meaning of the war. This effort and indeed all subsequent endeavors to arouse the people were ably seconded by the press of the state, which was "loyal to the core." The publicity campaigns which were so successfully waged would have been impossible but for the cordial support given them by the patriotic newspapers of the commonwealth. As has already been shown, the schools, churches and fraternal organizations also lent invaluable aid in all the efforts to reach the people with the war messages of the government.

But the most important single agency engaged in spreading the Gospel of patriotism and in delivering to the people the war messages from Washington was the organization of Four Minute Men. In West Virginia this organization numbered over 1,000 members representing all the walks of life, including a large number of women. There was

also a Junior branch composed of boys, who did valuable service through the schools in spreading Americanism especially among the children of our foreign born population. In some of the counties colored speakers were enlisted with excellent results. "No more devoted loyalty was shown anywhere than by the speakers of that race." The state organization was headed by Mr. William Burdette Mathews and was extended to every county in the commonwealth.

Originally the plan of the Committee on Public Information was to use the Four Minute Men as speakers in the theatres and moving-picture shows. Bulletins were sent out from Washington giving information from which a four-minute speech was to be prepared by each speaker. These brief digests of the government pamphlets were presented to large "ready-made audiences" in short and frequently snappy speeches. In this way millions of people in the country were reached who would never have taken the trouble to read the numerous and sometimes voluminous bulletins issued by the national committee.

But the Four Minute Men did not confine their activities to speaking in moving-picture and other theatres, but took a leading part in numerous public meetings held at picnics, in churches, schoolhouses, country stores and various other places. On these occasions they were not restrained by the four-minute rule and frequently gave lengthy addresses. It ought also to be said that the Four Minute Men were not the only speakers who took part in patriotic meetings. They were participated in by professional and business men, ministers, teachers and educators, labor leaders and public speakers of all classes.

In West Virginia the Four Minute Men carried on thirty-nine speaking campaigns and the Junior four. Some idea of the number of people reached by them can be gained from their work in the Liberty Loan campaigns. In the Second Liberty Loan campaign it is estimated that they made 497 speeches in 79 theatres to 84,075 people, "while in the Third Liberty Loan 1,665 speeches were made to 498,821 people or nearly half of the population of the state." For the Fourth Liberty Loan drive this organization had made plans for a speaking campaign that would reach every man, woman and child in the state. These plans were not carried out only because the influenza epidemic made it advisable to prohibit public meetings.

Red Cross Work in West Virginia

The work of the Red Cross among the soldiers is so well and favorably known that it is not necessary to speak of it in this brief account, which will be confined to the activities of this society within the limits of this commonwealth.

When the first drive for $100,000,000 was on, the goal for West Virginia was set at $500,000. At that time the state had been only partially organized but our people gave this amount with a generous margin of oversubscription. After the first drive completed a vigorous effort was made to organize the state thoroughly by the formation of chapters in all the counties. This campaign was carried out with marked success under the leadership of Mr. David H. Brown, director of the department of development. Fifty-six chapters, with numerous branches and auxiliaries, were organized throughout the state. Thanks to this effective organization in the second drive for funds West Virginia's record was one of the highest made by any of the states. Her quota was $695,000, and her subscriptions amounted to $1,408,503.60.

In Red Cross work the women easily held the leading place. War-bandages, sweaters and other garments were made by them in large numbers. They were also the principal solicitors in securing memberships and contributions of money. But the finest and most heroic service performed by our women during the war was the part they played as nurses during the influenza epidemic, both on their own initiative and in affiliation with the Red Cross. But for the fearless and tactful gentleness of our women nurses the toll of death exacted by this dread scourge would have been much greater than it was.

The work of the Red Cross included the looking after the needs and problems of the families of the men in service as well as the alleviation of the distress and suffering of the soldiers. Each chapter had a home service section whose duties as defined by the assistant director of the Potomac division, were as follows: "It is the object of home service to assist soldiers' and sailors' families to preserve the essential home standards of home life, to meet problems arising out of diminished income, sickness, care, discipline and education of children, household management, business and legal difficulties, unsatisfactory working conditions, loneliness, mental depression or defect, vice or physical disability. Furnishing information about the war risk insurance law and how to proceed to procure government allowances, compensation and insurance, how mail should be addressed to soldiers and sailors. How to obtain news of wounded, captured or missing relatives, is also an important phase of home service."

In the performance of these duties the home sections had the hearty co-operation of the Governor, the draft boards, and the Council of Defense. Legal advice to soldiers and their families was provided to such an extent by the home service sections that the legal committees of the Council of Defense were placed under their jurisdiction by the Council in order to avoid duplication of effort. The home service sections did the work of the State Tuberculosis Association and the board of health in those counties where these organizations were not represented. An arrangement was made with the University whereby an extension course in home service was given for one semester in thirty localities in the state. During this time the professor of sociology spent his entire time in lecturing at these places. Speeches on home service were also made at all the county institutes for teachers and a syllabus on home service was given to every teacher in the state.

The Red Cross had seven canteens in West Virginia. These were located at such railroad centers where soldiers in transit could be administered to. In some places where the trains made only a short stop there was just time enough for the distribution of such things as fruits, chewing-gum, cigarettes and magazines. At other places the wait was long enough to permit the serving of hot biscuits, coffee and sandwiches and sometimes whole meals. At most of these canteens a nurse was on duty ready to render first aid to the injured.

Contributions for Allied War Relief

There were a number of other organizations that asked the American people for financial support on the basis of improving and maintaining the morale of the soldiers. Prominent among these organizations were the Y. M. C. A., the Y. W. C. A., Knights of Columbus, Jewish Welfare Board, Salvation Army, American Library Association, and the War Camp Community Service. It was felt that the soldier when off duty should be entertained without being tempted to immorality. The work of these societies consisted largely in eliminating immoral influences from the camps and substituting good wholesome entertainment that would relive the doughboy of his homesickness. Some of them also administered to the spiritual needs of the soldiers. At first these organizations acted independently and the funds for their support were raised by separate financial efforts. But in the fall of 1918, at the suggestion of President Wilson, a united effort was made to raise funds for all of these agencies in a great national drive known as the United War Work Council. The campaign was carried on in West Virginia during the week of November 11-18, 1918.

In the previous efforts to raise funds for these organizations acting separately, West Virginia contributed her share with unusual generosity. Especially liberal were the subscriptions to the funds raised by the Knights of Columbus in the spring of 1918 and to those of the Lutheran Commission for Soldiers and Sailors Welfare given in February of the same year. In the campaigns for the Knights of Columbus and the Lutheran Commission the amounts subscribed were respectively two

and a half and four times the state's quota. In the latter drive West Virginia stood at the head of all the states of the Union.

Other War Activities

In addition to the activities already discussed, West Virginia took part in the other war measures planned by the Federal government. Active and successful efforts to sell thrift stamps and war savings stamps were carried on under the leadership of Mr. Robert L. Archer. Stamps were sold to about 400,000 different persons in the commonwealth.

Three thousand skilled and unskilled mechanics volunteered their services in "war industries" as a result of a campaign conducted by the Public Service Reserve. The state was thoroughly organized for this work and it was well performed under the leadership of Mr. Samuel B. Montgomery, who was Director of the Public Service Reserve in West Virginia.

The part played by West Virginia in the World war is the proudest chapter in her entire history. Her young men did their share of the fighting and showed the fine courage usually exhibited by the American and Allied soldiery, and the civilian population held up the arms of those in the service with a zeal and devotion that would be a credit to any people in any age. They submitted to restraints put upon them by the government which in other times would have been termed the rankest paternalism. They bought and sold food at prices named by the government, lent or gave money when asked to do so, considered only such foods and in such amounts as they were bidden, ate corn and potato bread in order that our soldiers and those of our Allies might have wheat bread, and at times abstained from meat and shivered on "heatless days" in order that at the front there might always be in plenty nutritious food and munitions of war. Even the thirst for strong drink, the most indocile of all appetites, had to submit to the authority of the government. These restraints and sacrifices were cheerfully endured without any serious complaint. Never, therefore, in our history did we have so much complicated governmental machinery and never did it run so smoothly. Never before did merit play so large and partisan politics so small a part in the selection of men to places of honor and responsibility.

For this fine showing we are largely indebted to the men and women who were our leaders in the various war activities. Especially were we fortunate in having as executive one of the ablest and most energetic of the war governors. John J. Cornwell had been inaugurated governor about one month before our Congress declared war on Germany on April 6, 1917. From that time until the armistice was signed on November 11, 1918, most of his time and attention were devoted to carrying out in West Virginia the program of the Federal government in the prosecution of the war. But more than to all other causes put together we owe our fine record to the unselfish and devoted loyalty exhibited by the people as a whole. Our people seem to have been raised above the petty partisan differences and narrow selfish misunderstandings that too often characterized ordinary times. This idealism was a type of super-patriotism that had the intensity of nationalism and the breadth of internationalism.

It is with pleasure that we are able to add that West Virginia did not stand alone in her fine accord, but that her sisters states also had the right to boast of like high achievement. We want, however, to declare emphatically that in the great effort "to make the world safe for democracy," West Virginia measured up fully to the opportunities and duties of a great American Commonwealth. In no part of the country was there shown more bravery on the part of soldiers, more generosity on the part of contributors, more self-sacrifice on the part of mothers, better efficiency on the part of managers, and a firmer spirit of patriotism on the part of all the people.

CHAPTER XXXIX

THE LATEST DECADE, 1910-1921

The latest decade was one of many changes, improvements and new achievements. Among its chief features were large increases of population in new coal mining regions and in older industrial centers, continued municipal development, better agricultural conditions, growth of banks, marked improvement of schools and communication, elevation of requirements for the professions, settlement of interstate controversies, improvement in social conditions and in politics, improved legislation, and extension of the functions of government in the regulation of health and business. Many improvements attracted wider attention after the "Semi-Centennial celebration" of 1913.

Population—From 1910 to 1920 the population increased from 1,221,119 to 1,463,701 (19.9%), which was considerably less than the increases of the four preceding decades (39.9%, 23.3%, 25.7% and 27.4%). The density of population increased from 50.8% to 60.9% per square mile.

The changes in population, especially in the mining and manufacturing regions, were more marked for the decade before 1910. The increases were most marked in McDowell (155.3%), Logan (108.1%), Raleigh (106.1%), Harrison (74.7%), Pocahontas (72%), Mingo (71.1%), Mercer (66.7%), Fayette (62.3%), Cabell (59.6%), Hancock (56.4%), Nicholas (55.2%), Brooks (53.7%), Kanawha (48.9%), Randolph (47.3%), Tucker (39%), and Lincoln (32.8%). Considerable decrease was shown in Pleasants (13.6%), Wirt (12%), Tyler (11.2%), Jackson (8.8%), Doddridge (7.4%), Ritchie (5.4%), Mason (4%) and Gilmer (3.3%). The proportion of negro population was greatest in McDowell county (30.6%). In only four other counties did it exceed 12.5%. The cities having the largest proportion of colored were Charleston (13.4%), Martinsburg (9.3%), Huntington (6.9%) and Bluefield (20%) and Clarksburg (9.2%). Of the total population there were 644,044 males and 577,075 females. The proportion of males was largest among the foreign born, and among the negroes. Of the native population 80% were born in West Virginia. The foreign born white population was chiefly from Italy (30.3%), Austria (14.6%), Germany (11.1%), Hungary (10.4%), Russia (9%), England (6.1%) and Ireland (4%). The most marked period of arrival of foreign born was 1906 to 1910. The total white stock of foreign origin (born abroad or having one parent born abroad) was German (21.7%), Italian (18.5%), Irish (11.5%), Austrian (9.5%), English (9%), Hungarian (6.6%), Russian (6.4%), and Scotch (2.9%). Of the native population born in other states, 7.2% came from Virginia, 4% from Ohio, and 3.3% from Pennsylvania. There were 247,970 white voters of whom 23,577 (11%) were illiterate, and 14, 786 colored voters of whom 5,583 (38%) were illiterate. There was a total of 74,866 illiterates (8.3% of the population above ten years of age).

For the decade after 1910, of the forty counties showing an increase the counties of most marked increase were Logan (183.3%), Hancock (90%), Raleigh (65.7%), Harrison (54.6%), Brooke (48.9%), Boone (48.3%), Kanawha (46.9%), Wyoming (46.1%), McDowell (43.3%), Cabell (40.8%), Monongalia (38.2%), and Mingo (35.7%).

The fifteen counties showing a decrease were Wirt (16.7%), Tyler (12.5%), Jackson (11%), Tucker (10.1%), Calhoun (8.8%), Pleasants (9.6%), Ritchie (7.7%), Mason (6.8%), Roane (6.6%), Gilmer (6.2%), Putnam (5.7%), Doddridge (5.5%), Lincoln (5.4%), Wetzel (3.3%), and Jefferson (1%).

The proportion of the population living in towns or cities with a population of 2,500 or more increased from 18.7% in 1910 to 25.2% in 1920. Of the thirty-four cities in the state, the ten largest in 1920 were Wheeling (56,208), Huntington (50,177), Charleston (39,608), Clarksburg (27,869), Parkersburg (20,050), Fairmont (17,851), Bluefield (15,282), Martinsburg (12,515), Morgantown (12,127), and Moundsville (10,669). Their percentage of increase in the last decade and in the two preceding decades is conveniently arranged for comparison in the following table:

	1910-20	1900-10	1890-1900
Clarksburg	202.9%	127.2%	34.6%
Fairmont	83.8	71.7	452.8
Charleston	72.2	107.2	64.
Huntington	61.	161.4	18.
Bluefield	36.6	140.9	161.6
Wheeling	35.	7.1	12.6
Morgantown	32.5	382.8	87.4
Moundsville	19.6	66.3	99.5
Martinsburg	17.	41.4	4.7
Parkersburg	12.4	66.3	99.5

Of the total population in 1920, there were 763,100 males and 700,601 females. The per cent of native white was 89.9. Of the foreign born 41,910 were males and 19,996 females. Of the negroes 47,129 were males and 39,216 females.

The proportion of negro population was greatest in the counties of McDowell (26.5%), Fayette (16%), Raleigh (15%) and Mercer (13%). Webster was the only county with none. The proportion of negroes in cities was greatest in Bluefield (17.8%), Charleston (11.4%), Martinsburg (8.1%), Clarksburg (4.5%), Huntington (5.7%), but in each case was less than in 1910. Of the total white population in 1920, 61,906 were born in foreign countries. Of this number 14,147 were from Italy, 3,798 were from Germany, 3,433 were from England, 1,459 were from Ireland, 6,260 from Hungary, 5,115 from Austria, 5,799 from Poland, 3,911 from Russia 3,186 from Greece, 2,802 from Jugo-Slavia, 1,549 from Czecho-Slovakia, 1,540 from Spain and 1,235 from Syria. Although the Italians outnumbered the foreign born from any other country, the entire German group including Germany, Poland, Austria, Czecho-Slovakia, Jugo-Slavia and Ruthenia was larger (about 40% of all foreign born). Counties containing the largest number of foreign born were Harrison (6,131), Ohio (6,290), Hancock (6,131), McDowell (5,416), Marion (5,112), Fayette (3,203), Monongalia (3,279), Marshall (3,068), Kanawha (2,735), Logan (2,710), Tucker (1,497), Randolph (1,098).

Agriculture.—Of the total land area of the state, 62.2% is in farms and 57.7% is improved. The number of farms in West Virginia which was 92,874 in 1900 decreased from 96,685 in 1910 to 87,289 in 1920 (9.7%). The total farm acreage decreased from 10,026,442 to 9,569,790 (4.6%). But the total value of all farm property increased from $314,738,540 in 1910 to $496,439,617 in 1920 (57.7%). The value of farm lands and buildings increased from $264,390,954 to $410,783,406; implements and machinery jumped from $7,011,513 to $18,395,058; and live stock from $43,336,073 to $67,261,153.

The number of farms reported as being mortgaged increased from 7,878 in 1910 to 9,031 in 1920, while the amount represented by the mortgages increased from $5,592,533 to $11,205,953. The average debt per farm was $1,241 in 1920 and the average rate of interest 5.9 per cent.

Of the 72,101 farms operated by their owners, 52,617 are reported free from mortgage, 10,274 are reported mortgaged and 9,210 made no report on the subject.

Native-born white farmers predominate in the state. Of the 87,289 farms in the state, 6,785 are operated by white farmers, of whom only 752 are foreign born, and there are only 504 colored farmers in the

state, compared with 708 in 1910. Of the native white farmers 71,181 are owners, 1,071 managers and 13,781 tenants.

Farm live stock figures show the number of horses on farms in 1920 to have been 169,148, compared with 176,530 in 1910. Mules increased from 11,577 to 14,891; cattle from 560,770 to 587,462; and chickens from 3,106,907 to 4,027,510; while sheep decreased from 566,952 to 509,831; and hives of bees from 110,673 to 89,873.

Milk production in the state decreased from 75,694,324 gallons in 1910 to 73,690,103 gallons in 1920; wool decreased from 2,719,684 pounds to 2,442,090 pounds; and the chickens decreased from 5,543,096 to 4,878,287. But the number of eggs produced increased from 19,159,008 to 21,708,279 dozen.

The value of all crops for West Virginia in 1919 was $96,537,459, compared with $36,167,014 in 1909. The 1919 value of the corn crop was $29,768,131, oats $3,054,668, wheat $8,395,097, hay and forage $23,746,574, potatoes $1,461,619, tobacco $2,731,338, apples $7,540,491, peaches $1,518,784.

As compared with 1909 the total value of the 1920 crops shows an increase of 116.9 per cent, corn 150 per cent, oats 234.8 per cent, wheat 211.3 per cent, potatoes 183.6 per cent, and tobacco 42 per cent.

The difference of production of the chief crops in 1909 and 1919 may be seen from the following table:

	—1919—		—1909—	
	Acres	Bushels	Acres	Bushels
Corn	568,219	17,010,357	676,311	17,119,097
Oats	169,915	3,054,668	103,758	1,728,806
Wheat	298,036	3,747,812	209,315	2,575,996
Buckwheat	31,095	537,883	33,323	533,670
Potatoes	34,526	2,809,398	42,621	4,077,066

Agricultural extension, which was established at the West Virginia University in 1913, has proven an important factor in the development of modern scientific agricultural methods. The College of Agriculture increased its activities in many ways after 1910.

Mining.—For mineral productions West Virginia ranks second among the commonwealths of the United States. The total production was valued at $125,111,280 for 1913 and $133,633,229 for 1914.

Oil production which, following the large increase of 1889, continued to grow steadily until 1900 when it reached 16,195,675 barrels and then declined from 14,177,126 barrels in 1901 to 9,095,296 in 1907, increased again from 9,523,176 barrels in 1908 to 12,128,962 barrels in 1912, but steadily declined thereafter. The production in 1916 was 8,731,184 barrels valued at $21,914,080. In 1918 it was only 7,866,628 barrels (the lowest mark reached after 1893), but in 1920 it reached 8,173,000 barrels. Dr. I. C. White, eminent geological authority on oil, predicts a continued decrease.

In the production of natural gas West Virginia since 1906 has ranked first among all the states. The production which had reached 119,100,392 thousand cubic feet in 1906 steadily increased (except in 1908 and 1914) to 308,617,101 thousand cubic feet (valued at $57,389,161) in 1917, but in 1918 declined to 265,160,917 thousand (valued at $41,324,365) and in 1919 to approximately 201,500,000 thousand valued at $40,304,500. After 1910 it was largely used in the manufacture of carbon black in Calhoun, Lewis, Doddridge, Harrison, Ritchie, Clay, Kanawha and other counties. Much has been transported from the state through pipe lines by natural pressure and by pumping stations. Much has been used in the manufacture of casing-head gasoline in which West Virginia led all the states of the Union until Oklahoma captured first place in 1914, and compelled West Virginia to retire to second rank.

In 1909, West Virginia, overtaking Illinois, became the second coal producing state of the Union, but in 1920 dropped to third. Coal production in West Virginia, which had reached 22,647,207 short (net) tons in 1900, 51,446,010 tons in 1909, and 61,672,019 in 1910, continued

to increase steadily in the next decade, reaching 71,707,626 short tons (valued at $71,391,408) in 1914 (and furnishing employment for 78,363 persons), and became especially active following the entrance of the United States into the World war. In 1916 the production increased to 86,460,127 short tons (valued at $102,366,092) and in 1918 reached 89,935,839 short tons valued at $230,508,846. In 1919 it was 75,500,000 net tons which (together with coke production of 1,404,008 short tons) gave employment for 91,566 persons. In 1920 it was 87,500,000 tons. The production of coke which steadily increased to 1910, reaching in that year 14,217,380 tons valued at $7,525,922, steadily diminished thereafter to 1,391,446 short tons in 1915 again increased to 1,957,632 in 1916 and 3,349,761 in 1917, but again decreased to 1,956,068 tons in 1919.

The increase of coal production after 1910 was partly due to strikes in Ohio and other middle-western states. The determination of the United Mine Workers to unionize the mines of West Virginia led to a bitter and prolonged labor war which began in 1912 in the Cabin creek and Paint creek collieries of the Kanawha valley. The struggle resulted in heavy losses aggregating nearly $6,000,000 (operation loss, $2,000,000; cost to the state, $500,000; cost to United Mine Workers, over $600,000; property destroyed, $20,000; and the time lost by the strikers). One result of the expensive struggle was to secure for the union a foothold in West Virginia. In September and November, 1919, organized miners from this region threatened an armed invasion of Logan county to force the unionization of that field. In order to prevent possible disturbance, Governor Cornwell asked for a regiment of Federal troops which responded promptly. In 1920 an attempt to unionize the miners along the Norfolk and Western Railway finally precipitated an armed conflict between detectives and union miners at Matewan, in Mingo county, resulting in the death of seven detectives and the Mayor and the terrorization of the community and necessitating a call for Federal troops and the establishment of military control in the county. In August, 1921, a threatened war between armed forces in Logan county was prevented by the arrival of Federal troops.

In 1916 the quarries yielded sandstone and limestone valued at $1,047,695, and clay working industries yielded products valued at $6,284,527. For the same year the output of salt was 232,239 barrels. In 1919 the production of sand and gravel was 1,183,606 short tons valued at $1,750,201.

Manufacturing.—In manufacturing West Virginia advanced from the twenty-ninth state in 1909 to the twenty-eighth in 1914. The number of manufacturing establishments in 1914 was 2,749, with an invested capital of $175,995,011, and a production valued at $193,511,782. The number of persons employed was 79,353 (11% more than 1909), earning $51,377,760. The total number engaged included 2,559 salaried employees, 71,078 wage earners and 2,559 proprietors and firm members. The cost of raw materials used was $110,033,165 and the value of the output was $193,511,782. The leading manufacturing counties were Ohio, Marshall, Wood, Kanawha, Cabell, Tucker, McDowell, Berkeley, Fayette, Randolph, Marion, Morgan, Mineral, Jefferson and Grant. The value of manufactures increased 63.5% in the five years before 1909 and 19.5% between 1909 and 1915. The leading industries were lumber and timber, steel works, rolling mills, tinplate and terneplate, glass, leather, railroad cars and shop construction, flour milling, and manufacturing of clay products.

The state ranked second among the states in the production of glass, and also in the production of tin plate and terneplate, and eighth in the value of clay products.

In 1920 the glass industry in the state enjoyed its banner year. Forty-four of the larger manufacturers of glass and glass products employed 9,417 workmen, paying them a total wage for the year of $12,998,250.79, or an average of approximately $1,363.00. The forty-four glass companies had a capital invested in grounds, buildings and

machinery of $13,841,333.90, and the value of their product for the year was $44,008,131,73.

Seventy-four of the larger manufacturers of lumber and lumber products employed an average of 4,131 workmen, paying them a total wage of $5,533,453.69, or an average of $1,340.00. The seventy-four concerns had a capital invested of $9,219,345.33, and the value of their product for 1920 amounted to $19,279,128.36.

Iron and steel products for 1920 show the employment of 8,180 workmen in seventy-two plants reported. The wages paid these workmen amounted to $14,377,846.65, an average yearly wage of approximately $1,758.00. Capital invested in the seventy-two plants totals $11,564,883.17, and the value of the product from these same plants for the year 1920 amounted to $69,030,375.40.

The construction of two war-industries by the Federal Government on the Kanawha in 1918 (a projectile plant at Charleston and a high explosive plant at Nitro) at an expenditure of over $60,000,000, created a new impetus to manufacturing and a large demand for labor.

Transportation.—Transportation facilities continued to improve after 1909. The railway mileage which by 1912 reached 3,557 miles by the completion of the Virginia Railway (139.6 miles) and by the construction of the Coal and Coke Railway from Elkins to Charleston (196.75 miles, recently acquired by the Baltimore and Ohio Railway Company), and by the completion of the Hampshire-Southern branch of the Baltimore and Ohio to Moorefield and Petersburg, was further increased by the extension of the Monongahela River Railway southward to Fairmont in 1913, and by several shorter branches. The railway mileage was 3,868 in 1918 and 3,892 in 1919. Every county except Pendleton and Calhoun now has railway connection. The last decade has been marked by extension of several interurban electric lines and expansion of telephone service.

Banks.—The condition of banks in West Virginia in 1919-21 was as follows:

	National		State	
	1919	1920	1920	1921
Number	119	122	218	227
Capital	$ 11,273,000	$ 11,573,000	$ 16,087,000	$ 17,598,000
Surplus	7,093,000	7,739,000	9,929,000	11,047,000
Loans	85,191,000	100,545,000	129,066,000	150,618,000
All Deposits	107,862,000	134,436,000	159,406,000	170,371,000

Churches.—In 1916 there were in the state 427,865 members of religious denominations, of whom 85.9% were Protestants. The Methodist bodies with 156,654 communicants (36.5% of the total communicants or members) were the strongest. There were 89,856 Baptists (of eight varieties, including 3,565 United Baptists, 1,763 Regular Baptists, 650 Seventh Day Baptists, 673 Primitive Baptists and 296 Free Will Baptists), 60,337 Roman Catholics, 29,426 United Brethren, 28,545 Presbyterians, 19,227 Disciples of Christ, 10,342 Church of Christ, 5,983 Lutherans, and 6,831 Protestant Episcopal. The number of denomination Sunday Schools was 4,050 with an enrollment of 337,682 and officers and teachers numbering 34,624.

Education.—Educational facilities have steadily increased. In 1918 the total school population was 437,620; the total school enrollment, 307,381; the average daily attendance, 219,831. The per capita cost of education was $17.00 based on enumeration, $24.58 based on enrollment or $34.38 based on average daily attendance. The total number of teachers was 10,978 (10,456 white, 522 colored), of which 3,774 were male (3,640 white, 134 colored). The average annual salary paid teachers (in all grades) was $408.00. The total number of school houses was 6,897. The number of high schools was 164 with an enrollment of 13,363.

The disbursements for all common schools was $7,558,208, and for

state educational institutions was $1,216,150, making a total expenditure of $8,774,358 for the entire educational system of the state.

The value of all public school property was estimated at $20,245,822, and the value of state educational institutions at $5,500,000, making a total value of $25,745,822.

By 1921 the total school population increased to 449,663, the total enrollment to 347,841, the average daily attendance to 267,710, and the per capita cost to 28.45 based on enumeration (or to $47.79 based on average daily attendance). The total number of teachers increased to 11,866, and the average annual salary to $706.00. The number of male teachers was 2,936 in the elementary schools and 468 in the high school. The number of female teachers was 7,693 in the elementary and 769 in the high schools. The total disbursements for public schools increased to $12,794,852, and for higher state educational institutions to $2,843,532.

The development of the high schools has been a prominent feature of recent educational growth. This was partly due to the appointment of a state high school supervisor in 1909 to direct the establishment and standardization of the high schools. By 1921 the state had 190 classified high schools with 1,237 teachers, and an enrollment of over 20,000 (over 3,000 graduating in the year), and high school property valued at $10,000,000. In 1920 the high schools received state aid amounting to $118,000.

The average daily school attendance was increased nearly 50,000 in 1920 by the compulsory school law of 1919.

The University enrollment of candidates for degrees increased from 800 in 1909-10 to 1,596 in 1919-20, and the total enrollment for the same period increased from 1,200 to 2,800 (or 1,992 exclusive of short course students). The members of the instructional staff increased from sixty-two (and twelve student assistants) to 141 (and twenty-five student assistants), of whom fifty-six were full professors, seventeen were associate professors and twenty-seven were assistant professors. The total number of women students increased from 619 to 975 in the same period. In 1920-21 the total number of students enrolled for degrees increased to 1,725.

By the revised school code adopted by the legislature, Act of 1909, the control of financial affairs of all state educational institutions was vested in a State Board of Control composed of three members, and the control of educational affairs of these institutions was vested in a Board of Regents of five members. Under an Act of 1919, the control of all educational affairs of the state, from the lowest school to the University, was vested in a State Board of Education composed of the State Superintendent (as executive officer) and six members appointed by the Governor. The Board has an advisory council of three colored citizens.

Constitutional Amendments.—Several amendments to the state constitution were ratified in the decade after 1910. Efforts to secure an amendment providing for a lieutenant-governor failed. An amendment providing for prohibition was ratified in 1912 by a majority of 92,342. Another amendment proposed in 1917 and ratified in November, 1918, provides that an itemized and classified budget shall be prepared by the Board of Public Works, and presented to the legislature for its guidance in determining appropriations. The governor urges the necessity of a modification which will place upon the executive the duty and the authority of preparing the budget, as the original draft of the amendment (before mutilation by the legislature) had provided. A third amendment ratified in November, 1920, provides for two periods of every regular session of the legislature—one of fifteen days in January, primarily for presentation of bills, and another of forty-five days in March-April, primarily for consideration and action on bills. The same amendment increased the salaries of members of the legislature to $500 a year.

A fourth, ratified in November, 1920, authorized the legislature to

provide for a system of state roads under control and supervision of state officers, and to bond the state to a maximum of $50,000,000, if necessary, for this purpose.

The need of a constitutional convention to secure a new constitution suitable to new conditions of rapid industrial development was urged by Governor Glasscock in 1913.

Other Governmental changes.—By act of 1911, a state department of agriculture was created in 1913 and placed under the direction of the Commissioner of Agriculture, an elective officer who is also a member of the Board of Public Works. The office of highway inspector, created in 1907, was abolished in 1911; and a state bureau of roads (4 members) was created in 1913. By act of 1913 a public service commission of four members (reduced to three by act of 1915) was created. At first it had jurisdiction of the newly established workmen's compensation fund, which later was administered by a state commissioner. Under the Yost law of 1913 the state tax commissioner is *ex officio* state commissioner of prohibition. By act of 1919 a department of public safety (state police) was established to relieve the military arm of the state and to aid in abolishing the system of private peace officers. Its need was demonstrated by a serious condition resulting from a strike of steel workers at Benwood and Weirton in the upper panhandle.

By act of 1915 the membership of the House of Delegates (previously 86) was increased to 94.

In 1909 and in 1919 the salaries of circuit judges were increased. Since 1913 the salaries of elective state officers and supreme judges have been increased. By act of 1919 the salary of the Governor was increased to $10,000, effective March 4, 1921. In January, 1921, the salaries of state elective officers were increased to $5,000.

New protective laws.—By act of 1909 the legislature established at Elkins a children's home, which was opened in 1911. By act of 1919 it established a state board of children's guardians (which supplanted the old humane society). An act of 1915 provided for the temporary care and custody of dependent, neglected or delinquent children, and another act of 1919 provided for the care and disposition of delinquent children.

A state tuberculosis sanitarium, established by act of 1917, was opened for patients in 1913 at Terra Alta. A similar institution for colored people was opened in 1919.

Revision of laws relating to medicine and health in 1913 marked the beginning of a new era in sanitary legislation in the state. In 1914 a hygiene laboratory was established. In 1915 a state department of health was created with a commissioner as executive officer. To it, two new divisions, vital statistics and child welfare (and public health nursing) were added by act of 1919. Among the important acts of the legislature of 1913 were the Workmen's Compensation Act and a law providing for state regulation and control of the water power of the state. A revision of the restrictions of the water power act with a view to co-operation with the federal water power act, and to encourage water power development, was recommended by Governor Cornwell in 1921. Another act of 1913 provided for the inspection of hotels. By act of 1915 the legislature made provision for more effective state regulation of weights and measures and also enacted a speculative security act known as "the blue sky" law to prevent frauds in the promotion of stocks, bonds and other securities.

Interstate controversies.—Two prominent suits against West Virginia were recently settled before the United States Supreme Court. One, longstanding boundary dispute with Maryland who brought suit in 1890 to sustain her claims in regard to the meaning of "the first source of the Potomac," as used in Lord Baltimore's charter, was decided in 1910 in favor of West Virginia, and the boundary was marked accordingly in 1912 by a joint commission. The other, a suit brought by Virginia about 1900—a dispute known as the Virginia debt question which arose from the formation of West Virginia as a separate state in 1863 and which at various times had been a prominent factor or issue

in state politics—was settled by a United States Supreme Court decision of 1911 tentatively fixing West Virginia's share of the old debt at $7,182,507.48 (and leaving the question of interest for later adjustment), and by a later judgment of 1915 against West Virginia fixing the total obligation at $12,393,929.50 ($4,215,622.28 and accrued interest from January 1, 1861) with a decree that this total amount should draw interest at 5 per cent until paid. In February, 1917, Virginia filed application for a writ of mandamus against the legislature of West Virginia to complete the levy of a tax to pay the judgment, but the court deferred action in order to give West Virginia a reasonable opportunity to act without compulsion. The total amount of principal and interest on January 1, 1919, was $14,562,867.16. Of this amount West Virginia, by act of March 31, 1919, arranged to pay $1,062,867.16 in cash and the balance by an issue of "listable" 3½ per cent bonds (coupon and registered) in favor of Virginia, payable in 1839 (or earlier). Bonds amounting to $12,366,500 were delivered to the Virginia Debt Commission at Richmond, Virginia, on July 3, 1919. The remaining bonds ($1,133,500) were held in escrow pending the filing of remaining outstanding Virginia debt certificates.

Finance.—According to the biennial report of the State Treasurer, on June 30, 1917, the balance in all funds was $5,088,976. On June 30, 1918, it was $8,672,820. On March 1, 1921, it was $9,078,739.08 exclusive of investments of school fund ($999,600) and workingmen's compensation fund ($9,090,800).

The following table shows the receipts and disbursements for the period of July 1, 1917, to June 30, 1918, and the period from July 1, 1919, to June 30, 1920:

Fund	1917-1918		1919-1920	
	Receipts	Disbursements	Receipts	Disbursements
General Revenue	$ 3,677,272	$ 3,054,466	$ 4,815,873.47	$ 5,065,918.58
Special Revenue	1,641,650	966,294	1,291,864.15	1,395,944.35
Refunding Local Taxes	4,067,326	4,044,955	5,915,772.49	5,835,031.11
General School	768,177	792,266	715,604.60	674,369.35
The School Fund	131,500	170,000	64,141.66	57,541.66
State Road Fund	492,439	68,847	2,113,800.83	2,003,230.12
Workmen's Compensation	3,144,112	3,043,055	3,837,130.79	3,888,425.96
Sinking Fund	.....	.....	1,147,743.24	649,661.35
Total	$13,922,479	$12,139,885	$19,901,931.23	$19,570,122.48

The total state fund and expenditure for the years ending June 30, 1919, and June 30, 1920, were as follows:

Balance, July 1, 1918	$3,902,171	Balance, July 1, 1919	$ 2,218,091.17
Receipts 1918-19	5,010,573	Receipts 1919-20	19,901,931.23
Total	$8,911,744	Total	$22,120,022.40
Disbursements 1918-19	6,693,653	Disbursements 1919-20	19,570,122.48
Balance June 30, 1919	$2,218,091	Balance June 31, 1920	$ 2,549,899.92

The total state fund and expenditures for the year ending June 30, 1921, was as follows:

1920-1921	
Balance, July 1, 1920	$ 44,071.75
Receipts, 1920-21	6,048,394.58
Total	$6,092,466.33
Disbursements, 1920-21	5,894,176.00
Balance, June 30, 1921	$198,290.33

The total bonded indebtedness on January 1, 1920, was $13,500,000. On January 1, 1921, it was $11,663,700.

In 1919 the total assessed value of real estate ($769,648,033), personal property ($371,602,428) and public utility property ($349,522,672) in all counties of the state, was $2,632,023,593.

The assessment of steam and railroad companies was $189,559,009; of oil and gas companies, $118,833,820; of street railways, $15,986,000; of electric light, water and power companies, $19,345,934; of telephone and telegraph companies, $7,243,376; of bridge and ferry companies, $1,662,000; of private car line companies, $1,077,289; and express companies, $410,558.

In 1920 the total assessed valuation was decreased to $1,579,594,399 (real estate, $801,235,500; personal property, $424,292,082; public utility property, $354,066,817). In 1921 the total assessed valuation was $1,692,646,863 (real estate, $877,017,129; personal property, $448,424,079; public utility property, $367,205,655). Late in 1921 the tax commissioner's office urged upon all assessors the importance of increasing the assessment value to the actual value of the property as required by the law. In 1920 and also in 1921 the tax rate of levy was 10c for general state purposes and 10c for payment on the Virginian debt. In 1920 the assessment of taxes levied for general state purposes was $1,579,584. In 1921 the amount was $1,692,646. For each year an equal amount was levied for payment on the Virginia debt.

In 1909 the legislature enacted a business license tax which by July, 1920, produced $231,063.73. In 1915 it placed on corporations and companies a special excise tax which was increased by an additional excise tax in 1919. The two acts produced for 1919-20 approximately $600,000. In 1921, after a transportation tax on pipe lines had been declared unconstitutional, the legislature enacted a new sales tax.

Politics.—The state has continued Republican in politics, but party division resulted in the election of a Democrat, John J. Cornwell, to the governor's office in 1916 to succeed Governor H. D. Hatfield. In 1920 the Republicans elected the entire state ticket headed by Ephraim F. Morgan.

The destruction of the capitol building at Charleston by fire on January 3, 1921, resulted in unsuccessful movements to change the location of the capital to Clarksburg or to some other town in the northern part of the state.

CHAPTER XL

SUGGESTIVE OUTLINE FOR STUDY OF LOCAL HISTORY

The following suggestions and questions, which can be used by teachers as a guide in teaching local history in the grades, are submitted with the hope that they may encourage live teachers, and other public spirited citizens who appreciate the fundamental educational value of proper historical training, to collect historical data (supplying dates when possible) as a basis for studies in local history. The teacher who is properly in touch with the life of his environment, and who has had some special training in modern historical methods, can render to his community (town, county or geographical region) a very valuable service by preparing in notebook form a series of lessons presenting various phases of local history, adapted for use in the grades, as a suitable foundation for later studies in the larger history of the state and nation, or of other nations. In some of the most densely populated or most highly developed communities, perhaps one may hope that such lessons may later be published in attractive pamphlet form. Later, such notebooks and pamphlets, collected from the representative communities, could be utilized to supply a large part of the material necessary for the construction of a narrative of the chief features of the history of the entire state.

1. Oldest settlements in your vicinity or county.

2. The old name and the present name of your town or community. Origin of the name. Its geographical environments. Relation of its geography to its history. Natural resources.

3. What relics or other evidences are there of former Indian occupation?

4. Present population: races and nationalities. Are there any recent European emigrants? Explain their coming. What is their influence? What changes in the people have resulted from local environment? Legends, traditions or incidents told by the oldest inhabitants. Dialects and folk-lore. What persons of larger prominence have visited your locality?

5. The earliest white settlers: races and nationalities. From whence came they? Why? When? How? Did they find Indian trails? What wild animals did they find? Are they now extinct? If so explain the cause. Did the county ever give a bounty for scalps of wild animals? Does it now? Early fur bearing animals. Fur trade.

6. What did the earliest settlers bring with them? What books did they bring? The earlier families: size and later history. From whom did they get the title to their lands? The longest journeys of the early days. What family papers or other records are preserved? Make a list of some of the oldest books which belonged to these families. Old school books.

7. Early difficulties of the settlers. Occupations. Trade, and routes of travel and commerce. The first wagons. The first carriages.

8. The oldest grist mill and later mills. The oldest buildings. Do any traces of them remain? The earliest blacksmith shop. The earliest wagon or carriage shop.

9. The earliest roads and methods of travel. The earliest ferries and bridges. The first postoffice. The earliest public conveyances. The first improved roads. The first coach roads or hack lines. What are the best roads in the vicinity now? When were they opened? Road making and repair.

10. Where did the early settlers buy their harness, wagons, tools, and household necessities? The beginning and development of "stores" and the various trades. Causes and effects. Peddlers, canvassers and traveling salesmen. Insurance agents.

11. Neighbors. Social life and culture. Early social gatherings: log-rollings, house-raisings, quiltings, singing schools, etc. Changes in amusements, manners and customs (dress, homes and social life). Feuds. Early village communities and their later growth, or decay. Preparation and preservation of food. Earliest cook stoves. "The old spring house." Earliest refrigerators.

12. The earliest churches and preachers and religious services. Later churches organized and subsequent changes. Circuit riders; camp meetings; religious debates. Church societies, assemblies and conventions. Basket meetings.

13. The earliest physicians. The health of the people. Diseases. The oldest cemetery. The oldest tombstones. What can be learned from them? Later improvements in physicians and in the science of medicine. Druggists and drug stores.

14. How were the earliest settlers governed? The beginning of county government. The earliest elections and taxes. The life at the county seat. Earliest courts and trials. The earliest lawyers. Development in county government. First boards of health and inspection of weights and measures. Other new developments. Later improvements in county institutions; court house, jail, poor-farm, bridges, etc. Improvement in the legal profession. Improvements in elections.

15. Earliest schools and teachers. Influence of the school on social and general progress. Early preparation of teachers. Changes in the character of school buildings, teachers, textbooks, courses of study, discipline, etc. Changes in teachers' salaries. Development of better organization or consolidation of schools. Private schools and academies. What influence has the state university exerted on your community? The state normal schools? Educational conventions and teachers' associations?

16. Debating societies, theaters, newspapers and libraries. Character of news items, editorials and advertisements of the earliest newspapers published in the vicinity.

17. The earliest inns, boarding houses or hotels. Saloons.

18. The first bank. The first building and loan association. Later development of each.

19. Labor problems. Were any slaves held? How employed? How treated? Are any former slaves still living in the vicinity? Did they wish to be free? The hired man and the hired girl problems. The problem of the unemployed.

20. History of prices, wages, rents and interest. Changes in the money circulation. Waste and luxury. Early barter. "Private money," or "trade checks."

21. The earliest industries and later industrial development.

22. History of agriculture and agricultural methods. Most important products at different periods (cereals, tobacco, cotton). Earliest agricultural societies and fairs. The first granges and farmers' institutes. Later development of each. Indicate the chief changes in agricultural life in the surrounding region. Influence of the agricultural college and the West Virginia Experiment Station of the West Virginia University. Influence of the teaching of agriculture in secondary schools. Changes in the agricultural population by immigration or emigration. Causes. Evolution of farm implements. Evolution of hardware stores. Mere subsistence farming and farming for the market.

23. Fruit growing. Introduction of new varieties. Improvements and changes. Markets. First inspection of fruit trees under state law. Later results.

24. Cattle raising. Improvements. Markets. Dairying as a business.

25. Sheep raising. Loss from dogs. Public regulations to en-

courage the sheep industry. Introduction of new breeds. Wool market.

26. What forest industries have affected your community? Condition of the forest when the first white settlers arrived. Earliest timber industries. Later developments. The tan bark industry. The market. Logging: logging camps and roads; rafting; the market. Lumbering: earliest saw-mills; development of lumbering interests; transportation to the market. Destruction of timber. Forest fires. Effects of the various forest industries. Influence upon the life of the community.

27. Earliest mines. Later changes in mining. First inspection of mines and later results.

28. Oil and gas development.

29. The iron and glass industries.

30. Brick yards and quarries. Pottery and cement works.

31. History of other local industries, past or present. Early salt works. Early home manufactures. Later development in manufactures.

32. Influence of inventions.

33. Does your vicinity or county produce enough agricultural products of various kinds to supply the home market? Does it import anything which can be produced at home? Explain. What changes have occurred in exports and imports?

34. Nearest river whose navigation has had some relation to your community. Development of this navigation, and influence upon your community.

35. Nearest railroads which have had a relation to your community or have exerted an influence upon it. History of their construction. Difficulties. Their later development. What has been their effect upon the industries of your county and region? Their influence upon the various phases of the life of the people (Creation of new wants, new articles of luxury, etc. Excursions to sea shore, etc.)? Their introduction of new race elements. The "Tunnel Irish," etc.

36. First telegraphs and telephones and later extension. Their influence upon the history of your locality.

37. Most recent developments in transportation, communication and means of travel. The first automobile. The first public garage. Influence of automobiles on the community.

38. Political history of your locality or county. What party has had the largest following. Influence of party politics on local government and good order. Influence of the people in the nominating conventions for the selection of county and state officers. History of political debates, conventions and elections in your locality or county. Most important leaders in politics at different periods. Political factions and divisions.

39. Compare the cost of your town or county governments at different periods of its history.

40. Chief difficulties or problems which have arisen in your town or county government at different periods. How met or solved? Problems of assessment of property for taxation. The collection of taxes. Receipts and expenditures. Debts, and bond issues to meet indebtedness. Conflicting land claims. What evils have threatened the good order of the community? What factors have contributed most to good order?

41. Public inspection and regulation. To what extent has the community protected itself by different means to prevent disease, fraud, or dishonesty? When did it secure inspectors to test the purity of the milk, the accuracy of the scales used in weighing or the safety of the roads? What steps has it taken to protect itself against medical quacks, traveling fakers or incompetent lawyers? To secure sanitary conditions of buildings or of streets? To guard the health of school children? To aid the unfortunate? Hospitals. Organized charities.

42. What are some of the greatest present public needs of your community and county?

43. If you live in a town or city trace the chief influences in its

social and economical development, and outline the chief steps in the evolution of its government, giving dates and causes.

44. Chief events affecting the life of your county. Who has been most prominent in county government or county affairs? In what ways has your community been connected with the general history of the state? In what ways has the state benefited your community? Who has been prominent in the state government and state affairs? In what ways has your community been connected with the general history of the nation? In the revolution? In other events before the Civil war? In the Civil war? Are there still living any old citizens who fought in the war? In which army? In what ways has the national government benefited your community? What citizens of your county have been prominent in the national government?

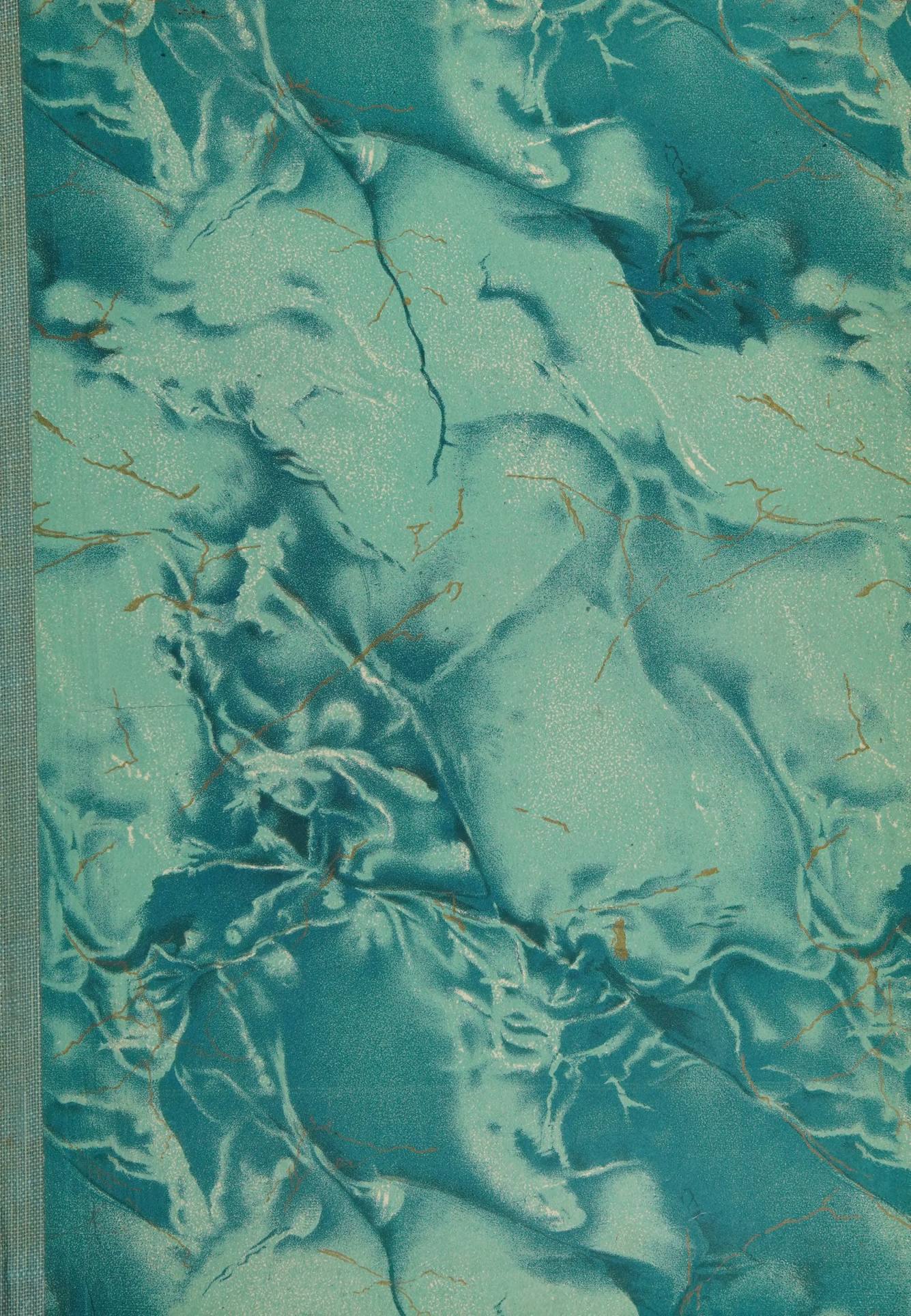
45. Make a list of names of historic personages who have resided in your locality or been identified with it and state briefly the public service of each with dates: before 1815; 1815-40; 1840-60; 1860-77; since 1877. Did any of these own valuable letters or other historical manuscripts which are still in existence? If so, who now has possession of them?

46. Could you write a history of your locality or county indicating its relation to the larger life of the region, the state and the nation? What old records or newspapers, or other manuscripts or printed material which would be valuable as a means for studying the past life of your community or county can be seen in your community? At the county seat? What has been written on the history of your locality or county? Have any reminiscences of old settlers or old citizens been published in the newspapers or in pamphlets which can now be obtained?

47. Write a story of the growth of the nearest city, indicating the chief phases of municipal development—industries, transportation, paving, water-works, sewers, fire department, police organization, etc.

48. Prepare a story of the peopling of your community based upon information obtained from inquiries in regard to the nativity and original home of each family, the reasons for the immigration to your community, etc.

49. Briefly describe how the World war affected your community or changed its life.

50. Recent community improvements and new opportunities. Local organizations. Recreations.

51. Draw a county or regional map and on it indicate the drainage, the chief towns, and the roads connecting your community with neighboring towns and with nearest main routes of travel.